Albanian Etymological Dictionary

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BY

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PREFACE

The present Dictionary results from twenty years of my work in the field of Albanian etymology. A considerable number of my etymological studies were published as a series of articles on *Balkan etymologies*. Since 1985, I have been accumulating material for a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Albanian language corresponding to contemporary standards applied to the works of this genre.

The present Dictionary is based on works of my predecessors GUSTAV MEYER and EQREM ÇABEJ, authors of earlier Albanian etymological dictionaries (ÇABEJ's work, unfortunately, remained unfinished), as well as on studies of other outstanding scholars such as NORBERT JOKL, MAX VASMER, and ERIC HAMP. At the same time, dozens of words in my Dictionary have received new explanations suggested here for the first time or already mentioned in one of my *Balkan etymologies* or other publications.

The Dictionary is based on a certain view of the prehistory of Albanian. It is a purely etymological work; hence, its lack of interest in early Albanian texts (unless their data are, occasionally, of crucial etymological importance). As far as the inherited vocabulary is concerned, the Dictionary deals with three main stages in the development of the Albanian lexicon: Indo-European, Proto-Albanian and (contemporary) Albanian. While Indo-European in the framework of this book is treated as reconstructed for the latest period of its existence immediately preceding its disintegration and the appearance of the ancient Indo-European languages, particularly, as far as the phonetic history is concerned (where I follow mainly BRUGMANN's reconstruction with certain minor changes such as laryngeals), Proto-Albanian language and reconstruction are relatively new concepts developed in my earlier publications. They denote a stage of development between Indo-European and (contemporary) Albanian *immediately preceding* the intensive linguistic contacts with Latin, i.e. before the I - II centuries C.E. Thus, Proto-Albanian may be functionally compared to the notion of Late Proto-Slavic in modern Slavic linguistics. The following period from II century to VII century remains unnamed in the present work (I used a rather clumsy term, *Early Albanian*, in my Russian articles), but its main developments can be described in terms of the Proto-Albanian situation changed by Romance and Slavic lexical and phonetic influences.

As to (contemporary) Albanian, this period starts with the language attested in the earliest written documents of the Albanian culture.

Proto-Albanian, as demonstrated by its vocabulary and isoglosses linking it to other Indo-European languages, is connected with a certain type of material and spiritual culture and with a certain territory. There are serious reasons to believe that this territory did *not* coincide with the contemporary Albania, i.e. with the ancient Illyrian coast of the Adriatic (see WEIGAND *BA* III 277-286; GEORGIEV *Trakite* 212-215). On the contrary, numerous proofs (the absence of indigenous sea-faring terminology in Albanian borrowing corresponding words from Romance and Greek or using transparent metaphors; the existence of Albanian-Rumanian bilateral isoglosses; the lack of Proto-Albanian toponymy in Illyria and so on) seem to corroborate the original settling of Proto-Albanians in Dacia Ripensis and farther North, in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains and the Beskidy/Bieszczady (believed by some to come from Proto-Albanian definite plural **beškāi tāi*, see *bjeshkë*). The Proto-Albanian migration to Illyria via the Eastern slopes of the Balkans must have taken place before (but not considerably earlier than) their contact with Romance speakers and the end of the Proto-Albanian period in the history of the Albanian language.

The Dictionary includes an *Introduction*, a short reference source where the reader will find basic information on the development of the phonetic system from Indo-European to Proto-Albanian to Albanian as well as the basic historical phonology of early loanwords in Albanian. A much more detailed description of Proto-Albanian will appear in my *Historical Grammar of Albanian* which I hope to publish soon. The Introduction also includes short notes on the Albanian phonetics and orthography. In the main body of the Dictionary, every item contains basic lexicological information (main word form, including the Geg variant after tilda if differing from Tosk, meaning, basic paradigmatic forms for nouns and verbs or characteristic of the part of speech and the like) and the suggested etymology with a reference (if this etymology has been given earlier). Other etymologies and references are adduced after the sign of ◊. In this section, some references are adduced with their etymological versions briefly summarized, while other sources are just mentioned, for the convenience of the reader. A blank reference normally means that the source may be helpful but does not contain an etymological explanation of its own. Occasionally, Geg forms having no Tosk parallels are adduced as separate etymological entries, marked as (G). The Dictionary also contains indices of forms.

The alphabetic order used in the Dictionary as far as Albanian forms are concerned corresponds to the accepted standard of the Albanian lexicography: *ë* follows *e*; *gj* and *nj* are separate letters following *g* and *n* correspondingly; the same is true of *ll* and *rr* appearing after *l* and *r* as separate symbols and of *sh*, *zh*, *xh* and *th* after *s*, *z*, *x* and *t*.

It should be kept in mind that in Albanian there still exist certain problems of agreeing on a standard orthography. My orthography simply follows the main lexicographic sources I used and may well be not quite consecutive in some cases. The dictionaries on which the choice of words for the present work (as well as the orthography and meanings) was based, were KRISTOFORIDHI, LEOTTI, DRIZARI, *Fjalor*, BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER - UHLISCH and MANN *HAED*. Other lexicographic sources mentioned in the List of references were also used occasionally.

The Dictionary includes the following layers of the contemporary Albanian vocabulary:

(1) Inherited words of Indo-European origin;

(2) Words of expressive origin, onomatopoeias and the like;

(3) Loanwords from ancient Greek, Latin (and Romance), Slavic and other languages.

The approximate limit *post quem non* chosen in this Dictionary is X - XII century. Therefore, I did not include here most of the Italian, Rumanian, modern Greek and Turkish loanwords as well as many local and dialectal loans from Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. However, some difficult or interesting words of these groups were included, if they were of any specific etymological interest, particularly, if there was a discussion on their etymologies. The omitted lexical layers were successfully studied and described elsewhere (see HELBIG, BORETZKY, HARDY *Gk.* and other sources). In the case of Slavic loanwords, I was often unable to distinguish older borrowings from recent ones, and it seemed proper to keep Slavic material in case of any doubts.

Non-Latin scripts other than Greek have been transliterated. This applies in particular to Cyrillic for which a compromise system is used, preserving *ъ* and *ь* as signs for vowels in Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and Old Russian but presenting *ь* as a palatalization sign (') elsewhere. As already mentioned above, Indo-European reconstructions reflect a pragmatic compromise, too, and may be generally described as modified Brugmannian. Laryngeals (wherever necessary) are represented by a generalized symbol **H* (also used in quotations of other scholars as a convenient label for various laryngeal phonemes). I did my best to

check and double-check cited forms and meanings using the basic and most authoritative reference sources. Thus, Greek words were normally controlled with LIDDELL-SCOTT, Sanskrit words - with MONIER-WILLIAMS, Old Irish - with *DIL* and so on.

Bibliographic references are abbreviated. References to books consist either of the author's name (DIEFENBACH, VASMER) or of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the book (JOKL *Stud.*, DESNICKAJA *Sravn.*). References to papers in journals and collections of articles consist of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the serial edition (PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen*, DURIDANOV *IIBE*). In the list of references, only books and serial editions are listed. Roman numerals after the reference indicate the volume, Arabic figures are page numbers. In rare cases when the serial edition has no numbered volumes, I adduce the year of publication instead. Occasional combinations of the Roman and Arabic numbers stand for the volume and the fascicle.

* * *

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In 1981-1990 I was greatly assisted by the librarians of the Institute for Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow. The whole work would not have been carried out without the everyday help and co-operation of the staff of the Greek and Slavonic Annexe of the Taylorian Library where I spent most of my time in Oxford in 1995-1996. In particular, I would like to thank David Howells and Richard Ramage. I am also grateful to the staff of the Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) and, in particular, to Helen Sullivan. Important material was collected in the National Library in Tirana and in the Celtic Library (Jesus College, Oxford), where I was admitted due to the courtesy of my respected friend D. Ellis Evans who was always generous in sharing his vast knowledge of Celtic with me. Invariable

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INTRODUCTION

ALBANIAN PHONETICS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Modern Albanian (spoken in Albania as well as in large Albanian colonies in Italy, Balkan countries, Northern America and the Ukraine) exists in two basic forms based on two main groups of dialects, Tosk (Southern Albania) and Geg (Northern Albania). These two dialectal groups differ in a number of phonetic features as well as in certain morphological phenomena (mainly, in the analytical forms of the verb such as infinitive, future, imperfect, conditional and plusquamperfect). The main phonetic differences are as follows (according to ÇABEJ *St.* III 96-98):

1. In Geg there exist nasal vowels corresponding to non-nasal vowels in Tosk, cf. Geg *pêsë* ~ Tosk *pesë*, Geg *lî* ~ Tosk *li*.

2. In Tosk there exists (stressed) *ë*, an equivalent of Rum *â*, *î*, Bulg ъ. This Tosk vowel corresponds to various nasal vowels in Geg.

3. There is an opposition of short : long vowels in Geg (historically explained by contractions and positional lengthenings). In Tosk there is no such opposition.

4. Old Albanian *uo* and Tosk *ua* correspond to Geg *ue*. In most of Geg dialects, *ue*, *ie*, *ye* yielded long vowels *u:*, *i:*, *y:*.

5. In several words, initial Tosk *va-* corresponds to initial Geg *vo-*.

6. In Tosk, voiced consonants are unvoiced in the auslaut. In Geg they are not.

7. Tosk dialects preserve groups *mb*, *ngj* and *nd* assimilated to *m*, *nj* and *n* in Geg.

8. Old Albanian groups *kl* and *gl* (preserved today in Chameria as well as in Dardha and Italy) changed to *q*, *gj* in most of Albanian dialects. However, in the North one finds *k*, *g*, in the Catholic part of Shkodra - *ki̯*, *gi̯*.

9. Intervocalic *-n-* is preserved in Geg but underwent the process of rhotacism in Tosk; hence, Tosk *verë* as an equivalent of Geg *venë*.

The contemporary literary standard is based on the Tosk variant. There also exists a parallel Geg literary norm. In order to read in Albanian, it is essential to make a few notes of the orthography (for details see BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER *Alb. Gr.* 27-42):

c stands for [ts].

ç is a sign for [tš].

dh denotes an apicodental [ð].

ë stands for [ə] or zero if unstressed. When stressed, it denotes a central unrounded vowel [ъ] similar to Bulg ъ.

gj denotes a palatalized velar [g'].

j stands for [i̯].

l stands for "clear" European [l]. It can also denote a palatal [l'] being a separate phoneme in certain local dialects.

ll is a "dark" [ł] similar to the non-palatalized [l] in Russian. It is opposed to *l* as an alevolar-dental to an alveolar.

nj denotes a palatalized [n'].

q stands for a palatalized velar [k'].

rr represents a long and/or intense [R].

sh is a palato-alveolar spirant [š].

th denotes an apicodental [θ].

x stands for [dz].

xh is a sign for [dž].

y denotes a front rounded [ü].

zh is a palato-alveolar spirant [ž].

Nasality of vowels in Geg is shown by the sign of circumflex ^: *â* stands for a nasal [ã], *ê* is [ẽ] and so on.

Albanian Historical Phonetics

Vocalism

1. Short IE **e* was preserved as **e* in Proto-Albanian but later, after or during the period of Albanian - Latin contacts, it yielded a diphthong **ie* while in certain positions it remained unchanged (a similar process took place in Rumanian). These positions have not been accurately defined. Short **e* remains unchanged before *n* and *nj* (*vend, ndenja, rend*), after **l* (*mbledh, lehtë, lend*), after clusters containing **r* (*kredh, shkrep, bredh*) but not after the initial **r* (*rjep*), after **j* (*ngjesh*). The diphtong **ie* was generally preserved as *ie* ~ *je* (*bie, pjek, djeg, diell*). In some cases, presumably, before a syllable containing PAlb **i* and/or before some clusters, **ie* changed to *ia* ~ *ja* (*gjalmë, jam, mjaltë, jashtë*). The initial element of the diphthong was lost again after *ç, gj, nj* (*çel, gjerb, njeri, qengj*). The earliest Latin loanwords in Albanian reflect Lat *ĕ* as *je* ~ *ja* (*pjesë, vjersh, mjek*).

2. Short IE *o* changed to PAlb *a* > Alb *a* (*natë, gardh, gjak, mardh*). Lat *ŏ* is reflected as *u* (*krushk, kundër, shpuzë*) or *o* (*popull, portë, korb*) in loanwords. Short IE *a* coincided with *o* in PAlb *a* > Alb *a* (*kap, dal, bathë*). Lat *ă* appears as *a* in Albanian loanwords (*faqe, larg, shtat*). In some cases, Alb *a, ë* < PAlb *a* reflects the old IE *ə (*dhënë* ~ *dhanë* < **dənti-*, part. of *jap, mëllënjë* < **melənị̯ā*). However, in other words (probably, before the old stress) *ə disappears (*baltë*).

3. Narrow short vowels *i* and *u* were preserved in Albanian (*gdhij, ligë, vidh; dru, gjumë, ujë, butë*). The same applies to Lat *ĭ* and *ŭ* (*këmishë, këshill, iriq; luftë, popull, shumë*). At the same time, in some words (belonging to a later chronological layer?) Lat *ĭ* appears as Alb *e* (*shenjë, meshë, kreshpë*).

4. Before nasal consonants, Proto-Albanian short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* were nasalized and turned into *ã, *ẽ, *ĩ, *ũ. Later they were preserved as such in Geg dialects (where they are marked as *â, ê, î, û* if not followed by a nasal consonant). In Tosk, *ĩ and *ũ lost their rhinesm while *ã changed to *ë* and *ẽ - to *ë, e*; hence such pairs as Tosk *kërp* ~ Geg *kanp*, Tosk *hënë* ~ Geg *hanë*.

5. Long IE *ē changed to PAlb *ā and then to Alb *o* (*mos, plotë, kohë, ngroh*). In one case (*mish*) *ē is reflected as Alb *i* (this development clearly preceding the application of the "ruki" rule). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ē* is usually rendered as Alb *e* (*regj, femër, prëndverë*). Occasionally, however, it yields Alb *i* (*bishë, ligj, kishë*). Long IE *ā merged with *ē in PAlb *ā > Alb *o* (*motër, kollë, kopshtë*). As to Lat *ā*, it is always preserved in Alb *a* (*blatë, shkallë*) while Gk ᾱ appears as *o* in loanwords (*mokër*).

6. Long IE *ō yielded PAlb *ö later reflected as Alb *e* (*tetë, pelë, blerë*). The same result is found in earlier Latin loanwords with *ō* (*pemë, tërmet, tmerr*). Later, Latin loanwords display *u* (*kanushë, shullë*) or even *o* (*orë, kore*) as a reflex of *ō*. While IE *ō was palatalized to *ö, IE *ū gave PAlb *ü usually appearing as *y* in the inlaut (*dyllë, gjysh*) and *i* in the auslaut (*mi, ti, thi*). Lat *ū* is normally rendered as *y* (*gjyq, shqyt, fytyrë, vërtyt*) but, occasionally, also as *u* (*rrushkull*).

7. Long IE *ī was preserved as PAlb *ī > Alb *i* (*pi, di, pidh*). In isolated cases, however, Alb *y* reflects *ī (*ay*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ī* yields Alb *i* (*fill, linjë*).

8. In unknown conditions (probably, in the originally non-final syllable) before *n*, *m*, *r* long PALb *ā and *ō merged into *ō that was later reflected by diphthongs: Tosk *ua*, Geg (old) *uo*, (new) *ue* (*muaj, krua, duar* - pl. of *dorë*). In some cases, these diphthongs were further

umlauticized into Tosk *ye*, Geg *y* (*dyer* - pl. of *derë*, *lyej*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ō* gives the same results (*kapua*, *ftua*, *shërbetuar*, *arsye*).

9. IE **ei* was preserved as PAlb **ei* but later coincided with **ī* in Alb *i* (*dimër*, *mirë*). As to IE **ai* and **oi*, they yielded PAlb **ai* reflected as Alb *e* (*verë*, *be*, *degë*).

10. Indo-European diphthongs in *u* lost their second element in Albanian. Thus, IE **eu* preserved as PAlb **eu* appeared as Alb *e* (*desha* - aor. of *dua*, *det*, *nëntë*). IE **au* and **ou* merged into PAlb **au* further reflected as Alb *a* (*dashur* - part. of *dua*, *dash*, *agoj*, *thaj*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *au* is also rendered as *a* (*ar*, *gaz*, *lar*).

11. Syllabic liquida **r̥* and **l̥*, both long and short, changed to PAlb **ri*, **il* and, less often and in uncertain conditions, to **ru*, **ul*. Those clusters were either preserved as Alb *ri*, *il*, *ru*, *ul* or metathesized before vowels (*krimb*, *trim*, *grurë*, *kulpër*, *ujk*, *birë*). Syllabic nasals **n̥* and **m̥* changed to PAlb **a* > Alb *a* (*shtatë*, *gjatë*, *mat*).

12. Under the influence of front vowels of the following syllable, Alb *a* of various origins was umlauticized and changed to *e*, as for example in plural of nouns or certain forms of verb (*eh*, *elb*, *end*, *gjem*, *ter*). Later this *e* was often generalized to the whole paradigm and, thus, appears in singular of nouns and present of verbs. A similar umlaut led to the transformation of *e* into *i*.

13. In Proto-Albanian, the vowels of the final syllable were preserved under the old stress but lost one mora when unstressed. Resulting new short vowels were reduced, mainly to *ë*. When a new system of stress came into being in Albanian, new unstressed vowels in all positions were reduced to *ë*, *u* or zero. If afterwards an inlaut consonant fell, the sequence of two vowels was contracted and colored according to the accented vowel (*pyll*, *kij*).

14. In the vocalic anlaut, a prothetic *h-* may well appear (*armë* ~ *harmë*, *yll* ~ *hyll*). In early loanwords, the initial *o* was substituted by **ō* > Tosk *va*, Geg *vo* (*varfër*, *vadhë*, *vatër*).

Consonantism

15. Non-syllabic *liquida* were preserved as PAlb **r*, **l*. PAlb **r* is reflected as Alb *r* (*dru*, *tre*, *motër*) and occasionally as *rr* (*kërr*, *vjehërr*, *rrap*). For unknown reasons, the intervocalic *r* was altogether lost in *bie*. In Latin loanwords, initial *r* is usually rendered as *rr* (*rrallë*, *rregull*, *rrem*). In other positions it yields *r* (*prill*, *drejtë*, *kundër*). PAlb **l* tends to yield *l* in the anlaut (*lehtë*, *lendë*, *lidh*) but gives both *l* and *ll*

in other positions (*pelë*, *mjaltë*, *hell*, *mjegull*). In Latin loanwords, intervocalic *l* appears as Alb *ll* (*popull*, *ulli*, *mënjollë*). Otherwise it gives *l* (*larg*, *lëti*, *plagë*). Geminated Lat *ll* is reflected as *l* (*pulë*, *gjel*, *bulë*).

16. IE **m* remained unchanged in PAlb **m* > Alb *m* (*mjaltë*, *muaj*, *mjekër*). The same is true of Lat *m* in loanwords (*mik*, *mijë*, *mënd*). IE **n* yielded PAlb **n* that also remained unchanged in the anlaut and in various consonantal clusters (*ne*, *nëntë*, *natë*, *nuk*). Initial Lat *n* is rendered as Alb *n* (*natyrë*, *nëmëroj*, *nyje*). In the intervocalic position PAlb **n* remained unchanged in Geg but yielded *r* in Tosk (*verë* ~ *venë*, *emër* ~ *emën*, *llërë* ~ *llanë*). Latin loanwords reflect the same process of Tosk rhotacism (*kërp* ~ *kanp*, *rërë* ~ *ranë*, *femër* ~ *femën*).

17. The reflex of IE **u̯* is PAlb **w* > Alb *v* (*ve*, *verë*, *vehte*). PAlb **w* was lost before rounded vowels (*derë*). In a few words, the development of *-*ĭwĭ*- to Alb *y* is attested (*grykë*, *hyll*, *qytet*). As to Lat *v*, it also yields *v* in Albanian (*vjershë*, *verdhë*, *gjuvengë*). As to IE **i̯*, it was preserved as PAlb **j*. In the initial position, **j* remained unchanged before back vowels (*ju*, *josh*) but yielded *gj* otherwise (*gjesh*, *gjaj*, *gjem*). In the inlaut, PAlb **j* disappeared after front vowels (*di*, *hi*, *fle*, *bie*) but changed to **x* > *h* after other vowels (*bahe*, *shtrohë*, *ngroh*, *ftoh*). The shift to **x* covers the earliest Slavic loanwords (*llohë*, *krahe*, *krahinë*). In Latin loanwords, the anlaut *j* is reflected as *gj* (*gjuvengë*, *gjyq*, *gjymtyrë*) and later as *j* (*janar*).

18. Initial IE **s* > PAlb **s* yields Alb *gj*- (*gjashtë*, *gjalpë*, *gjallë*, *gjarpër*). In two cases where **s* > *th* (*thi*, *thaj*) the interdental results from the dissimilation of two sibilants. In the intervocalic position, **s* yields to **x* > *h* (*kohë*, Geg *nahe*, acc. of *ne*). However, after **ĭ*, **ŭ* PAlb **s* changed to **š* > *sh* (*breshër*, *push*, *gjysh*, *plish*, *kush*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *s* is always rendered as *sh* (*shekull*, *pëshoj*, *shelg*). The same is true of earlier borrowings from other languages (*shakë*).

19. IE **p* remains unchanged as PAlb **p* > Alb *p* (*pelë*, *pesë*, *pjek*). IE **bh* yields PAlb **b* > Alb *b* (*bie*, *bathë*, *dhëmb*, *baltë*). Labials in Latin loanwords are preserved as *p*, *b* (*popull*, *pjepër*, *bulë*, *bishë*).

20. IE **t* > PAlb **t* is reflected as Alb *t* (*tre*, *tetë*, *ti*, *trap*). The voiced IE **d* is unchanged (*darkë*, *ditë*, *dritë*). IE **dh* coincides with **d* in PAlb **d* > Alb *d* (*derë*, *djeg*, *dal*). Unless lost, PAlb **d* in the intervocalic position or before **r* changed to *dh* (*bredh*, *ledh*, *pjerdh*, *gardh*). In the anlaut, *dh* < PAlb **d* is explained either by apheresis (*dhunë*, *dhashë*) or by sandhi (*dhjetë*). In Latin loanwords, dentals yield *t* and *d* (*tmerr*, *troftë*, *dëm*, *drejtë*). Lat *d* changes to Alb *dh* in the same position as PAlb **d* (*shurdh*, *urdhër*).

21. So called "pure" velars were preserved as such in Albanian. IE **k* remained PAlb **k* > Alb *k* (*krua*, *karpë*, *kedh*). As to **g* it appears as PAlb **g* > Alb *g* (*agoj*, *ligë*, *gungë*). The same reflex continues IE **gh* > PAlb **g* > Alb **g* (*shteg*, *gardh*, *mjegull*). Latin velars were not changed in Albanian borrowings: Lat *c* is rendered as Alb *k* (*këmishë*, *këngë*, *këshill*), Lat *g* - as Alb *g* (*gaz*, *grigj*, *plagë*). In contemporary Albanian initial *k* is sometimes voiced in Geg (*gëlbazë* ~ *këlbazë*, *gështenjë* ~ *kështenjë*).

22. Indo-European palatal stops were asibilated to affricates in Proto-Albanian. IE **k̂* changed to PAlb **ts* > Alb *th* (*thom*, *thëri*, *thep*, *djathtë*) but occasionally PAlb **ts* appears as *c*. Both IE **ĝ* and **ĝh* yielded PAlb **dz* > Alb *dh* (*lidh*, *vjedh*, *herdhe*, *madh*, *rrjedh*). However, in the anlaut only IE **ĝ* gave the same reflex (*dhëmb*, *dhëndër*, *dhallë*) while IE **ĝh* reflected as PAlb **d* > Alb *d* (*dorë*, *dimër*, *dyllë*) with some irregularities. In many words where palatals were neighbors of sonants the process of asibilation did not take place (*grurë*, *quaj*, *mjekër*). The development of IE **k̂* in *vjehërr* is explained by an assimilation **swetsurā* > **swesurā* > **swexurā*.

23. The history of labiovelars was particularly complicated in Albanian. At first, IE *k^w, *g^w and *g^wh changed to biconsonantal clusters **kw* and **gw*. In front of non-palatal vowels, these clusters lost their labial element and merged with pure velars so that IE *k^w yielded Alb *k* (*pjek*, *katër*, *ndjek*), *g^w > Alb *g* (*gur*, *gak*, *gërshas*) and *g^wh > Alb *g* (*djeg*, *garbe*). Before front vowels, the clusters **kw* and **gw* changed to **k'w* and **g'w* with a palatalized first element and (together with groups IE **k̂u̯*, **ĝu̯* > PAlb **k'w*, **g'w*) yielded **tsw*, **dzw* > **tš*, **dž* > Alb *s*, *z* (*sjell*, *sy*, *pesë*, *zorrë*, *zë*, *zulë*, *zjarr*, *ndez*).

24. In Proto-Albanian, some of the intervocalic voiced dentals and velars were lost (*ve*, *le*, *nge*, *dra*). The conditions of this process are unknown but may be of accentual origin. At the same time, a similar change (including also *b*) occurred in numerous Latin loanwords (*mjek*, *përrallë*, *pre*, *tra*).

23. In the auslaut, most consonants were lost already during the Proto-Albanian period (probably, before the vowel shortening in the last syllable). The only definite exception is *r* (*motër*).

24. Before the old **j*, the following PAlb **t*, **d* and **s* changed to **tš*, **dž* and **š* in a process that may be described as the *first palatalization* (*mas*, *nesër*, *tres*, *buzë*, *shosh*, *vesh*). Latin clusters *tj* and *dj* were also affected by this process (*pjesë*, *pus*, *rrezë*, *shpuzë*). Lat *sj* coincided with *s* in Alb *sh* (*këmishë*).

25. Before *j* (including the new *j* developed as the first part of the diphthong *ie/je* < PAlb **e*) as well as before *i*, PAlb **k* and **g* yielded *q* and *gj* (*qoj*, *qerthull*, *gjemb*) and **l*, **n* changed to *j* ~ *l* and *nj* (*majë*, *bëj*, *njeri*). This process may be called the *second palatalization*. It is also attested in Latin loanwords (*qetë*, *qëndër*, *regj*, *ligj*, *gështenjë*).

26. The cluster **rj* changed to *rr* (*ënderr*, *derr*), also in early Slavic loanwords (*purrë*). However, there are difficult forms where **rj* is reflected as *j* (*mbaj*).

27. Proto-Albanian clusters **rw*, **wr* as well as **lw* changed to *rr* and *ll* (*arrë*, *rribë*, *gjallë*, *miell*). Later Latin loanwords follow this pattern (*rrylë*) but then, probably in words coming from Balkan Eastern Romance (proto-Rumanian) one also finds *-rb-* < Lat *-rv-* (*shërbej*). Also, as in proto-Rumanian, Latin groups *-br-* and *-bl-* change to *-u̯r-*, *-u̯l-*; then the labial forms a diphtong with the preceding vowel and (in Albanian) disappears (*farkë*, *shtallë*).

28. When combined with nasals, stops yield various results. Thus, **pn* changes to *m* (*gjumë*), **dm* to *m* (*bram*) while **gn* (with *g* of any origin) is reflected as *nj* (*njoh*, *enjë*). In Latin loanwords *gn* is also changed to *nj* (*shenjë*) but in some words (of Eastern Balkan origin?) it appears as *ng* (*peng*).

29. In Proto-Albanian **rn* and **ln* were preserved. These clusters lived long into the pre-historic Albanian period until they yielded *rr* and *ll* (*verr*, *barrë*, *pjell*, *shtjell*). The same reflexes are found in Latin loanwords (*ferr*, *furrë*, *kërrutë*). In loanwords one can also trace the old cluster *mn* reflected as *m* or, with a secondary final *-b*, *mb* (*dëm*, *shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*). Geminate *nn* in borrowings was preserved as *n* or *nd* (similar to *-m* > *-mb*) and, apparently, was not affected by the Tosk rhotacism (*gunë*, *pendë*). The cluster **nr* developed an epenthetic **d* and changed to **ndr* > *ndër* (*ëndërr*, *dhëndër*).

30. Before spirants and affricates of various origins, nasal sonorants disappeared (*pesë*, *mish*, *pëshoj*, *mëz*).

31. As noted above, auslaut *m* and *n* occasionally changed to *mb* and *nd* (*shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*, *pëllambë*, *pendë*). On the other hand, *mb*, *nd* and *ng* resulted from various clusters consisting of a nasal and a stop, both in Indo-European roots and in loanwords (*lëndë*, *pëndë*, *ndëj*, *nga*, *tembull*, *prind*, *këngë*). Some of these clusters tended to lose their second element (*anë*, *dhunë*).

32. In the anlaut, Alb **kl*, **gl* yielded *q*, *gj* in standard literary Albanian and some dialects (*qaj*, *qetë*, *qesh*, *gjatë*, *gjemb*) while other dialects have [tš], [dž] or [ki̯], [gi̯] or even depalatalized [k], [g]. The

same change was applied to loanwords (*gjëndër*) including those from Slavic (*gjobë*). In other positions **gl* changed to *gull* (*mjegull*). Proto-Albanian clusters **lk*, **lg* fluctuate between *lk*, *lg* (*shelg*, *balgë*) and *jk*, *jg* (*bujk*, *bajgë*).

33. Clusters **sw*, **sm* and **sn* lost their first element (*vjehërr*, *vjerr*, *mjekër*, *mug*, *thaj* < **sausnja*). Clusters **sr* and **sl* yielded *rr* and *ll* (*rrymë*, *korr*, *kollë*). Clusters **rs* and **ls* gave the same results (*djerr*, *kalli*) but the group **lst* changed to **st* > *sht* (*kashtë*).

34. PAlb **sp* underwent a metathesis into **ps* and yielded *f* (*fâj*, *fal*, *farë*, *ferrë*, *fier*) while in loanwords *sp* is reflected as *shp* (*shpatull*, *shpuzë*). PAlb **st* changed to *sht* both in Indo-European words and loanwords (*shteg*, *shtatë*, *shtyj*, *shtallue*, *shtat*). The voiced cluster *zd* was metathesized to **dz* and changed to *dh* (*pidh*) and, occasionally, to *th* (*drithë*).

35. PAlb **sk* < IE **sk*, **sk*^{u} changed to *shk* (*shkak*, *shkal*, *shkas*, *shkep*) and, before front vowels, to *shq* (*shqarr*, *shqerr*, *shqyej*). In other cases, PAlb **sk* (apparently, continuing also **sk̂*) underwent a metathesis into **ks* and yielded *h* (*halë*, *hap*, *harr*, *hedh*) thus coinciding with the original **ks* (*huaj*). No obvious distribution between *shk* and *h* as reflecting **sk* has been found. Moreover, in some words the initial **sk* (preceded by a prefix **eks-*?) yielded *ç* before a front vowel (*çaj*, *çalë*).

36. The rare but diagnostically important cluster **tt* gave PAlb **tšt* > **tš* > *s* (*pasur*, part. of *kam*). Other clusters consisting of two stops lost their first element (*dritë*, *natë*, *dhe*, *dje*). In Latin loanwords clusters of two stops were represented mainly by *ct* and *cs* = *x*. Their development was twofold. When borrowed from East Balkan Romance of the Rumanian type, *ct* coincided with *pt* in *ft* (*prift*, *qift*, *ftua*, *luftë*, *troftë*) and *cs* gave *fsh* (*kofshue*, *lafshë*). When borrowed from Dalmatian (i.e. Western) Romance, *ct* yielded *jt* (*drejtë*, *trajtë*, *pajtoj*) while *cs* developed to *sh* (*frashër*, *ushunjëz*).

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

Akk - Akkadian
Alb - Albanian
Arag - Aragon
Arm - Armenian
Arum - Arumanian
Av - Avestan
Balk - Balkanic
Balt - Baltic
Bret - Breton
Bulg - Bulgarian
Calabr - Calabrian
Catal - Catalan
Celt - Celtic
Chag - Chagatai
Class. Pers - Classical Persian
Copt - Coptic
CS - Church Slavic
Cyren - Cyrenean
Dac - Dacian
Dalm - Dalmatian
Dor - Doric
E - English
Eg - Egyptian
Engad - Engadine
Epidaur - Epidaurian
Etr - Etruscan
Fr - French
Friul - Friulan
Gaul - Gaulish
Georg - Georgian
Germ - German
Gk - Greek
Gmc - Germanic
Goth - Gothic
Hbr - Hebrew
Hisp-Celt - Hispano-Celtic
Hitt - Hittite
Hung - Hungarian
IE - Indo-European
Illyr - Illyrian
Ir - Irish
Iran - Iranian
Langob - Langobardian (Lombard)
Latv - Latvian
LGerm - Low German
Lith - Lithuanian
Lomb - Lombard
Lyc - Lycian
Lyd - Lydian
M - Middle (as a first component)
Maced - Macedonian
MBret - Middle Breton
MDu - Middle Dutch
ME - Middle English
Messap - Messapic
MFr - Middle French
MGk - Middle Greek
MHG - Middle High German
Mingr - Mingrelian
MLat -Medieval Latin
MLG - Middle Low German
MPers - Middle Persian
MW - Middle Welsh
N - New (as a first component, = Modern)
Neapol - Neapolitan
NGk - Modern Greek
NItal - North Italian
Norw - Norwegian
NPers - New Persian
O - Old (as a first component)
OBavar - Old Bavarian
OBret - Old Breton
OCorn - Old Cornish
OCS - Old Church Slavic
OE - Old English
OFr - Old French
OFris - Old Frisian
OHG - Old High German
OIr - OIrish
OItal - Old Italian
OLith - Old Lithuanian
ON - Old Norse

OPers - Old Persian
OPort - Old Portuguese
OPrus - Old Prussian
ORuss - Old Russian
OS - Old Saxon
OSard - Old Sardinian
Osc - Oscan
Osset - Ossetic
Pers - Persian
Phryg - Phrygian
Piem - Piemontan
Pol - Polish
Port - Portuguese
Prov - Provençal
Rom - Romance
Rum - Rumanian
Russ - Russian
Sard - Sardinian
SCr - Serbo-Croatian
Sicil - Sicilian
Skt - Sanskrit
Slav - Slavic
Sogd - Sogdian
Sp - Spanish
Swed - Swedish
Thr - Thracian
Tokh - Tokharian
Turk - Turkish
Ukr - Ukrainian
Venet - Venetian
W - Welsh
Yagn - Yagnob
Yazg - Yazgulam

A

a part. 'whether', conj 'or'. The particle is etymologically identical with the conjunction (ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28). From PAlb **a* connected with Gk ἦ 'indeed' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322) or with the pronominal stem **e-/*o*. ◊ BOPP 498 (to Skt *a-*, demonstrative particle); CAMARDA I 313-314 (to Gk ἤ, interjection); MEYER *Wb.* 1 (borrowing from Lat *an* 'whether' but the nasal could not be lost without any traces; conjunction *a* continues Lat *aut* 'or'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1057; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 19; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67 (follows PEDERSEN); FRISK I 619; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28 (from an exclamation), *Etim.* II 5-6 (follows MEYER); HULD 36 (accepts MEYER's view); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 69 (to Lat *an*, Gk ἄν, from PAlb **an* < IE **Hen*).

acar m, pl. *acare* 'steel'. From PAlb **atsara* 'sharp' with *c* preserving the old affricate. Further connected with OIr *aicher* 'sharp', Gk ἄκρον 'point, top', Lith *aštrùs* 'sharp', Slav **ostrъ* id. ◊ POKORNY I 21.

acar m 'frost, strong cold'. Historically identical with *acar* 'steel', with a semantic development 'strong cold' < 'sharp'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (explains the derivative *acëroj* 'to fester [of a wound]' as a borrowing from Slav **čirъ, *čirьjь* 'wound, furuncle'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 28 (suggests a division *a-car* with prefix *a-* and the root identified with that of *cirris*), *Etim.* II 9 (to *ther*).

adhuroj aor. *adhurova* 'to adore'. Borrowed from (learned) Lat *adorāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 1). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 11 (from Italian); LANDI *Lat.* 79.

afër adv., prep. 'near'. From PAlb **apsera* representing a contamination of **aps*, a variant of IE **apo* reflected by Gk ἄψ 'backwards', and of **apero*, a derivative of **apo-*: Skt *ápara* 'posterior, later', Goth *afar* 'after' and the like. Thus, PAlb **apsera* reflects IE **apero* influenced by **aps* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). Possible but less probable is the borrowing of *afër* from Germanic: Goth *afar*, OHG *avar* 'again' and the like. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *ápara-*); MIKLOSICH *Rom.*

Elemente 26 (from Lat *finis*); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (borrowed from Rom **affināre* 'to approach' ~ Lat *affinis* 'near' with Geg < Tosk); JOKL *Studien* 103-104 (preposition *a* followed by *-fër* borrowed from Goth *fera* 'side'); BARIĆ *Lingv. Studien* 87 (links *afër* to Lat *spernō* 'to sever, to separate, to remove', Gk σπαίρω 'to gasp, to pant, to quiver'), *Hymje* 71; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 87-88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67; FRISK I 204; POKORNY I 53-54; MAYRHOFER I 38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 28-29 (privative *a-* < **n̥-* and *-fër* compared with E *far*), *Etim.* II 11-12; HULD 36; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70-71.

afsh m, pl. *afshe* 'heat, hot breath, smell'. From PAlb **aweisa*, a suffixal derivative of IE **au̯ēi-* 'to blow' structurally close to MW *awyd* 'gust of wind', OCorn *awit* 'air' < **au̯eido-* (OREL *Fort.* 78). Another derivative of the same root is PAlb **aweita* > *aft* 'blow of wind' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 72). ◊ CAMARDA I 305, II 100, 150 (*aft* to Gk ἄχνη 'chaff'); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (from Ital *afa* 'heat coming from the ground'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 63 (to *ënj*); POKORNY I 82; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13 (to *avull*).

aftë adj. 'capable, proper'. Borrowed from Lat *aptus* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 29 (related to Lat *aptus*).

ag m. pl. *agje* 'twilight, dusk'. From PAlb **auga* etymologically related to Gk αὐγή 'ray of light' and further based on IE **aug-* 'to increase' (MEYER *Wb.* 4, *Alb. St.* III 37). The verb *agoj* 'to dawn' is derived from *ag.* ◊ CAMARDA I 94 (to Gk ἠώς 'dawn'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 60 (wavers between MEYER's and CAMARDA's etymologies); PERSSON *Beiträge* 369; GONDA *Anc.* 73-83; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 99; CHANTRAINE 137; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ego* 'light'); TRUBAČEV *Ètnogenez* 151 (identifies the first element of 'Αγάθυρσοι with *ag*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 30 (to Gk ὄρφνη 'darkness, night'), *Etim.* II 16-17; DEMIRAJ *AE* 72.

agjëroj ~ agjënoj aor. *agjërova ~ agjënova* 'to fast'. Borrowed from Rom **adjūnāre* id., cf. Rum *ajuna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 4). ◊ CAMARDA I 80 (to Lat *jejūnium* 'fast'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 5; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 18-19 (from *jejūnāre*).

ah m, pl. *ahe, aha* 'beech-tree'. Goes back to PAlb **aksa* identical with IE **osk-*: Gk ὀξύα 'beech', Arm *hac'i* 'ash-tree', ON *askr* id., Maced

ἄξος· ὕλη (MEYER *Wb.* 4; PEDERSEN *IF* V 44). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; BŪGA II 286; BARIÇ *Hymje* 24; AČAREAN *HAB* III 65; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 782; FRISK II 400; CHANTRAINE 806; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 19-20; DEMIRAJ *AE* 73.

ai, ay pron. 'he', f. **ajo** 'she; that'. Masc. *ai* goes back to PAlb **a-ei* consisting of a proclytic particle **a* and a demonstrative **ei*, identical with IE **ei-* in Skt *ayám* 'he', Lat *is* (*eis* in early inscriptions) and the like. The feminine form is from PAlb **a-jā* continuing IE **i̯ā* id., fem. sg. of the demonstrative **i̯o-* (BOPP 519; CAMARDA I 209; MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268-269 (*a-* from Lat *atque*); Alb. *St.* III 40, 63, 79, IV 24; JOKL *Studien* 4 (*a-* from Lat *ad*), *LKUBA* 271 (*a-* from IE **ad* or **ŏ*), *IF* XXXVI 98-100; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 248-252, *KZ* XXXIV 288, XXXVI 309 (derives *-jo* from IE **sā* treating *-j-* as a hiatus filler), *Pron.* 315 (*a-* from IE **au-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68; POKORNY I 282-283; CAMAJ 103 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31, *Etim.* II 22-23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 81 (on neut. *ata* in comparison with Messapic); DEMIRAJ *Gr.* 467-468 (interaction of IE **e-* and **so-*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43; HULD 38 (repeats PEDERSEN's version); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 224-225 (*-jo* < IE **ijā* or **ejā*), XXIII 174; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70, 73.

aj m 'bite'. Borrowed from Lat *alium* (MEYER *Wb.* 6). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 23-24 (to *anëzë*).

ajkë f 'cream, wool fat'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *alkë* has been preserved. Goes back to PAlb **alkā* related to Lith *álkti* 'be hungry', *al̃ka* 'hunger', Slav **olkti* 'be hungry' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (from Lat *alica* 'kind of grain, spelt' with an obvious discrepancy of meaning); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-167 (to Lat *sēbum* 'lard'); FRAENKEL 8; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57-58 (to *lule*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31-32 (reconstructs **olka* and compares *ajkë* with Lat *alga* 'sea-weed'), *Etim.* II 26-28 (to IE **ol-* 'fat, dirt'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

akull m, pl *akuj* 'ice'. Loanword from Gmc **jakulaz* 'icicle, glacier', cf. ON *jǫkull* 'icicle', OE *gicel* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 171). In Albanian, the source may be East Germanic (Balkan Gothic?). The loss of the anlaut **j-*, probably, shows that the loan penetrated into Proto-Albanian at a stage when there was no *j*-like sound there. ◊ CAMARDA

161 (suffix *-ull-*); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 66, *Wb.* 7 (comparison with Gk ἀχλύς 'fog', Lat *aquilō* 'North wind' and the like; these forms, however, reflect IE **aghlu-*, cf. FRISK I 55), *Alb. St.* III 5; JOKL *Studien* 112 (suffix *-ull*), *LKUBA* 268-269 (negative **n̥* added to *-kull* related to the semantically misinterpreted Slav **kaliti* 'to make hot, to harden (of iron)' and not 'to be cold'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 60; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68 (agrees with JOKL); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* 40-41 (< *a-* + **kel-* 'to strike'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53-54 (to *ehull*); HULD 38-39 (follows JOKL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 31-32; DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

amë f, pl. *ama* 'source, river-bed'. A metaphoric use of *amë* 'mother' (VASMER *ZfslavPh* XVI 337; TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162-163), in fact, a calque of SCr *matica* 'water-source' or Bulg *matka* 'water-bed' (to **mati* 'mother'). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90-91 (to Lat *amnis*); BARIĆ *AArbSt* II 157; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (follows JOKL); CHANTRAINE 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 39 (agrees with TAGLIAVINI); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 886 (to Gk ἀμάρη 'pit, canal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75-76.

amë f, pl. *ama* 'mother'. In Tosk where *amë* comes from Geg, there exists *ëmë* as well. A widespread *Lallname* (MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; SAINÉAN *ZfromPh* XXX 314 (borrowed from Lat *amma*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 170.

amëz f 'odour, aroma'. Derivative in *-ëz* from (G) *amë* < PAlb **admā* connected with Gk ὀδμή id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *úosti* 'to smell' (JOKL *Studien* 3; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162; FRISK II 352-353; FRAENKEL 1167-1168; WALDE-HOFMANN II 203; POKORNY I 772-773; CHANTRAINE 777; DURIDANOV *BE* XVI 66 (reconstructs **am-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 40-41 (derived from *amë* 'mother', cf. Fr *mère de vinaigre*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76.

amull adj. 'stagnant (of water)'. As to *amull* 'very hot', it is the same word (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 42) reflecting a specific way of iron tempering, first made hot and then cold by means of water or dirt. The same development is attested in Slav **kaliti* 'to temper iron' based on **kalъ* 'dirt'. Continues PAlb **amulwa* with a prothetic *a-* etymologically related to Lith *mulvė* 'silt, marsh', *mùlti* 'to get dirty'. ◊ CAMARDA I 61 (comparison with *avull*); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (follows CAMARDA and translates

amull as 'burning'); WEIGAND 2 (*amull* 'very hot' borrowed from Turkish); JOKL *LKUBA* 270-272 (to *mbulim*); LA PIANA *Studi* 99 (to *avull*); FRAENKEL 471; NEVSKAJA *BGT* 53; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34; MANN *Comp.* 20 (to Arm *amul* 'barren', OIr *ambal* 'dark'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75 (to *amë*).

an m 'uterus'. A metaphoric transformation of *enë*, singularized plural of dialectal *an, anë* 'vessel'. As to the latter, it is identical with *anë* 'side' (KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 223). ◊ CAMARDA II 31 (comparison of *enë* with Gk ἀγγεῖον 'vessel'), 71 (to Gk ἔντεα 'vessel'); MEYER *Wb.* 12 (identifies *enë* with *anë* 'side'), *Alb. St.* IV 9; JOKL *Studien* 3 (compares *anë, enë* with Skt *ukhá-* 'vessel, boiler' and/or Goth *auhns* 'oven', reconstructing **aug^unā*); BARIĆ I *ARSt* 86 (to Lat *auxilla*); MAYRHOFER I 98; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34 (links *anë, enë* to Gk ἄγγος 'vessel'); MANN *Comp.* 20 (*an* 'caul' related to Gk ἀμνίον 'vessel for sacrificial blood'); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (close to JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76-77.

andaj conj. 'therefore'. A compound of *a* (as in *ai*) and *ndaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 11).

anë f, pl. *anë* 'side'. From PAlb **antā* related to Skt *ánta-* 'end', Goth *andeis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 35, IV 56-57) with **-nt-* > *-n-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 11 (reconstructs **ausnā* related to IE **ōus-* 'mouth'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 63, 90; JOKL *Studien* 12; FEIST *Goth.* 49; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (same as MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 90; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 211; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 127 (to Georg *hana* 'field'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 47-49; JANSON *Unt.* 90-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 77-78 (supports ÇABEJ).

ang m 'fear, nightmare'. From PAlb **anga* corresponding to Skt *áṁhas-* 'fear', Lat *angor* 'unrest, fear', OIr *cumcae* gl. 'angor' < Celt **kom-ong-i̯ā* (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 147) and further connected with IE **anĝhu-* 'narrow', **anĝhos* 'narrowness, opression' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 61 f. (links *ang, ankth* to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe' < IE **anə-*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (fantastic comparisons with Slav **mora* '(mythic incarnation of) fear', Gk λάμια and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; POKORNY I 42-43; HAMP *Ériu* XXVIII 147-148, *LB* XXX 131-132; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

(G) angërr f, pl. *angrra* 'skin; intestines'. From PAlb **angarā* < IE

*anĝhn̥rā related to Arm *anjn* 'soul, person', ON *angi* 'smell, odor'. ◊ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 127-129 (zero-grade derivative of IE *g^{u}er- 'to eat, to swallow'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232 (follows JOKL); AČAREAN *HAB* I 202-203; POKORNY I 42; ÇABEJ *St.* I 35 (identifies *angërr* with the participle *hangër* 'eating'), *Etim.* II 50; LUKA *HD* XXIV 41-42; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78.

angullij aor. *angullita* 'to howl'. Deverbative of **angull* < PAlb **ankula*, related to Gk ὀγκάομαι 'to cry', Lat *uncō* 'to growl (of bears)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *ankth*); POKORNY I 322; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 51 (follows MEYER).

(G) ankoj aor. *ankova* 'to cry, to weep'.This verb also appears as *nëkoj*, *rëkoj* and *rënkoj*. A denominative verb that is probably based on PAlb **anaka* borrowed from Gk ἀνάγκη 'grief, distress'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *angullij* and Slav **jęčati* 'to groan'); LUKA *HD* XXIV 44-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78-79.

ankth m, pl. *ankthe* 'fear, nightmare, restlessness'. Derived from *ang*. If *-th* may be treated as a continuation of **-st-*, *ankth* goes back to PAlb **angasta* and is identical with IE **anĝhosto-* ~ **anĝhosti-*: Lat *angustus* 'narrow', OHG *angust* 'fear' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 13, 304 (compares with *ankoj* and its variants); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 16-17 (to *emakth* id., *ëmë* 'mother'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 61-62 (to Lat *animus*, Skt *ániti*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (to Basque *amets* 'dream'); POKORNY I 43; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 53-54; BEEKES *CIEL* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 79.

apë m 'elder brother; dad'. A typical *Lallname*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 39 n.1 (from Hung *apa* 'father); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 56 (to *abej* 'term of respect to elder brother' borrowed from Turkish).

aq adj., adv. 'so, such'. Goes back to PAlb **akja* opposed to *kaq* 'so' < PAlb **kakja* in the same way as Slav **ako* 'as, if' is opposed to **kako* 'how' (MEYER *Wb.* 7). Hence, the analysis of these forms as compounds beginning with pronominal **a-* and **ka-* (as in *ai* vs. *ky*) and another stem or a suffix **-kja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36-37). ◊ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315 (to Gk αὖ 'again'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJA* I 64-65; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 58-59; HAMP *Numerals* 836 (*-q* identical with OPrus *quai*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 80.

ar m 'gold'. Borrowed from Lat *aurum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1047, 1056; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 59-60; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

arbër ~ arbën m, pl. *arbër ~ arbën* 'Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)'. A Proto-Albanian loanword with the assimilation of liquids, from Rom **albanus* rendering the West Balkan ethnonym attested as Illyr Ἀλβανοί (Ptol.). The form *arbëresh ~ arbënesh* 'Italo- or Graeco-Albanian' reflects Rom **albanensis* (JOKL *Arch. Rom.* XXIV 137). ◊ CAMARDA I 30; MEYER *Wb.* 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 299 (to Gk ὀρφανός 'orphan'); ΦΟΥΡΙΚΙΣ Ἀθηνᾶ XLIII 3-7, XLVI 9-12 (to the name of the Alps and Illyr *Arbona*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; TROMBETTI *AArbSt* III 1-6 (from proto-Indo-European); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 71-72 ("sicuramente indigeno"); MAYER *Illyrier* II 4 (to Gk ὀρφνός 'dark'); LANGE-KOWAL *ZfBalk* XVIII/2 134-136 (< **arb-* parallel to **alb-*); KACORI *EB* 1977/1 122-129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 327; LUKA *KKF* 281-291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 37-38, V 62-67; *Etim.* II 61-68 (to Lat *arvum*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 47-51.

ardhi f 'vine, grapes'. The word is known in many phonetic variants: *hardhi, erdhi, rdhi, dhri, urdhi, orli.* It may go back to **ardhë* and, further, to PAlb **ardz-* related to the aorist stem *erdha* (see *vij*), cf. CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 65-66. Semantically, 'vine' < 'climbing, going' as in Slav **loza* 'vine' ~ **loziti, *lezti* 'to climb' (cf. BRÜCKNER *AfslPh* XXXIX 4; VASMER II 512). An alternative etymology (MEYER *Wb.* 147) is based on the variant *rdhi* and connects it with IE **u̯rēĝ-* 'to break, to cut'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 161-162 (to Arm *ortʻ* 'vine'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXVI 341 (follows BUGGE); JOKL *Sprache* IX 152; PISANI *Saggi* 120; BARIÇ *Hymje* 43, 57 (compares *ardhi* with Basque *ardao* 'wine'); POKORNY I 1181-1182; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ardao* 'wine'); WEITENBERG *KZ* LXXXIX 68-70; ÇABEJ *St.* I 38 (a phonetically difficult comparison with *urth*), *Etim.* II 69-70; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; DEMIRAJ *AE* 195-196.

arë f, pl. *ara* 'field'. From PAlb **arā* etymologically connected with Latv *âra* id. (GĀTERS *KZ* LXXIII 108-109) and, probably, with Hitt *arḫa-* 'border, area', Lyd *aara-* 'farmstead, land', Mess *aran* (HAMP *KZ* LXXV 237-238). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄρουρα 'tilled land'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3 (from Lat *ārea* 'ground, space, thresh-

ing-floor'); MEYER *Wb.* 14 (from Lat *ārea* or from *arvum* 'plowed land' but *-rv-* would be rendered as *-rr-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041, 1048 (from Lat *ārea*); FRAENKEL 518; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (follows GĀTERS), ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 71-72; HAARMAN 111 (from Lat *ārea*); POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 128 (to Georg *are* 'field'); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688-689 (to Gk ἀγρός 'field, land'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77, *RRL* XXI 51 (same as ÖLBERG, reconstructs *arë* < **ager* in view of the dialectal long *a:* in the anlaut); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; HULD 38; TISCHLER I/1 55-56; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (adds Arm *arawr* 'plow'); KARULIS *LEV* I 76; DEMIRAJ *AE* 80-81.

arëz ~ anëz f, pl. *arëza ~ anza* 'wasp'. Continues PAlb **aunā* derived from IE **au(ə)-* 'to weave' similarly to Lith *vapsà*, Slav **osa* and the like based on IE **u̯ebh-* 'to weave'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 14 (borrowing from Turk *ari* 'bee' with a suffix *-ëz* - but how to explain the rhotacism in Tosk?), *Alb. St.* V 68; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 83-84 (reconstructs **aḱnā* compared with Lat *acūleus* 'sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; ÇABEJ *St.* 40-41 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 87-88 (from **aḱ-* 'sharp').

arëzë f, pl. *arëza* 'nape'. Note a more phonetically conservative variant *arrëzë*. Another derivative of the same stem is represented by *arrç* 'upper jugular vertebra'. Both words are based on *arrë* in its metaphoric sense of a round protuberance (CAMARDA I 181; MEYER *Wb.* 7). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41, *Etim.* II 90.

argësh m 'crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of crossbars, harrow'. From PAlb **argusa* related to Skt *argala-* 'bolt', OE *reced* 'building, house'. ◊ POKORNY I 65; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (comparison with IE **u̯erĝ-* 'to work, to do').

argjend ~ argjand m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (unspecified comparison with Lat *argentum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MANN *Language* XVII 22; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 75-76; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 79, 116.

ari m, pl. *arinj* 'bear'. From PAlb **arina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 310) derived from **ara* > OAlb *ar* (BOGDANI). The feminine froms are *arushë* and *areshë*. A tabooistic transformation of IE **r̥ḱso- ~ *r̥ḱto-* id.: Hitt *ḫartag-*

ga-, Skt *ṛ́kṣa-*, Gk ἄρκτος, Lat *ursus* and the like (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 15, *Alb. St.* IV 20). The expected Alb **arth* must have been treated as a diminutive in *-th*, from where the existing form *ar* was later derived (DEMIRAJ *AE* 82). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 146; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232, 344; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 106, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89, *BB* XX 231; JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 132-133; MANN *Language* XVII 16; POKORNY I 875; MAYRHOFER I 118; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140-141; WATKINS *IESt* II 504-539; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 66 (erroneously connects *ari* with Gk ἄρνυμαι 'to obtain, to get, to receive' and the like); HULD 38; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 77; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66.

ark m, pl. *arqe* 'bow'. Borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 148-149.

arkë f, pl. *arka* 'chest, box, coffin'. Borrowed from Lat *arca* id. (CAMARDA I 186; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 126; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 72; HAARMANN 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 78-79; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

armë f, pl. *armë* 'weapon'. Borrowed frrom Lat *arma* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81; LANDI *Lat.* 79.

armik ~ anëmik m, pl. *armiq ~ anëmiq* 'enemy'. Borrowed from Lat *inimīcus* id. (CAMARDA I 38; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (derived from *armë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131; JANSON *Unt.* 49; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81.

arnoj aor. *arnova* 'to mend, to repair'. Note a more conservative form *arënoj* as well as a back formation *arnë* 'patch'. The source is Lat *renovāre* 'to renew' (MEYER *Wb.* 16). ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk ἀραρίσκω 'to produce, to make'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 40 (to *harr* 'to weed'), *Etim.* II 83-84; HAARMANN 145; MANN *Comp.* 34-35 (related to Gmc **armiz* 'arm').

arqitë f, pl. *arqita* 'rod (for basket weaving)'. Borrowed from Slav **orkyta* 'broom (plant), kind of willow' (cf. in particular SCr *rakita*, Bulg *rakita*) in its form preceding the metathesis in the **TorT-* group (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85). ◊ SVANE 128.

arsye f, pl. *arsye* 'reason, understanding'. From Lat *ratiōnem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1051; JOKL *Stud.* 10; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85-86; HAARMANN 145.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'cricket'. Derived from *ar* 'bear', cf. *ari*. For the semantic development cf. Russ *medvedka* 'cricket' based on *medved'* 'bear'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig' and *arrç* 'thorny bush'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrç m, pl. *arrça* 'kind of thorny bush, Rhamnus'. Derived from *arrë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig'), *Etim.* II 89.

arrë f, pl. *arra, arrë* 'walnut-tree, walnut'. The rare Geg variant *harrë* is secondary. From PAlb **arwā*, a singularize pl. neut. etymologically identical with Gk ἄρυα· τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα, Hes. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). Further links, including that with Gk κάρυον 'nut' (CAMARDA I 69), are dubious. ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs **ar-n-ā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 157; CHANTRAINE 118; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *hurr* 'small nut'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82.

arrij aor. *arriva, arrita, arrijta* 'to come, to arrive'. Borrowed from Rom **arrivāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1040 (from Ital *arrivare*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (to *rri*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 91.

as adv. 'neither, nor, not (even)'. Compound of *a* and *s* (CAMARDA I 312). ◊ BOPP 497 (treats *a-* as a privative particle); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (mistaken explanation of *a* < Lat *aut*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322 (to Arm *oč'*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 204 (follows PEDERSEN); BORGEAUD *RRL* XVIII 529 (to Gk οὔτε); ÇABEJ *St.* 42, *Etim.* II 92-93 (agrees with CAMARDA I 312).

ashkë f, pl. *ashka* 'wood splinter'. From PAlb **a(k)škā*, a derivative of

IE *aks- 'axis': Skt ákṣa-, Gk ἄξων, Lat axis and the like (OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin 258). ◊ MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente 34 (from Neapol asca for aschia 'splinter'); MEYER Wb. 17 (borrowed from Rom *ascla); JOKL LKUBA 104-105 (supports MEYER); FRISK I 116; CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 114 (suffix -kë); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ Etim. II 100; LANDI Lat. 79, 110.

ashpër adj. 'hard, sharp, rough'. Borrowed from Lat *asper* 'rough, uneven' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 100-101; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 136.

asht m, pl. *eshtra* ~ *eshtëna* 'bone'. From PAlb **ašti* or **ašta* further connected with IE **ost(i)-* 'bone': Hitt *ḫaštai*, Skt *ásthi*, Gk ὀστέον and the like (XYLANDER 298; BOPP 461; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23, 62; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 85; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; POKORNY I 783; FRISK II 436-437; MAYRHOFER I 67; TISCHLER I/2 202-203; HAMP *Laryngeals* 133, *Ric. Ling.* VI 231; GINDIN *Onom.* 101; HULD 38-39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 101; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs **ostn̥*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 82-83.

ashtu adv. 'so, thus'. As opposed to *kështu* (CAMARDA I 102), *ashtu* consists of the pronominal particle *a* in the form of locative in *-sh* < **su* and of the adverb *tu* identical with Skt *tu* 'but' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 19 (compares *ashtu* with *tashti*), *Alb. St.* I 45, IV 50; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 199-200 (*-shtu* from IE **so-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73-74; ÇABEJ *St.* I 42-43 (compares *tu* with *tuke*), *Etim.* II 101-103.

atë m, pl. *etër* ~ *atën, etën* 'father'. From PAlb **ata* further connected with Hitt *atta-* id., Lat *atta* id., Slav **otьcь* id. and similar *Lallwörter* (MEYER *Wb.* 20; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136). In Albanian, the replacement of the original **pəter-* with **ata* may be related to another shift affecting **māter* > *motër*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 247; JOKL *LKUBA* 38-39; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; ERNOUT-MEILLET 54; POKORNY I 71; VASMER III 170; TISCHLER I/1 92-93; HULD 39; KLINGENSCHMITT *LIdg.* 102-103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83.

atje adv. 'here'. Compound of *a-* (as in *ai*) and *-tje* (MEYER *Wb.* 20, *Alb.*

St. III 25), cf. *tutje.* ◊ PEDERSEN *Pzon.* 315 (*-tje* < *-teje*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 108.

aty adv. 'there'. A compound of *a* and *ty* < **tū* with a lengthening, etymologically close to *-tu* of *ashtu.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (*-ty* connected with the pronominal stem **to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109.

athët adj. 'harsh, sour, rancid'. From PAlb **ats-eta* etymologically related to IE **ak̂-* 'sharp', with some derivatives developing the meaning 'sour' as Lat *acidus* (MEYER *Wb.* 2, *Alb. St.* III 13). ◊ CAMARDA I 161 (compares *athët* with *uthull*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *LKUBA* 49; OREL *Ètnogenez* 110-114 (*athët* as a source of Slav **осьтъ* 'vinegar'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109-110; MANN *Comp.* 12 (identical with Gk ἀκτίς 'ray of light'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83-84.

avdos m 'chaffinch'. Identical with *avdos* 'ice-floe' (see *avër*), for the semantic development cf. *bors.* ◊ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 110 (related to *bors*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 84-85 (compound of two elements: *av-* related to Lat *avis* 'bird' and *dosë*).

avër f, pl. *avra* 'ice-floe'. Cf. also *avdos* id. Probably, connected with IE **au̯er-*, **au̯ed-* 'to make wet'. ◊ POKORNY I 78-79; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45 (to *varrë*), *Etim.* II 112-113 (*avdos* derived from *borë*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 60-61.

avull m, pl. *avuj* 'steam, vapor'. From PAlb **abula* continuing an earlier **n̥bh(u)lo-* (HAMP *RRL* XX 499-500: reconstructs **n̥bhlo-* but erroneously compares it with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud' with a definite **-r-* > *-r-*). Thus, **abula* is close to OHG *nebul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc **nebulaz* < **nebh*^{e}*lo.* Etymologically, belongs to IE **nebh-* 'wet, water; fog, cloud'. As to *-v-*, it reflects the unfinished process of spirantization and loss of intervocalic voiced stops; the expected change of *-v-* to zero did not occur as it preceded a back rounded vowel. Rum *abur* 'fog' was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ἀέλλα 'tempest'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69 (from Lat *vapor* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (comparison with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud'; ultimately, to **nebh-*), *Alb. St.* III 36, 81; JOHANSON *IF* IV 139; JOKL *LKUBA* 270-271 (particle *a-* and *-vull* connected with *valë*); WEIGAND *BA* III 210 (of Thra-

cian origin); HASDEU *EMR* I 106; PASCU *RE* 21 (reconstructs Rom **vapulus*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 1; BARIĆ *ARSt* 107-108, *Lingv. stud.* 39 (*avull* < **o-gʹl-* compared with Germ *Qualm* 'fumes, smoke'); LA PIANA *Studi* 99; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 14 (comparison with Messap *atabulus* 'sirocco'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (from Rom **nebla*, a variant of Lat *nebula* 'mist, fog'); ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 175; PETROVICI *CL* X 357-358 (to Lat *Boreas* 'North wind'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 271; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45-46 (follows JOKL); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80-81 (same as SCHMIDT), *ŽA* XXIX 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; HULD 39-40; MANN *Comp.* 46 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 116-117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 85 (to *aft* and *afsh*).

B

babë f 'old woman'. Borrowed from Slav **baba* 'woman' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111-112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 120; SVANE 189.

bac m, pl. *baca* 'elder brother, uncle'. From PAlb **batja*, a *Lallwort* similar and, perhaps, related to Slav **bat'a* ~ **batja* 'elder brother, father' (OREL *Subst.* 4). The Albanian word is the source of Rum *baci* 'chief shepherd, cheese-maker', Megleno-Rum *bač* id. from where Slavic and Hungarian words for 'shepherd' were borrowed (MEYER *Wb.* 29). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; BARIĆ *ARSt* 2-3 (from **bar-c*, to *bari*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; TRUBAČEV *Term. rodstva* 21, 195-196, *ÈSSJa* I 163-164; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 122-124; SVANE 188.

badër f, pl. *badra* 'narcissus, daffodil'. More phonetically advanced variants are *badhër* and, especially, *bathër* (HAHN). The word is identical with Skt *bhástrā* 'bellows', further based on **bhes-* 'to blow'. Alb *-d(ë)r-* goes back to IE **-str-* as in *thadër* (OREL *Fort.* 78-79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 22 (borrowed from Turk *badruk* 'basil'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 46-47 (with a metathesis, from *bardhë*), *Etim.* II 124-125; MURATI *Probleme* 63-66 (same as ÇABEJ).

bagëm m 'oil for anointment'. Borrowed from Gk βάπτισμα 'baptism' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 128). For the phonetic development of the inlaut cf. *pagëzoj*.

bagëti ~ bakti f, pl. 'domestic animal, (head of) cattle'. Based on an unattested adjective borrowed from Slav **bogatъ* 'rich' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165) or going back to the otherwise unregistered Slav **bogatjьe* 'richness' (OREL *ZfSlaw* XXX/6 912, *Ètimologija 1983* 137-138). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *paśu-* 'cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 22 (compares with OFr *bague* 'bundle' and the like'); JOKL *Studien* 5-6 (links *bagëti* with Skt *bhága-* 'prosperity, happiness', Slav **sъbožьje* 'property, cattle'), *Slavia* XIII 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77, *Stratificazione* 147; HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 261 (to OHG *packe* 'pack' and the like); SKOK I 179; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 129-130.

bahe f, pl. *bahe* 'sling'. A singularized plural based on a more archaic form *bahë* < PAlb **bajā* etymologically close to Slav **bojь* 'fight'. Both forms are further related to IE **bhei-* 'to strike, to beat' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 22-23 (to ON *baugr* 'ring', IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'), *Alb. St.* III 35; ÇABEJ *St.* I 47 (compares with Gmc **bautan* 'to beat', Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel'), *Etim.* II 126-127; POKORNY I 117-118.

bajgë f, pl. *bajga* 'dung'. A more archaic form is *balëg(ë), balgë*. The word is also attested in a metathesized form *bagël*. Goes back to PAlb **balgā* probably related to Gk βόλβιτον 'cow dung' if the latter is based on **bolg^u-* (OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 370). It is the source of Rum *balegă* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 23, *IF* VI 116 (from NItal *bagola, bagula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77 (from SCr *balega* id.); LA PIANA *Studi I* 77; CAPIDAN *DR* II 467-470 (borrowed from substratum); BARIĆ *IF* II 297-298 (reconstructs **bəlno-g^{u}ā*, cf. Slav **govьno* 'dung' < IE **g^{u}ōu-* 'cattle'), *AArbSt* II 80-81, *Hymje* 22; IL'INSKIJ *JF* V 183-185 (*bajgë* borrowed from Slavic); HASDEU *EMR* III 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* X/2 68-72 (from NGk γ(κ)άβαλα < Lat *caballus* 'horse (dung)'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; ÇABEJ *St.* I 49 (agrees with OŠTIR), *Etim.* II 132-133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86-87.

bajzë f, pl. *bajza* 'coot, kind of water-fowl'. The same word is attested as *balzë* and may be interpreted as a derivative of **bal-* 'white' (DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 256). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50, *Etim.* II 134-135 (to Lat *fulica*).

bakull adj. 'robust, vigorous'. Derived from *bakë* 'belly', a variant of

bark (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 137). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 62 (to Gk φάκελος 'bunch').

bal m, p. *bala* 'dog with a white spot on its forehead', adj. 'white-haired'. Also *balë* 'white spot'. From PAlb **bala* etymologically close to Lith *bãlas* 'white', Latv *bàls* 'pale', Gk φαλός· λευκός (Hes.) and the like. As to *balash, balosh* 'horse or ox with a white spot on its forehead', it was borrowed from Slav **bělašь, *bělošь* 'white animal' (MEYER *Wb.* 25; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 133-134) with **-ě-* rendered as *-a-* under the influence of *bal.* ◊ MEYER *NGriech. St.* II 69 (treats *balash, balosh* as cognates of Lith *bãlas* and the like); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Bret *bal'* id.), XXVIII 36; FRAENKEL 32; FRISK II 988-989; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 65; HAMP *Anc. IE* 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50-51, *Etim.* II 138-140; KALUŽSKAJA *Slavjanovedenie* 1992/2 80-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87.

balçëm m 'balm'. Attested in a more archaic form *balshëm* in Old Albanian (BUZUKU). Borrowed from Lat *balsamum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 25; JOKL *LKUBA* 115 n.1). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 24-25 (together with *balsam* id. treated as a Turkish loanword); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51, *Etim.* II 143-144; LANDI *Lat.* 111.

balë f, pl. 'badger'. Related to *bal* taking into account the light-colored spots on the badger's snout.

baltë f, pl. *baltë* 'swamp, marsh, dirt, earth'. Goes back to PAlb **baltā* (singularized pl. neut.) closely related to Slav **bolto* with which it continues IE **bholətom* (MEYER *Wb.* 25). This form belongs to the paradigm of the adjective **bholəto-* 'white' represented in Lith *báltas* further derived from IE **bhelə-* 'shining, white'. Rum *baltă* 'swamp', NGk βάλτος id. seem to be borrowed from Albanian. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *pṛthvī́* 'earth'); BRÜCH *Glotta* VII 83 f. (*baltë* as an autochtonous Illyrian word in Albanian); MEYER *BB* XIX 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242 (from Lomb *palta*); TREIMER *ZfromPhil.* XXXVIII 392 (borrowed from Slav **bolto*); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 114, *Slavia* III 115 (accepts the Slavic origin of *baltë*); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 386; TROMBETTI *AArbSt.* III 21-22; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Origini* 309; HASDEU *EMR* III 135; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from Slavic); PORZIG *Gliederung* 159, 175; FRAENKEL 32, *KZ* LIV

294-295; VASMER I 190; PISANI *Saggi* 123 (isogloss uniting Albanian with Balto-Slavic); POKORNY I 118-120; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272, *Ist. limb. rom.* II 97 (Slavic **bolto* in Balkan languages); HUBSCHMID *RRL* XXIV/4 343-352; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14, *Anc. IE* 109; TOPOROV *PJa* I 189 (reconstructs OPrus **balt-*); SOLTA *Balkanlinguistik* 47, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51-52, *Etim.* II 144-147; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; MURATI *Probleme* 127; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87-88.

ballë m/n, pl. *ballë* 'forehead'. Singularized pl. neut. **balā* related to Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 24, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *ZONF* X 194, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (reconstructs an *i*-stem); MAYRHOFER II 496-497; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; POKORNY I 118-119; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 53, *Etim.* II 148-150; HULD 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 88-89.

ballungë f, pl. *ballunga* 'bump, swelling'. With a secondary assimilation of vowels, also *bullungë*. A derivative in *-ungë* based on *ballë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (borrowed from Rom **bulluca* and related to *bulë* and/or to *mëllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to *bulë* < **bhulnā* in connection with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 144-145 (follows MEYER's comparison with *mëllë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (agrees with BARIĆ).

banë f, pl. *bana* 'dwelling'. From PAlb **banti*, a *nti*-derivative of *bëj* 'to make, to do' (for semantic parallels see ÇABEJ I 52). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 6-8 (from IE **bhou̯ono-*, cf. Skt *bhavana-* 'dwelling, home' despite the irregularity of Tosk *-n-* < **-n-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; ÇABEJ I 51-52 (explains *banë* as a Geg participle of *bëj* identical with Tosk *bërë* but *banë* is well attested in both dialects of Albanian), *Etim.* II 151-153; MAYRHOFER II 485-486; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 148 (explains *banë* as a phonetic variant of adv. *mbanë* 'near, nearby'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 89.

banjë f, pl. *banja* 'bath'. Borrowed from Slav **banja* id.: OCS *banja*, Bulg *ban'a*, SCr *banja* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 24; WEIGAND 4). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; (from Latin); HELBIG 90 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 155 (from Rom **banea* or Ital *bagno*).

bar m, pl. *barëra* ~ *barëna* 'grass'. From PAlb **bara* etymologically

related to Lat *far* 'sort of grain, spelt' < **bhars-*, ON *barr* 'spelt' and the like (CAMARDA I 336; MEYER *Wb.* 26, *Alb. St.* III 71). ◊ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (to Lat *herba* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 33 (to Gk φόρος '(agricultural) yield'); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* III 338-339, VI 96 (to Gk φάρμακον 'drug, healing remedy'); JOKL *Vox Rom.* VIII 192 (Alpine Romance parallels); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to NPers *bar* 'fruit'); MANN *Language* XVII 16; CHANTRAINE 1179; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 90 (close to KRETSCHMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 54 (agrees with KRETSCHMER), *Etim.* II 156-158; DEMIRAJ *AE* 89-90 (from IE **bheu-* 'to grow').

bardhë adj. 'white'. From PAlb **bardza* continuing **bhorəĝo-*, a derivative of IE **bherəĝ-* 'to shine; white', cf. Skt *bhrājate* '(he) shines, beams, glitters', Goth *bairhts* 'light, shining' and also the word for 'birch': Lith *béržas*, Slav **berza* (MEYER *Wb.* 29, *Alb. St.* III 17, 33, 72). PAlb **bardza* is particularly close to Skt *bhárga-* 'shining' with an irregular development of **-ĝ-*. The Albanian word is the source of Rum *barză* 'stork'. ◊ HASDEU *EMR* III 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRAENKEL 40-41; MAYRHOFER II 479-480, 529-530; POKORNY I 139-140; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 68-69; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 336; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272-273; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 57; GREPPIN *JIES* V/2-3 203-207 (Dac **barðo-* 'stork' related to Arm *brdoř* 'lammergeyer'); HULD 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 161-164 (to Gk φορκόν· λευκόν); DEMIRAJ *AE* 90-91.

bares aor. *barita* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'. From PAlb **bar-ōtja* derived from **bar* 'shepherd' preserved in *bari* (WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253). ◊ JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 144 (to *mbaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 164 (denominative of *bar* 'grass').

bari m, pl. *barinj* 'shepherd'. Based on an unattested **bar* < PAlb **bara* (the derivation is similar to that of *ari, njeri*, cf. DEMIRAJ *AE* 91) related to OHG *baro* '(free) man'. As to OAlb *bëruo* 'shepherd' (BUZUKU, BUDI), it is not connected with *bari* and should be rather analyzed as a loanword from Lat *bārōnem* 'simpleton'. ◊ CAMARDA I 341 (mistaken translation of *bari* as 'bestiame'; comparison with Gk βάριχοι· ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 69, *Wb.* 27, 33 (to *berr*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 156 (follows MEYER); WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253 (compares *bari* with *bares* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 191 (to *bar*); HAMP

ZfceltPh XXXIX 212 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); ÇABEJ *St.* I 55-56 (suggests an etymological link to *bie, mbar*), 64 (compares *bari* with *bëruo*), *Etim.* II 165-167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (both *bari* and *bëruo* borrowed from Lat *barō, barōnis*).

bark m, pl. *barqe* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. From PAlb **baruka* identical with βαρ(υ)κα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις (DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* III 158; KRAHE *Spr. Illyr.* 41) and, further, continuing **bhor-uko-*, a derivative of IE **bher-* 'to carry' (MEYER *Wb.* 27). The loss of the inlaut *-u-* points to the stress on the first syllable in PAlb **báruka*, cf. *barukë* < **barúkā*. ◊ CAMARDA I 58 (correctly compares *bark* and *barrë*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (follows MEYER), *BB* XX 238, *Pron.* 344 (to Gk φάρυγξ); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVIII 231 (to Lat *farciō* 'to cram, to stuff'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XVII 7 (comparison with W *brych* 'afterbirth', W *bru* 'belly'); FRISK I 221; CAMAJ 29, 114 (accepts MEYER's view); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 56-57, *Etim.* II 167-169; HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92.

barkë f, pl. *barka* 'boat'. Borrowed from Lat *barca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042); LANDI *Lat.* 93.

barmë f 'bast'. A parallel form is masculine *barm*. From PAlb **bardzmā* ~ **bardzma* derived from **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white', with a typical semantic pattern for the nomination of bark and bast (ÇABEJ *St.* I 57, *Etim.* II 170), cf. Slav **lyko* 'bast' from IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk φορμός); TRUBAČEV *Rem. term.* 164-166; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 90.

barukë f 'fleece'. From PAlb **barukā* derived from **barwa* > *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (to *barrë*).

barrë f, pl. *barrë* 'load, burden'. From PAlb **barā* further related to *bie* and *mbar* (BOPP 471; MEYER *Wb.* 28, *Alb. St.* III 73) and particularly close to Gk φορά 'load' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 174). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BUGGE *KZ* XXXII 4; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78-79; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 34 (stresses the similarity with Gk φέρνη 'dowry'); MANN *Language* XVII 19; FRISK II 1003-1005; POKORNY

I 128-132; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (from **bhornā*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 57; MANN *Comp.* 94 (from IE **bhormā*); HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92-93 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

barrë f, pl. *barrë* 'fetus'. From PAlb **barnā*, a singularized plural cognate with Gmc **barnan* 'child'. The word must be strictly differentiated from *barrë* 'load, burden'. ◊ ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 139; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 173-174.

bashkë f 'fleece'. From PAlb **bar(u)škā* etymologically connected with *barukë* id. and derived from *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). For a similar semantic development cf. Skt *ajína-* 'skin, hide' ~ *ajá-* 'goat'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bască* id. ◊ BARTHOLOMAE *IF* IX 252 (to Av *varəsa-* 'hair'); MEYER *Wb.* 28 (from **vars-kë* connected with Cyren βασσάρα 'fox'); JOKL *LKUBA* 170; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3236; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 467 (to Germ *Bürste*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 566; MANN *Language* XVII 13, *Comp.* 67 (identical with *bashkë* 'together'; was borrowed from Thracian or ancient Macedonian); VRACIU *LB* VIII 20 (from substratum); ÇABEJ I 58 (to Gk φάρσος 'piece, part' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 178-180; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93 (identical with *bashkë* 'together').

bashkë adv. 'together'. Goes back to PAlb **bakskā* related to Lat *fascis* 'bundle', *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 80, *IF* VI 106). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paśćá-* 'back, posterior'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *AArbSt* III 215 (follows MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; JOKL *LKUBA* 170 (to Skt *bādhate*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80 (agrees with JOKL); MANN *Language* XVII 13; WALDE-HOFMANN I 459-460; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; ÇABEJ I 58-59 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* II 180-181; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93-94.

batis aor. *batisa* 'to press together'. Borrowed from Slav **batiti* 'to beat', presently preserved in South Slavic only as SCr *batiti* 'to rebound, to jump away'.

bathë f, pl. *bathë* 'broad bean'. Continues PAlb **batsā* < IE **bhak̂ā* also preserved in Gk φακῆ 'dish of lentils', φακός 'lentil' (MEYER *Wb.* 22, *Alb. St.* III 13, 33). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 445; POKORNY I 106; FRISK II 985; CHANTRAINE 1173, 1180;

CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 18; HULD 41-42 (finds a parallel in Burushaski *bu:kak* 'beans'); OREL *Ètimologija 1985* 181; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 184-185; DEMIRAJ *AE* 94.

be f, pl. *be* 'oath'. From PAlb **baidā* connected with Slav **běda* 'disaster', Lat *foedus* 'league, treaty' and other nominal derivatives of IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' (MEYER *Wb.* 30, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◊ ERNOUT-MEILLET 233; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 54-56; POKORNY I 117; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253; HULD 42; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 186-187 (to Gk πίστις, Lat *fidēs* 'belief'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 94-95.

begatë adj. 'rich'. Other variants are *bëgatë* and *bugatë*. Borrowed from Slav **bogatъ* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic: OCS *bogatъ*, Bulg *bogat*, SCr *bogat* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 50). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 326; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 190-191; SVANE 267.

bejkë f 'white sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **bělъka* 'white animal, white sheep' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 192).

bekoj aor. *bekova* 'to bless'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *bënkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *benedīcere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6; MEYER *Wb.* 31). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to *be* and *besë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81; KÖDDERITZSCH *Asp. Alb.* 121-130; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 193.

belbë adj. 'stammering, dumb'. Borrowed from Lat *balbus* 'stammering, stuttering' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 31). From *belbë* such synonymous forms as *belbër* and *belbët* were derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 194-195 (onomatopoeia).

belbicë f, pl. *belbica* 'kind of trout'. Another variant is *belvice*. Borrowed from Bulg *belvica* id. (WEIGAND 6, JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 32 (from Lat *barbus* 'barbel'); KRISTOFORIDHI 43; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 7; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195, *St.* IV 97-98; SVANE 150.

belcë f 'wool cover'. Borrowed from Slav **bělica* 'white object' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195).

beng m, pl. *bengje, bengë* 'oriole, finch'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of (West) Gmc **finkan* 'finch', cf. especially Bavarian *pienk* (MEYER *Wb.* 32). ◊ HAHN 13 (to *zbehem*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 198 (agrees with MEYER).

ber m 'bow, arrow, spear'. From PAlb **bōra*, derivative of *bie* < **bera* 'to strike, to fall' (JOKL *LKUBA* 244). ◊ ÇABEJ I 61, *Etim.* II 199-200 (to Gk φάρος 'plow'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (to *bri*).

berk m 'bast'. From PAlb **bardz(i)ka* derived from PAlb **bardza* > *bardhë* 'white' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172). For the semantic evolution cf. *barmë*. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201 (from Slav **ob(ъ)vьrtka* > Russ *obertka*).

beronjë f, pl. *beronja* 'barren woman; holly; kind of serpent'. Another phonetic variant is *buronjë*. A derivative with a feminine suffix *-onjë* of an unattested **ber* < PAlb **bara* 'naked, barren', borrowed from Gmc **bazaz*: OHG *bar* 'bare', ON *berr* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (comparison with *berr* and Slav **baranъ* 'ram'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Romance, cf. OFr *baraigne* 'barren'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201-202; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (derived, as two separate words for 'barren woman' and 'holly', from *ber* and *berr*).

berr m, pl. *berra* 'sheep, goat'. From PAlb **barwa* etymologically connected with ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug, baruh* id., Slav **borvъ* 'boar' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173; MANN *Comp.* 95). Note a deminutive *berk* 'goat' only in *era berk* 'stench of a goat' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 208 (to Gk βάριχοι· ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 33 (an Alpine *Wanderwort*); JOKL *LKUBA* 242 (from an interjection used to address the sheep); HASDEU *EMR* III 637; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (to Engad *bar* and other Alpine words); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81, *Stratificazione* 132-133; HUBSCHMID *Vox Romanica* XIV 195; TRAUTMANN 27 (**bhoru-* as an areal word for 'sheep and goats'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273 (to Rum *bîr*, cry with which the shep-

herd calls the sheep); ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXXVI 50, *St.* I 61, *Etim.* II 202-204; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95-96.

besë f, pl. *besa* 'pledge, truce, trust'. From PAlb **baitšā* traced back to IE **bhoidh-tā* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253 follows STIER *KZ* VII 160 and CAMARDA I 43 in reconstructing **bhidh-tā* as an exact equivalent of Gk πιστός 'faithful, trustworthy') or **bhoidh-ti̯ā* (PISANI *Saggi* 129) further connected with IE **bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' and Alb *be*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (compares with Alb *bind* and reconstructs **bhendhti̯ā*), *Alb. St.* II 50, III 25, IV 97; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (thinks of **bhendhtā*); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; JOKL *LKUBA* 262 n. 2; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26 (derivative of **bheidh-* in **-āti̯ā*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 110; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRISK II 487-488; POKORNY I 117; OREL *ZfBAlk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* I 61-62, *Etim.* II 204-206; HULD 42; WATKINS *Dragon* 83; DEMIRAJ *AE* 96-97.

bëj ~ **bâj** aor. *bëra* ~ *bana* 'to do, to make'. From PAlb **banja* compared with Gk φαίνω 'to appear' (MEYER *Wb.* 23-24, *Alb. St.* III 33), a zero grade further connected with IE **bhā-*. For the semantic development cf. OIr *bann* 'deed' of the same root (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 162). ◊ CAMARDA I 48 (to IE **bhū-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84-85; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HULD 43; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 207-208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 97-98.

bërcel m 'kind of wheat, Triticum monococcum'. Derived from an unattested **bërcë* ~ **bricë* borrowed from Slav **bъrica* > Bulg *brica* 'kind of white wheat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 62 (related to *bardhë*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 209-210 (from Maced *pčenica* 'wheat' < Slav **pьšenica*).

bërçik m *bërçikë* 'span (between thumb and index)'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrčikъ*, cf. Bulg *brъčka* 'fold, wrinkle'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (to an unattested Bulg *prъža*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 7 (borrowed from SCr **brčik* related to Pol *bark* 'arm'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 210; SVANE 89.

bërkoq m 'little pig'. Another variant is *bërkuq*. Derived from *berk*, see *berr*. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIV 56 (borrowed from Lat *porcus*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211 (to *koqe*).

bërsi f, pl. *bërsi* 'husks of grapes, marc'. Borrowed from Rom **brūtea* reflecting Thracian βρύτεα. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Lat *brīsa*); BRÜCH *IF* XL 241-244 (from "Illyrian", cf. Thr βρῦτον 'beer'); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212 (reconstructs **bris-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 98 (borrowed from Thracian).

(G) **bërshê** m 'juniper'. Continues **eburusa*, a form somehow connected with OIr *ibar* id., Gaulish *eburo-* (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235-237). ◊ BERTOLD *WuS* XI 155 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212-213; DEMIRAJ *AE* 98-99 (critical of the Celtic parallels).

bërtas aor. *brita* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav **bъrtvati* ~ **bъrtviti* 'to babble', cf. Bulg *brъtv'a*. ◊ CAMARDA I 68 (compares *bërtas* with Gk βρυχάομαι 'to bellow'); MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vërras*), *Alb. St.* III 38; MACHEK *LP* V 59-60 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 63 (to Latv *brèkt* 'to cry', OIr *bressim* id.), *Etim.* II 213.

bërthamë f, pl. *bërthama* '(fruit) stone'. A compound consisting of *bërth* < *birth* (with a vocalic shift in the unstressed position) and *amë*; thus, *bërth-amë* is something like 'mother of the fruit'. Its synonym, *bërthokël* is to be analyzed as a formation with two suffixes *-ok-* and *-ël* of the same root. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Rom **petramen* derived from *petra* 'stone'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (divides *bërthamë* into *bër* and *tha(l)më*, the latter to be compared with *thelb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 63-64 (a derivative of *bathë* > **barthë*), *Etim.* II 213-214; MURATI *Probleme* 66-67 (root *bër-*).

bërrakë f, pl. *bërraka* 'muddy pool, pond, swamp'. Derivative of *birë*. Note a similar change of *-r-* > *-rr-* in *bërryl*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (to Slav **bara* 'pool, rivulet'; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 84-87 (identifies the root of *bërrakë* with the ancient Balkan stem *bar-* in river-names); MLADENOV *IORJaS* XVII/4 228-230 (to Skt *barburá-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 64 (to βράγος · ἕλος, Hes.), *Etim.* II 215-217.

bërryl m, pl. *bërryla, bërryle* 'elbow, forearm'. Other variants reflect an original *-ll* in the auslaut. From PAlb **bōrei ul(e)nā* 'turn of the bow' > 'elbow' (for the first element - ÇABEJ I 65, *Etim.* II 217-219). Thus, the structure of the word is close to that of Gmc **alinobogon* 'elbow': OHG *elinbogo*, ON *olnbogi* and the like (OREL *ZfBalk*

XXIII/1 67). The first component (in gen.-dat. sg.) is identical with *ber* 'bow'. The second appears, in different accentual conditions, as *llërë* ~ *llanë*. In hiatus, the resulting group **-ei u-* develops exactly as **-iwi-* > *-y-*, cf. *grykë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 49 (from Rom **brăchiŭle*); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 159 (from Lat *brăchiullus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5 (to *bri, brinjë*).

bic m, pl. *bica* 'piglet'. Onomatopoeia (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 222-223) similar to that in E *pig*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 39 (from SCr *biče*), *Wb.* 38 (adduces, with doubt, Germ *Betze* 'young castrated boar'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (borrowed from SCr *bica* 'dwarf'); SVANE 138 (from Slavic).

bie aor. *pruva, prura* ~ *pruna* 'to bring'. From PAlb **berja* continuing IE **bher-* 'to bring, to carry': Skt *bhárati*, Gk φέρω and the like (BOPP 471-472, 491; MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). The aorist (in its more archaic form *pruva*) appears to go back to PAlb **pruwa* < **pr̥u̯om*, a form based on IE **per-* 'to lead': Skt *píparti* 'to bring over', Gk πείρω 'to penetrate' and the like (BOPP 481, MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; BRUGMANN 117, 150; JOKL *Stud.* 82-83; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187, 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63, 71 (derives the participle *prura* from **p-run-a*); FRISK II 491-492, 1003-1004; CHANTRAINE 1191; POKORNY I 130-131; MAYRHOFER II 284, 473-476; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222-223; HULD 43 (reconstructs **bheri̯ō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 99-100, 334.

bie aor. *rashë* 'to fall, to hit, to strike, to beat'. From PAlb **be(r)ja* derived from IE **bher-* 'to strike': Lat *feriō* id., OHG *berjan* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). As to *rashë*, it goes back to PAlb **rauša*, a sigmatic aorist of IE **reu-* 'to tear': Skt *rávate* 'to smash', Lat *ruō* 'to tear, to dig out' and the like (JOKL *IF* XLIII 49-50). ◊ BOPP 471; CAMARDA I 240 (*rashë* related to Gk ῥάσσω 'to strike, to dash'); MEYER *BB* VIII 183, 189 (connected with IE **bhei-* 'to strike, to beat'), *Wb.* 35 (*rashë* compared with Slav **raziti* 'to strike'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 111; BARIĆ I 77 (*rashë* < **e-nək̂-s-om* to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν 'to bring', Slav **nesti* 'to carry'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 103-105, *LKUBA* 166; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; LA PIANA *Varia* 20; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; MAYRHOFER III 63; VASMER III 452; CAMAJ 29 (reconstructs **bhorei̯ō*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 115, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* II 69 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 224-225; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *FLH*

VIII/1-2 47 (follows MEYER *BB* VIII 183); HULD 43-44; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 97 (to ON *rasa* 'to overthrow'); DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 100, 343-344.

bigë f, pl. 'forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain'. A metaphoric usage of the borrowed Lat *bīga* 'pair of animals; team for plowing'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (compares *bigë* with Romance words for 'beam'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 141 (< **bhi-ghā* to Goth *bai* 'both', structurally similar to **du̯oighā*); OREL *Antič. balk.* III 37-39 (from PAlb **dweigā* related to Slav **dvigъ* 'branch'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 228.

bijë f, pl. *bija* 'daughter'. In South Tosk and Italo-Albanian there exists a more archaic form - *bilë*. From PAlb **birilā* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109) derived from **bira* > *bir* (CAMARDA I 79). The phonetic development of **-rj-* > *-j-* (PEDERSEN XXXIII 541) is in this case confirmed by the paradigm *bir* ~ pl. *bij.* ◊ STIER *KZ* VI 148 (to Messap *bilia* 'daughter'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (feminine of *bir*), *Alb. St.* III 33; JOKL *LKUBA* 194; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 66; RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (follows STIER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83, *Stratificazione* 112-113; LXVII 213-217; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; DE SIMONE *IF* LXIII 265 (against comparison with Messap *bilia*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78 (follows RIBEZZO), *BSL* LXVII 213-217 (together with Lat *fīlia* id. < **bhu̯īli̯ā*); HULD 44 (supports HAMP); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 -102.

bilonjë f 'twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman'. From PAlb **būlānjā*, a derivative of unattested **būla* etymologically identical with Gk φύλον 'leaf'. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 233 (*bilonjë* compared with South Slavic reflexes of Slav **bylьje* 'grass'); OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173 (to *bijë*).

bimë f, pl. *bimë* 'plant'. From PAlb **būmā*, a singularized pl. neut., related to *mbij* (MEYER *Wb.* 36) and particularly close to Gk φῦμα 'plant' (MANN *Comp.* 123). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387, XXVIII 37; CHANTRAINE 1235; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (adds *bim* 'piglet', *bimë* 'young sow' that are otherwise considered to be Romance loanwords), *Etim.* II 234.

bind aor. *binda* 'to convince, to persuade'. From PAlb **binda*, a nasal present based on an unattested **beida* related to *be* (BOPP 514; CAMARDA I 59). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (to Goth *bindan* 'to tie' and its cognates), *Alb. St.* III 29, 33; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163 (follows BOPP); JOKL

apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 495 (to Skt *bādhate* 'to push, to press'); PISANI *Saggi* 129; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253 (agrees with BOPP); ÇABEJ *St.* I 66-67, *Etim.* II 235-236 (from IE **bhedh-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 101.

bir m, pl. *bij* 'son'. From PAlb **bira* compared with Goth *baur* 'son' < IE **bh*^{e}*ro-* (PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295; *KZ* XXXIII 541), with further link to IE **bher-* 'to give birth'. ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk υἱός 'son'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from IE **bhū-l-*, cf. Gk φῦλον 'race, tribe'), *Alb. St.* III 33; SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 4; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 220; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109, *LKUBA* 194 (to Lat *filius* 'son'); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (*bir* as a secondary formation based on *bijë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112-113; PISANI *Saggi* 226; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; HAMP *BSL* LXVII 213-217 follows PEDERSEN); HULD 44-45; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 239-240; KLINGENSCHMITT *LIdg.* 103 (to *bij*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 102 (agrees with KLINGENSCHMITT).

birë f, pl. *bira* 'hole'. From PAlb **birā*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **bher-*: Lat *forō* 'to bore, to pierce', OHG *borōn* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; ERNOUT-MEILLET 249; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; HAMP *RRL* XXI 51 (from IE **bhid-rā*), *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211 (from IE **bherHu̯ā*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 241-242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 102-103 (to *brej*).

birko adv. 'good, fine, excellent'. Related to *birq* (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (compares with *mirë*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 3 (compound of **bher-* as in *mbarë* and *ko-* < *kohë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242 (derived from *bir*).

birq m 'heap, heap of sand, sand-dune'. In Tosk also *berq*. Diminutive *birth* 'pimple' is derived from *birq*. A singularized plural of PAlb **birka* formally identical with an isolated Slav **bъrkъ* 'moustache, hair, trunk'. Thus, the original meaning of the Albanian word could be 'upright, vertical (heap)'. ◊ CAMARDA 59 (identical with *pirg* 'tower' < NGk πύργος id.); MEYER *Wb.* 98 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 128-129; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173-174 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring', cf. Russ *borona* 'many, a great amount' going back to the same root according to VARBOT *Praslav.* 170-171); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242.

bisedë f, pl. *biseda* 'talk, conversation, speech'. Borrowing from Slav **beséda* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *beséda*, Bulg *beseda*, SCr *beseda* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 33). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 192; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243; SVANE 1220, 230.

bisk m, pl. *bisq, bisqe* 'branch, twig'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav **bičьkъ* derived from **bičь* 'whip' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). As to *bisk* 'rivulet', it may also belong here. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from NGk βίτσα 'switch, rod' borrowed from Bulg *vica* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243-245 (borrowed from Slav **bičь* or derived from *mbij*); MANN *Comp.* 78 (to Lith *bìskis, bìškis* 'bit, fragment' - a German [East Prussian] loanword); PAGLIARO *Shêjzat* X 315-317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 (derived from *mbij*).

bistër adj. 'agile, nimble, sour'. Borrowed from Slav **bystrъ* 'agile, quick', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bystrъ*, Bulg *bistъr*, SCr *bistar* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246; SVANE 150.

bishë f, pl. *bisha* 'beast, wild animal'. Borrowed from Lat *bēstia* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246-247; LANDI *Lat.* 119.

bisht m, pl. *bishta, bishtra ~ bishtna* 'tail'. From PAlb **būšta*, derivative of IE **bhū-* 'to grow'. The metaphor views the tail as a bodily outgrowth. ◊ XYLANDER 287 (to Basque *bustan* id.); CAMARDA I 58 (to Gk ὄπισθεν 'back, behind'); MEYER *Wb.* 38; JOHANNSON *IF* XIV 268 (from **bhid-to-* and, further, to Lat *findere* 'to cleave'); JOKL *LKUBA* 261 n. 2; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* I 127; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 109 (follows JOHANNSON); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 429; TAGLIAVINI *RIEB* I 165 n. 1, *Dalmazia* 83-84 (against JOHANNSON), *Stratificazione* 143; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 67-68 (from **mb-ith-sht*, to *ith*), *Etim.* II 248-250; HULD 45 (disagrees with ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 103 (to *bij*).

bishtajë f, pl. *bishtaja* 'pod, hull, pea, green bean'. Borrowed from Rom **pistālia* > Rum *păstaie* 'pod, hull', cf. Lat *pistāre* 'to pound' (CANDREA - DENSUŞIANU I 204). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (to *bisht*), *Etim.* II 250.

bjerr aor. *borra* 'to lose'. Numerous phonetic variants of the anlaut are attested in dialects: *djerr, dëbjerr, vdjerr, dzjerr*. They seem to go back to PAlb **diš-bera* or **diš-berna* further related to *bie* 'to fall' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δέρω 'to skin', Slav **dьrati* 'to tear' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 73; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; LA PIANA *Varia* 21 (related to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω 'to destroy' or Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (to Lith *beřti* 'to disperse'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 253-255; DEMIRAJ *AE* 104 (follows HAMP).

bjeshkë f, pl. *bjeshkë* 'mountain pasture'. Borrowed from Rom **pastica* based on Lat *pastus* 'pasture'. Note that this word belongs to a compact group of Latin loans with *p-* rendered as *b-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 58 (identifies *bjeshkë* with *byshkë* and connects it with Romance words for 'splinter', cf. Ital *busca*); SKOK *ZfslavPhil* II 396-397 (from Lat *basilica* 'church' despite the differences in meaning); JOKL *LKUBA* 165-167 (from **bjershkë* as a derivative of *bie* 'to fall'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; TRUBAČEV *Nazv.* 281 (against the connection with the name of the Beskidy); ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (follows JOKL and derives the name of the Beskidy Mountains from *bjeshkë*), *Etim.* II 255-256; OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32 (from **bheug-iskā*).

blanë f, pl. *blana* 'heart of tree; sapwood; scar, mark, pockmark'. Borrowed from Slav **bolna*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *blana* 'turf, piece of dried dung', SCr *blana* 'coopers instrument' (OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 134-135). Closer meanings have been preserved in East Slavic: Russ *bolona* 'young wood between the bark and the trunk; lump or scar on the bark'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 175-177; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 257; SVANE 120.

blatë f, pl. *blatë* 'wafer'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1040, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMAN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 109, 158.

blegërij ~ blegërîj aor. *blegëriva* 'to bleat'. Onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 38-39, cf. Gk βληχάομαι id.). ◊ POKORNY I 102; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 258 (same as MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104.

blehurë adj. 'pale'. From PAlb **blaid-ura* related to Slav **blědъ* id., OE *blát* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◊ POKORNY I 160; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 111-112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105.

blej aor. *bleva* 'to buy'. Borrowed from Rom **ablevāre* 'to lift up, to relieve (from)' (MEYER *Wb.* 39). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 44 (divides *blej* into a prefix *b-* < *mb-* and a root identical with that of *laj* in its meaning 'to pay'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; BORGEAUD *RRL* 4 (1973) 327-331; HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 83-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71 (to Latv *blènst* 'to see badly; to look' and its other Baltic cognates), *Etim.* II 259-260.

blertë adj. 'green'. There exists a derivationally more archaic variant Italo-Alb *blerë*. The word goes back to PAlb **blōra* related to Lat *flōrus* 'shining, bright', OIr *blár* 'gray', W *blawr* id. < IE **bhlōros* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 260-261). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 38 (compares with Slav **blědъ* 'pale'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 513-514; HULD 45 (from **bhlēudhro-*, to IE **bhlēu̯o-* 'light-colored'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104-105.

bletë f, pl. *bletë* 'bee, swarm, hive'. Goes back to **mbletë* borrowed from Rom **melettum*, cf. *mellārium* 'beehive, apiary' (JOKL *LKUBA* 284-296). ◊ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (comparison with Gk μέλιττα 'bee'); CAMARDA I 44 (the same); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 79 (from Rom **albiettus*, cf. Rum *albină* 'bee'), *Wb.* 39 (from Rom **apetta* ~ **abetta* 'bee'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 235 (follows CAMARDA in deriving *bletë* from **melit*); SKOK *AArbSt* I 225 (from Rom **albeāta*), *Arch. Roman.* VIII 148-150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84 (agrees with JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from Gk *μέλιτjα); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows POTT); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38 (borrowed from Gk μελίσσεον 'beehive'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 69-70 (borrowed from Gk μέλιττα with a shift of accent), *Etim.* II 261-263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105 (from PAlb **m(e)litā*).

blëndës ~ **blandës** m, pl. *blëndësa* ~ *blandësa* 'paunch, stomach'. Another form is *blënxë* ~ *blanxë*. Variants of *plëndës* ~ *plandës*.

bli ~ **blî** m, pl. *blirë*, *blinj* 'linden'. From PAlb **blina* further connected with Lith *blindìs*, *blendìs* 'Salix caprea' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 70-71, *Etim.* II 264) and derived from **bhlen-* 'to shine', semantically motivated by the color of the bast and bark typical of linden (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (treats *bli* as a loanword from Rom **(li)brinum*); FRAENKEL 49.

bli ~ **blî** m, pl. *blij, blinj* 'sturgeon'. From PAlb **blina* connected with Gk βλέννος id. (MEYER *Wb.* 40; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). Further related to the same IE **bhlen-* 'to shine' as *bli* 'linden'; in this case, the motivation is based on the color of the fish (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* I 165-182 (further connections of *bli* with Gk φάλλη 'whale' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; FRISK I 242-243; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk βλῖνος); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 264-265 (identical with *bli* 'linden').

bligë f 'forked piece of wood'. From PAlb **bligā*, a zero ablaut variant related to Gk φάλαγξ 'stem', ON *bialki* 'log'. ◊ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14 (from **le-bigë*); POKORNY I 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 265 (identical with *bigë*).

blokër f 'rubbish, trash'. Continues PAlb **blāukā* derived from IE **bhlēu̯os* 'blue, yellow', cf. Lat *flāvus* 'yellow' and the like. ◊ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (prefixal form related to Lat *bāca*); POKORNY I 160; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 267 (to *bluaj*).

blorë f 'sling'. Continues PAlb **blāgrā*, a form reflecting a long grade variant comparable with Lat *flagrum* 'whip', cf. further ON *blekkja* 'to beat, to strike'. ◊ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (from **le-borë*); POKORNY I 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.*268 (derivative of *bahe*).

blozë f, pl. *blozë, bloza* 'soot'. Derivative of *bluaj* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 40; JOKL *Studien* 8-9 (to Skt *maliná-* 'black', Gk μέλας id.); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 13-14 (from **le-bozë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 71, *Etim.* II 269-270 (agrees with CAMAJ); MANN *Comp.* 80 (to Lat *flamma* 'flame').

bluaj ~ **bluej** aor. *blova* 'to grind'. Borrowed from Lat *molere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 40). Among various derivatives note *bluashkë, blloshkë* 'splinter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1054; JOKL *IF* XLIX 291; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 146; HAMP *IF* LXVII 147 (from IE **mel-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 270-271.

blude f, pl. *blude* 'wooden bowl'. Singularized plural of the form *bludë* attested in dialects. Borrowed from Slav **bl'udo* 'dish, plate', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bljudo*, Bulg *bl'udo*, SCr *bljudo* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. Elemente 16; MEYER *Wb.* 40). It is interesting that in South Slavic the word stands for a clay vessel rather than for a wooden one. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 73.

bludë f '(film of) mould, scum on wine, skin on milk'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic continuant of Slav **blǫda* reflected in Bulg dial. *blъda* 'unclean pimples' and Slovene *blóda* 'mistake'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (from SCr *bluta* 'mould'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 32 (from Rom **abluta* 'rinse water'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 72, *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 117; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 125.

boj aor. *bova* 'to mate'. Usually, attested in passive as *bohet*. Metaphoric use of *boj* 'to drive' attested in North Geg. From PAlb **bāgnja* related to Lith *bė́gti* 'to run', Latv *bêgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav **běgti* id., Gk φέβομαι id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119). For the semantic development in Albanian cf. Russ *gon* 'heat (of animals)' < *gnat'* 'to drive'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41-42 (to NGk μπαίνω); TREIMER *MRIW* I 373-375 (to Germ *Bahn* 'road'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Rom **disbinō*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 68-69 (from **bhōreįō*); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, 118 (related to *mbaj, bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (from **dëboj* further connected with Lith *výti* 'to drive (away)' and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk πτοέω 'to frighten'); FRAENKEL 38; FRISK II 998-999; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 105-106.

bolbë f 'accident, disaster, sorrow'. Borrowed from the otherwise unattested Slav **bolьba*, derivative of **bolь* 'pain' (KRISTOFORIDHI 487; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 8 (against Slavic etymology); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 322 (from Rom **volva* or from IE **bhēl-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 73, IV 98, *Etim.* II 281-282 (to Lat *bulla*, OIr *bolach*).

bolle pl. 'testicles'. From PAlb **bālnai* connected with IE **bhḷəno-*: Gk φαλλός 'phallus', Lat *follis* 'bellows', OIr *ball* 'limb, member' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67-68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (from Ital *bolla* 'lump, knob' or *balla* 'testicle'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; FRISK II 987-988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 524-525; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 23; VENDRYES B-12; POKORNY I 120; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 282 ("elementary creation"); MANN *Comp.* 63-64 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'forehead').

bollë f, pl. *bolla* 'kind of harmless snake'. Borrowed from Rom **bola*,

cf. Lat *bolea* 'salamander' (JOKL *ZRomPh* XLI 228-230). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (borrowed from Lat *bēlua* 'beast, monster'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 295 n. 1 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'with shining skin'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85, *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 283-285 (from IE **bhul-* 'to swell'); LANDI *Lat.* 126.

borë f, pl. *borë, borëra* ~ *borna* 'snow'. Dialectal variants *dëbor, vdor, zborë, xborë* and the like reflect PAlb **diš-bārā* with a borrowed suffix (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 193) or, rather, **iš-bārā* with a Proto-Albanian suffix. The semantic structure of the word is similar to Rum *zapadă* 'snow' < Slav **zapada* 'falling down (snow)' and, therefore, **-bārā* is linked to *bie* 'to fall' (ibid.; CIORANESCU *DER* II 910). In fact, *borë* may be a calque of the Slavic word (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz. XI* 19). Its verbal correlate is *zbjerr* 'to lose' < **-ber-na.* ◊ CAMARDA I 100 (to Gk βορέας 'North wind'); MEYER *Wb.* 42 (to Rum *bora* 'North wind' and - at the same time! - Slav **bur'a* 'storm'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 5 (from Gk βορέας 'North wind'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85; HASDEU *EMR* I 106; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 24-25 (to *var*); KRAHE *IF* LVII 113-114 (to Maced *Bora*); CAMAJ 38; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73-74 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 287-289; HULD 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 106-107.

borigë f, pl. *boriga* 'kind of pine; splinter'. Another variant is *borikë.* Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *borika* 'fir-tree', SCr *borika* 'pine' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94-95 (related to Gk φάρυγξ 'throat' and IE **bher-* 'to cut'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 206 (follows JOKL); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 707 (follow ÖLBERG); ÇABEJ *St.* I 74 (supports MEYER), *Etim.* II 289; SVANE 125; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bors m, pl. *borsa* 'chaffinch, Fringilla'. Derived from *borë* as shown by names of chaffinch in other languages, cf. Fr *pinson de neige*, Germ *Schneefink* and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75, *Etim.* II 290-291). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (borrowed from Slav **skvorьcь* 'starling').

bosht m, pl. *boshte, boshtinj* 'spindle, axis, axle'. From PAlb **bāsta* close to Gmc **bōsta* > OHG *buost* 'rope made of bast'. Further related to Gmc **bastaz* 'bast' as well as Lat *fascis*, Alb *bashkë* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). The spindle is, thus, described as 'junc-

ture'. Note that *boshtër* 'Forsythia' is derived from *bosht* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 42 (derived from Ital *bosso* 'box-tree'); GUYON *St. Glott. Ital.* V 11 (borrowed from Slav **bodьсь* 'thorn, sharp stick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 86; KLUGE 55; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 166; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (prefixal *b-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 292-293 (to *bie* 'to carry' or to Skt *bhr̥ṣti-*).

botë f, pl. *bota* 'earth; world'. From PAlb **bwātā* based on IE **bheu-* ~ **bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (JOKL *Studien* 7). Among derivatives of *botë* note *botëm* 'pale'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 43 (comparison with Lat *bētere, baetere* 'to go'); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Skt *bhāta-* 'shining', cf. Rum *lume*), *Comp.* 67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 294-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

bram m 'residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax'. From PAlb **bradma* connected with Skt *bradhná-* 'reddish, yellow', Slav **bronъ* 'colored' < **brodnъ* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 300; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). For the semantic development cf. OHG *rost* 'rust' based on IE **reudh-* 'red'. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 451; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 41-42; MANN *Comp.* 98 (to Lat *fragmen* 'scrap, fragment').

branë f, pl. *brana* 'harrow'. Continues a South Slavic reflex of Slav **borna* id.: Bulg *brana*, SCr *brana* (MEYER *Wb.* 44-45, mistakenly claims the Bulgarian form non-existent). The verb *branis* 'to harrow' is borrowed from Slav **borniti*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 156; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301; SVANE 31, 253.

bravë f 'herd'. Borrowed from Slav **borvъ* ~ **borva* 'cattle', cf. in particular Bulg *brava*, SCr pl. *bravi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◊ SKOK I 203; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301-302; SVANE 134.

bravë f, pl. *brava* 'door-lock'. A relatively late borrowing from SCr *brava* id. (SKOK I 203) which might be connected with Rom **barra* 'bar' (MEYER *Wb.* 45).◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 306; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 83.

brazë f, pl. *braza* 'furrow'. Another (and more conservative) variant is *brazdë*. Borrowed from Slav **borzda* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *brazda*, SCr *brazda* (WEIGAND 9; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 322) ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302.; SVANE 37.

brazim m 'hoar-frost'. Derivative based on *brazë* and semantically motivated by the form of hoar-frost looking like wrinkles or furrows. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 45 (from Venet *brosa* id., Friul *brose* id.); HUBSCHMID *Vox Rom.* III 133 (from Venet *bro:zima* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 75 (derived from *mraz*), *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 173.

bredh m, pl. *bredha* 'fir-tree'. From PAlb **brada* etymologically connected with Slav **bredъ* 'willow' and, further, with **brodъ* 'ford', Lith *brãdas* id., all these forms based on IE **bhredh-*, cf. *bredh* 'to jump, to spring' (OREL *Ètimologija 1985* 29-30). For the semantic motivation, similar to that of Slav **bredъ* (a tree growing or "walking" along the rivers or hill-slopes), cf. VASMER I 210 and TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 11-12. Rum *brad* 'fir-tree' is a Proto-Albanian loanword reflecting the original root vowel of PAlb **brada*. Note a derivative *breshtë* 'fir-tree forest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 62 (to Lat *bratus*); DIEFENBACH I 50 (to Latv *priẽdè* 'pine'); JOKL *IF* XXX 208-210 (from IE **bhrozdh-*); MEYER *Wb.* 45-46 (compares *bredh* with the IE **bherəĝ-* 'birch'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231 (to ON *barr* 'pine needle'); FRAENKEL 58-59; CAMAJ 121, 123 (reconstructs suffix **-dh-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (reconstructs **bhreĝ-* and links *bredh* to the IE name of birch, following MEYER); HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (borrowed from Gk βράθυ); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 13, 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 303-305 (follows CAMARDA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 107-108.

bredh aor. *brodha* 'to jump, to spring'. From PAlb **breda* identical with Slav **bredǫ, *bresti* 'to wade, to ford', Lith *brendù, brìsti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 46, *Alb. St.* III 28, 35, 71). ◊ FRAENKEL 58; PISANI *Saggi* 125; HAMP *ZfBalk* XXV 43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 75-76 (to OE *bregdan* 'to stir'), *Etim.* II 305; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (prefix *b-*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 14-15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 108.

breg m, pl. *brigje, bregje* 'hill, bank'. Borrowed from Slav **bergъ* 'bank, coast, hill', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *brěgъ*, Bulg *br'ag*, SCr *brijeg, breg* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 305-306; SVANE 161.

brej ~ brêj aor. *brejta ~ brêjta* 'to gnaw'. From PAlb **brainja* further connected with IE **bhrei-* 'to cut': Skt *bhrīṇā́ti* '(he) injures', Lat *friō* 'to rub', Slav **briti* 'to shave' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 306-307). For similar semantic development see

JEGERS *KZ* LXXX 109. ◊ MEYER *Alb.St.* V 70-71 (to Lat *frendō*); JOKL *Studien* 9; LA PIANA *Studi* I 73 (from **bhorejō*); MAYRHOFER II 532-533; WALDE-HOFMANN I 549; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* (reconstructs **bhr̥-n-H-e/o-*); SVANE *GjA* II 39 (*brij* < *brej* influenced by aorist); DEMIRAJ *AE* 108-109.

brekë pl. 'pants'. Borrowed from Lat *brācae* 'trousers, breeches' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 307-308; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38.

brenda adv. 'inside'. Together with other phonetic and morphonological variants, *brënda* and *mbrënda* ~ *mbrenda*, continues a sequence of prepositions and adverbs PAlb **(en) per enta* (CAMARDA I 318). For the last component cf. *nde*. The derivative *brëndës* 'intestines', is the source of the Balkan word for goat- and sheep-cheese prepared in sheep's stomach, cf. Rum *brînză*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33 (from Lat *intra*); MEYER *Wb.* 47-48; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from **en-pre-en-do*); PASCU *RE* 27 (Rum *brînză* related to *berr*); RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 270-273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 308-310; HAARMANN 141 (from Lat *per intu*).

brengë f, pl. *brenga* 'grief, sorrow'. From PAlb **brain(i)kā* connected with **brainja* > *brej* 'to gnaw'. For the semantic development cf. E *remorse* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Rum *brîncă* denoting a contagious disease was borrowed from the intermediate Albanian form **brenka* < **brain(i)kā* and, quite probably, preserves its earlier meaning; thus, 'illness' > 'grief' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76, *Etim.* II 311-312). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 46; PHILIPPIDE *Viaţa romanească* XVII 39; DICULESCU *DR* IV 477 (to Rum *brîncă* < Gk βράγχος); MANN *Comp.* 53-54 (to Goth *ana-praggan* 'to oppress').

breshër ~ **breshën** m 'hail'. Singularized plural of **brash* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76-77, *Etim.*312-314) going back to PAlb **brauša* and, further, to IE **bhreus-* 'to break': OIr *brúu* id., MW *breu* 'fragile', OHG *brosma* 'crumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 47, *Alb. Studien* III 35, 61, 72). ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk βρέχω 'to wet'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 245-247; PEDERSEN *IF* V 38 (argues against the above etymology), *Kelt. Gr.* I 55; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 17; POKORNY I 171; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53 (< *b-resh-ën* 'falling'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 217; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69 (reconstructs **bhroisino-* and connects *breshër* ~ *breshën*

with *brej*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; JANSON *Unt.* 19-21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 109.

breshkë f, pl. *breshka* 'tortoise'. Another variant is *breçkë*. Together with Rum *broască* 'toad, frog' this word continues a Balkan Romance form **brotascus* or **brosacus*, eventually going back to Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', cf. *bretk* (CAMARDA I 104). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 47 (borrowed from Rom **brōsca* 'frog'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 18; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (from MLat *bruscus*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 314-315.

breshtë adj. 'wild, rough, rugged, rude'. From PAlb **braišta* or **brainšta* derived from *brej* < IE **bhrei-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68-69). For the semantic development cf. Slav **grǫbъ* ~ **grubъ* 'rough, rude' and Gmc **grauta-* 'big, great' (OHG *grōʒ* and the like) in their connection to Slav **gruditi* 'to gnaw'. ◊ MANN *Comp.* 101 (to ON *bresta* 'to burst').

bretk m, pl. *bretq* 'frog'. Borrowed from Rom **brotacus* or directly from Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', a phonetic transformation of βάτραχος (CAMARDA I 104; MEYER *Wb.* 47). ◊ FRISK I 226-227; HAARMAN 113.

brez m, pl. *breza* 'belt'. Comparison with Rum *brîu* 'strap, belt' borrowed from Proto-Albanian (MEYER *Wb.* 46-47) leads to the reconstruction of PAlb **breuna* from which *brez* was derived with suffix *-(ë)z*. As to PAlb **breuna*, it may be identified with Lith *briaunà* 'edge'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 46-47 (to Goth *brunjo* 'breastplate' and the like); SKOK *Arch. Roman.* VIII 150; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 391; SKOK *ZONF* I 89, *ArRom* VIII 150 (diminutive); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (to Gk βρόχος); PISANI *Saggi* 121; FRAENKEL 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 317-320 (derived from *mbrej* 'to put on yoke' < **m-ber-enj*).

bri ~ **brî** m, pl. *bri, brinj, brirë* ~ *brinë* 'horn'. From PAlb **brina* related to Messap βρένδον· ἔλαφον; βρέντιον· ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐλάφου (Hes., Et. Magn.), Swed *brind* 'deer', Latv *briêdis* 'elk', OPrus *braydis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 48). ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to *bredh* 'to jump'); PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ *AE* 110 (semantic reconstruction: 'deer'); BERTOLD *IF*

LII 211; SKOK *ZONF* I 89 (singularized plural of **bhren-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60; CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87-88 (reconstructs **bhrendh-no-*), *Stratificazione* 87; KRAHE *Spr. Vorz.* 104; MAYER *KZ* LXVI 75-76 (from **bhr̥no-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 210; PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRISK I 265; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; SCHICK *AAT* LXXXVII 89-118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 321-323; DEMIRAJ *AE* 110-111 (related to Skt *bhrū́-* 'eyebrow').

brie f 'caries'. Singularized plural based on **breja* further connected with IE **bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 323).

brimë f, pl. *brima* 'hole'. From PAlb **brima*, an adjective in **-mo-* related to *birë* (MEYER *Wb.* 37, *Alb. St.* III 35). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15; CHANTRAINE 1179; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 324-325 (to *brej*).

brinjë f, pl. *brinjë* 'rib, side'. From PAlb **brinjā* derived from *bri* (LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 284; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5) with the semantic development 'horn' > 'side' similar to that of Slav **rogъ* 'horn' > 'corner'. The meaning 'rib' in *brinjë* was derived from 'side'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 48 (related to Skt *párśu-* 'rib', Slav **pьrsi* 'breast' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 31-32; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 236-238 (to Goth *brunjo* 'armor'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 77-78 (related to Lith *briaunà* 'edge' and the like), *Etim.* II 325-327.

brisk m, pl *brisqe* 'razor, penknife'. Early loanword in a form of **britšika* from South Slav **bričьkъ*, diminutive of **bričь* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 17; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Another (and more rare) form *briskë* goes back to South Slav **bričьka* preserved in Bulg *bričká* 'razor with a handle', SCr *brička* 'razor' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 22 (correctly compares with Slav **bričь*), *Wb.* 49, *Alb. St.* IV 90 (borrowing from Slav **brъsnǫti* 'to shave', particularly, from Bulg *brъsna* id., *brъsnač* > *brъsnič* 'razor' - phonetically impossible); PISANI *Saggi* 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 78 (prefers derivation from IE **bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' with suffix *-sk-*), *Etim.* II 327-328; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355-356.

britmë m 'autumn month'. Appearing with an ordinal number, stands for September, October or November. Analogical transformation of

brymës id. (derivative of *brymë*) under the influence of *brej* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 111). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 50 (derived from *brej*).

brukë f 'tamarind'. From PAlb **brukā* identical with Slav **bъrkъ* 'twig, stalk, sharp end'. ◊ HAMP *Anc. IE* 102; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 128-129; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 332 (borrowed from Gk μυρίκη via Dor *βρύκη).

brumë m, pl. *brumë* 'dough'. Derived from *mbruaj* ~ *mbruej, mbryj* 'to knead' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 333-334). From PAlb **bruma* related to Gmc **barma* 'yeast' (OE *beorma*) and Lat *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast' (MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 11, *LKUBA* 263; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; ERNOUT-MEILLET 230; PISANI *Saggi* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (reconstructs **bhreumo-*); KLUGE 52; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111.

brushtull f, pl. *brushtulla* 'heather'. From PAlb **brust-ula* related to Slav **brъstь* 'sprout, bud' and OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout'. ◊ VAN WIJK *IF* XXIV 235; PUDIĆ *IX ICL* 862-864 (from EGmc **brustilō*, cf. E *bristle*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329 (to Dac *riborasta*, plant name); NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 197 (follows POGHIRC); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 58; GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *Blssl.* 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 335-336 (borrowed from Slav **bl'uščь*).

bruz adj. 'blue, indigo'. From PAlb **brudja* comparable with Slav **brudъ* 'dirt', **brudьnъ* 'dirty' < IE **bhrou-dh-*, cf. **bhrou-t-* in Thrac βροῦτος 'barley beer' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175). ◊ DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 93; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 336 (to *barrë*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 44.

brydh adj. 'weak, pliant, mild'. From PAlb **brūdza* related to Lat *frūx* 'fruit', Goth *brukjan* 'to use' (where IE **ĝ* should be reconstructed) The meaning in Albanian is based on the original notion of 'used, worn out'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Slav **bъrzъ*), *Comp.* 54, 111 (to W *brydd* 'feeble, ailing'); POKORNY I 173; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175 (to Slav **brydъkъ* 'disgusting, sharp'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 337-338 (to *bredh* 'to jump').

brymë f. 'frost'. Borrowed from Lat *brūma* 'cold, frost' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Lat *pruīna* id.); CAMAJ 47 (to IE **bher-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 338; LANDI *Lat.* 68-69.

buall ~ buell m, pl. *buaj ~ buej* 'buffalo'. An early borrowing from Slav **byvolъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243) with the diphtongization of the group **-yvo-* similar to that in *patkua*. The feminine form *buallicë ~ buellicë* goes back to Slav **byvolica*. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 150 (borrowed from Lat *būbalus* id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Lat *būbalus* or Gk βούβαλος); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 64, *Wb.* 50 (same etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 541; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *St.* I 79 (questions the phonetic validity of MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 339-340 (identical with Thracian βόλινθος 'bull'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 158-159; LANDI *Lat.* 107, 137.

buças aor. *buçita* 'to roar, to thunder'. Borrowed from Slav **bučati* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *buča*, SCr *bučati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 345 (from SCr *bučati*); SVANE 260.

buj ~ bûj aor. *bujta ~ bûjta* 'to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight'. From PAlb **bunja* related to Goth *bauan* 'to stay' and other derivatives of IE **bheu- ~ *bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (CAMARDA I 59; MEYER *Wb.* 51, *Alb. St.* III 33). As to *bunë* 'alpine hut', it continues **buntā* derived from *buj*, cf. Lith *bùtas* 'dwelling' and OIr *both* 'hut' derived from IE **bhū-*. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; MEYER *Alb. St.* V 71 (from IE **bheug(h)-* 'to bend'); FEIST *Goth.* 83-84; HASDEU *EMR* I 101; JOKL *Studien* 7-8, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 121; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (*bunë* to Thrac -βουνον); ÇABEJ *St.* I 80-81 (reconstructs **budnja* and connects it with Slav **buditi* 'to wake up' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 351-353; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111-112.

bujk m, pl. *bujq* 'peasant'. Also attested as *bulk*. Borrowed from Lat *bubulcus* 'ploughman, herdsman' (CAMARDA I 180; MEYER *Wb.* 53). From this stem, *bulk, bulkth, burkth* 'cricket' is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 55 (*burkth* to **murk-* 'black'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *LB VI* 99-100 (to *murk*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30-31; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 112 (*burkth* related to OE *beorcan* 'to bark'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 356; LANDI *Lat.* 89, 135-136.

bukë f, pl. *bukë* 'bread; meal, meal-time'. Borrowed from Lat *bucca* 'mouth' which in Balkan Romance means 'food' as in Rum *bucă*, cf.

also Rom **buccella* 'bread', Ital *buccella* 'mouthful' (CAMARDA I 132; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 51). This semantic shift is typical of all the Carpatho-Balkan area (HAMP *RRL* XXIV 315). ◊ XYLANDER 277 (to Phryg βέκος 'bread'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 19; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 46, *Stratificazione* 133; OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 84; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; HAMP *RomPh* XXXIV/4 434; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 357-358; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 317-323; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 134.

bukël f, pl. *bukla* 'weasel'. From PAlb **buklā* connected with *bukur* (MEYER *Wb.* 51-52). The variant *bungël* seems to be secondary (influenced by *bung*?). Taking into account the lust as a specific feature of weasel (cf. *bukur*), to be further connected with IE **bheu-* 'to swell', with its characteristic semantic development in Slavic (OCS *bui* μωρός, ἄφρων, Slav **bujьnъ* 'violent, wild, lusty, fertile'), and in particular with Germanic formations in **-k-*: OHG *buhil* 'hill' < **bhuk-l-*, ON *bóla* 'lump, knob' < **bhukl-ōn-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70).◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 79-80 (to MIr *bocc*, Skt *bhugna-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133 (thinks of a Romance loanword); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPh* XXXIV 215 (to MFr *bacoule* id.); POKORNY I 98 f.; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119; MANN *Comp.* 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 358.

bukur adj. 'beautiful, fine, nice, pretty; good, noble; dim'. From PAlb **bukura* etymologically connected with *bukël*, cf. Slav **laska* 'weasel' ~ 'caress', Lith *lokšnùs* 'tender' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254; MEYER *Wb.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). The semantic *tertium comparationis* is the weasel's remarkable lust occasionally related to the notion of beauty and good (TRUBAČEV in VASMER II 462; TOPOROV *PJa* III 279-280: on OPrus *caune* 'marten'). From (Proto-)Albanian the word was borrowed to Rum *bucur* (MEYER *Wb.* 52). ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (identical with Lat *pulcher*); CIHAC II 715 (borrowed from Turk *buhur* 'incense'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Ir *boce* 'ark'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; HAAS *LB* I 35, 43, III 51 (to Gk βαυκρός); ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 (explains both Albanian and Rumanian words from the Balkan substratum); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 360-362.

bulbër m 'street dust'. Borrowed from Lat *pulverem* 'dust'. Note the

irregular voiced anlaut. ◊ MEYER *Alb.St* V 71 (from Ital *polvere* id.); HELBIG 39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 362.

bulë f, pl. *bula* 'bud'. Borrowed from Lat *bulla* 'bubble, boss, knob' (MEYER *Wb.* 53). ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (follows SCHMIDT); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; MANN *Comp.* 122 (to MHG *bolle* 'bud'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 81 (accepts MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 362-363; LANDI *Lat.* 93.

bulë f 'soft flesh (on the rear side of the finger)'. Borrowed from MLat *bulla* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 363). ◊ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla*, Venet *bola* id.).

bullar m, pl. *bullarë* 'blindworm'. Together with its variant *bollar* this word is derived from *bollë* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90). It is the source of Rum *bălaur* 'dragon' from where other Balkan forms were borrowed. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41; BARIĆ *ARSt* 3-5 (from **bala* 'water, marsh' and **var* 'snake'); PASCU *RE* 25 (reconstructs Rom **belluārius*); DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* 1950, 270-271; SKOK *ZfromPh* L 513-517; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; OREL *Vestnik MGU. Filologija* 1981/2 72-76 (ancient Balkan ties of *bullar*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 366-367.

bullog m 'dragon's dwelling'. Transformed from **burllog* under the influence of *bullar*. Borrowed from South Slav **brъlogъ* < Slav **bьrlogъ* 'den, dwelling', cf. Bulg *bъrlog*, Slovene *brlog*. Alb *-ur-* < South Slav *-ъr-* indicates an early loanword. Another trace of Slav **bьrlogъ* is *bërllok* 'den' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16 on *bërllok*). ◊ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211; SVANE 43.

bullungë f, pl. *bullunga* 'lump, knob'. Formation in *-ungë* (JOKL *RIEt-Balk.* II 76) derived from **bull* < PAlb **bulna*, etymologically connected with IE **bhelə-* 'to swell' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullūca*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (compares with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 144-145 (< *bu-* + *lungë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (connects *bullungë* with *ballë*), *Etim.* II 368-370 (to *mullâ* ~ *mullë*).

bung m, pl. *bunga* 'kind of oak, Quercus sessiflora'. From PAlb

**bun(i)ka* derived from IE **bheu-* 'to grow' and closely related to Arm *bun* 'trunk' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 83, *Etim.* II 373-375). The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bunget* 'thicket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (comparison with Slav **buky*, **bukъ* 'beech' which, however, is a Germanic loanword); BARIĆ I 103 f. (to Lith *bingùs* 'brave, courageous' or Gk παχύς 'thick'); JOKL *LKUBA* 177-179 (to Skt *bhunákti* 'to enjoy, to use, to consume' because of the edible nature of acorns!); LA PIANA *Studi* I 102-103 (to Gk φάγος and Phryg Βαγαῖος); AČAREAN *HAB* I 483-484; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to OHG *bunga* 'lump'); POKORNY I 146-148; HAMP *LB XX 117* (to the Indo-European name of 'beech' **bhāgnā*); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 108; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3238; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; HAMP *LB* XX/1-2 117 (from **bhāg-n-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 112-113 (supports HAMP).

burdhë f 'kind of sack'. Attested in Albanian of Greece. From PAlb **burdā* < IE **bhr̥dh-* further related to ON *borð* 'board, edge', OE *bord* id. ◊ POKORNY I 138; ÇABEJ *SCL* X 556 (to Germ *Bürde*); HAMP *RRL* IV 335 (reconstructs **bhorH-dā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113.

burg m, pl. *burgje* 'prison, stable'. Borrowed from Gmc **burg-* 'borough, fenced area': Goth *baurgs*, OHG *burg* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ CAMARDA II 145 (to Gk πύργος); DIEFENBACH apud MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (from MLat *burica*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Rom **burgus*); MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (various preliminary guesses); ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 206; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 379-383 (follows CAMARDA).

burrë m, pl. *burra* 'man, husband'. Borrowed from OHG *gibūro* 'peasant, villager' with the simplification of the anlaut cluster **gb-* > *b-*. Cf. a similar source of Hung *pór* id. < OBavar **pour*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *púruṣa-* 'man'); MEYER *Wb.* 55 (etymologically identifies *burrë* with OHG *gibūro*, Germ *Bauer*), *Alb. St.* III 74; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (from MLat *barro*); PISANI *Saggi* (follows MEYER); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 219 (reconstructs **bhorno-* further connected with OHG *baro* '(free) man'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230 (follows WIEDEMANN and reconstructs **bhᵉrno-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 91 (agrees with JOKL), TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; VASMER *ZfslavPh* V 368-369 (to Illyr Βοῦροι); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* II 135 note 1; PISANI *Saggi* 121; MANN *Language* XVII 13 (reconstructs **bhr̥nio-*); GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (to Thrac -βουρ); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 76, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX

209 (reconstructs **bhorH-n- ~ *bhorHtr-*); CAMAJ 230; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 74 (same as GEORGIEV); ÇABEJ *St.* I 84-85 (accepts WIEDEMANN's etymology), *Etim.* II 389-391; KLUGE 57; HULD 46-47; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from PAlb **burnas*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113-114.

bush m 'boxwood'. Borrowed from Lat *buxus* id. (WEIGAND 10). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 56 (from SCr *bus* id.); HELBIG 43, 76 (from Ital *bosso*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 392 (follows WEIGAND 10).

bushtër f, pl. *bushtra* 'bitch', adj. 'raging, wild'. An early borrowing from Slav **bystrъ*, fem. **bystra* 'quick' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 27), cf. Russ *borzoj* 'borzoi' < 'fast'. ◊ CAMARDA I 162 (to Lat *bustum*); MEYER *Wb.* 56 (to ON *bikkja* id., E *bitch* or to Lat *bēstia*); JOHANSSON *IF* IV 268 (to Lat *findō*); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14-15 (to *bush* 'bogy, werewolf'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 394-395 (same as LA PIANA); MANN *Comp.* 127 (related to Slav **bystrъ*).

but m, pl. *bute* 'big barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *buttis* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Ital *botte*); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 396; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

butë adj. 'soft, smooth'. From PAlb **buta* < IE **bhugh-to-* comparable with NIr *bog* 'soft' < **bhugho-*, Arm *butʻ* 'blunt' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). The source of both forms is IE **bheugh-* 'to bend'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 57; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 159; JOKL *IF* XLIV 54; MLADENOV *IF* XXXVIII 169-171; POKORNY I 152-153; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70 (to *buj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 397-398; MANN *Comp.* 121; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 114; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114.

buzë f, pl *buzë* 'lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock'. The word goes back to PAlb **budjā* identical with Lith *budė̃* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone' (OREL *LB* XXVII 49 f.); semantically, cf. Slav **gǫba* 'lip, tree-fungus' (TOPOROV *Balcanica* 243 f.) and Rum *buză* (see below). Both the Lithuanian and the Albanian words are related to IE **bhudh-men* 'bottom' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 86, KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Leksikol.* 152 f.); the development of meaning is paralleled in Alb *fund* 'bottom, end, edge'. Alb *buzë* is the source of Rum *buză* 'lip, edge, sharp edge, top of a rock', Arum *budză* 'lip, edge'. The latter forms were borrowed into Slavic: Bulg *buza* 'cheek', Maced *buza* 'lip', SCr *budza* 'mouth, lip', *buza*

'mouth, lip, kiss'. The status of Pol *buzia* 'mouth, face' and Ukr *buz'a* id. (< Polish?) is dubious. Alb *buzëm* 'edge, stone at the edge of the hearth, piece of wood burned down at Christmas' is a late derivative of *buzë* and, therefore, cannot be a base for a deep semantic reconstruction as suggested by TOPOROV (*Ètimologija 1976* 136 f.) in connection with SCr *badnjak*. ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (cognate of Lat *bucca* 'mouth'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Lat *basium* 'kiss'); MEYER *Wb.* 57 (from **bus-zë* compared with Lat *bucca* 'mouth' and derived from IE **buk̂-*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 21, *LR* I 177; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114 (compares with Lith *burnà* 'mouth', Arm *beran* id.); JOKL *Studien* 11-12, *LKUBA* 143, 278 (follows PEDERSEN; identifies *-zë* as a collective suffix); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87 (onomatopoeia); LA PIANA *Studi* I 103 (from IE **bheu̯ə-* 'to swell'); PISANI *Paideia* XXI 343; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329; POKORNY I 174 (to IE **bu-* 'lip, kiss'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 86-87 (derives *buzë* from **bhr̥dhjā* and compares it with E *board*!), *Etim.* II 400-402; NIKOLAEV *Antič. balk. 5 30* (*buzë* borrowed from North Caucasian); BŪGA I 324 (identifies Lith *budẽ* 'fungus' and *bùdė* 'whetstone'); FRAENKEL 61-62; BARIÇ *Hymje* 66; VAILLANT *BL* XIV 16 (Rum *buză* < Slav **lobъza*); *BER* I 87; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114-115.

byr aor. *byra* 'to carry out, to perform, to execute'. Continues PAlb **būra* related (as a causative) to IE **bhū-* 'to be, to grow'. It is probable that the Proto-Albanian verb is a denominative based on an unattested abstract noun **bhūrom* > **būra*. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/3 2 (based on *bëj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 408-409 (derived from *bie*).

bythë f, pl. *bythë* 'backside, buttocks'. A Proto-Albanian compound of *mbë* and *vithe*, with *-y-* resulting from PAlb **-iwi-* as in *qytet*. ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 141-142 (compound of *mbë* and *ith*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to IE **bhū-*); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211-212; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 410-411; MANN *Comp.* 57-58 (from IE **busd(h)i̯ə*, related to Gk βυσσός 'depth').

C

ca pron. 'some'. From the sequence of article *të* and pronoun *sa* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 20, *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◊ CAMARDA I 214 (links *ca* to

sa); MEYER *Wb.* 383 (connects *ca* with the pronominal stem *s-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 3-4.

calik m, pl. *calikë* 'goat-skin'. Borrowed from Slav **cělikъ* 'whole object', in this case, 'whole skin' (OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 135). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 439; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 131 (to Gk θαλλίς); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (unacceptable comparison with *cull*), *Etim.* 6-7.

camërdhok m 'little boy'. Of unclear origin. ◊ GAZULLI 18 (prefix *ca-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* 8 (to *callok* id.).

carac m, pl. *caraca* 'nettle tree'. Of unknown origin. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (cognate of *ther*).

carbë f, pl. *carba* 'scrap, rag'. Borrowed from Slav **čarьba* 'daub, dirt' attested only in Czech *čarba* but believed to be of much wider distribution originally. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 439 (to NGk τσερβούλια 'kind of shoe' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (to *carac* and *ther*).

care f, pl. *care* 'witch'. Borrowed from Slav **čara* 'witchcraft', cf. South Slavic forms: SCr *čara*, Slovene *čára* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 439; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 138). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 214.

carrok m, pl. *carrokë* 'lad, youth'. The etymology is uncertain. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88-89 (to *carac* and *ther*).

cek aor. *ceka* 'to touch'. A variant of *cerk*. The noun *ceke* 'intention, aim' is a deverbative. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 16-17 (onomatopoeia).

cemtë adj. 'cold (of water)'. Derived from *cermë* 'cold' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 18-19).

cenis aor. *cenita* 'to value'. Borrowed from Slav **cěniti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *cen'a*, SCr *ceniti* (JOKL *Studien* 103). ◊ SKOK *AArbSt* II 343 n. 3 (identical with *cmoj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20 (follows JOKL).

cep m, pl. *cepe* 'angle, edge'. Phonetic variant of *thep* (JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 446 (mistaken spelling *çep*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 115-116.

cerk aor. *cerka* 'to hit'. From PAlb **tserka* related to *ther*. The form *cerk* preserved the original affricate.

cermë f 'arthritis'. Borrowed from Slav **čьrmъ* 'inflammation' attested in South Slavic as Slovene *črm* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (historically identical with *thermë* - this view can be only accepted for *cërmë* 'cramp, spasm'), *Etim.* III 22-23.

cermë adj. 'cold, cool'. Continues PAlb **tsermā* related to Lith *šarmà* 'frost', Latv *sar̃ma* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (identical with *cermë* 'arthritis').

cëmoj aor. *cëmova* 'to hurt'. Derived from *thermë* with a dialectal change of *th-*. Thus, *cëmoj* < **thermoj*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (related to *thimth*, *thumb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (same as JOKL), *Etim.* III 24-25.

cërij aor. *cërita* 'to melt butter'. Based on PAlb **tsira* related to Skt *śrā́yati* 'to cook, to fry', Gk κίρνημι 'to mix'. ◊ FRISK I 824-825; POKORNY I 582; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25 (onomatopoeia *cër cër* of boiling oil).

cëril m 'thrush'. Another variant is *cërlle*. An early Slavic loanword, borrowed from **čьrnidlo* 'black (object)' (MEYER *Wb.* 440). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 202; SKOK I 278 (same as MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62-63 (from Romance, cf. Ital *merla* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25-27 (onomatopoeia).

cfurk m, pl. *cfurqe* 'pitchfork'. Derived from *furkë* (MEYER *Wb.* 114).

cicë f, pl. *cica* 'breast, nipple'. An element of the child language, cf. *thithë* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 90 (adduces Slavic and Romance parallels), *Alb. St.* III 44; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (from Romance); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127-128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* I 91 (follows TAGLIAVINI), *Etim.* III 30-31.

cili pron. 'which'. Together with its older variant *cilë*, *cili* continues **të silë*, cf. *ca* (MEYER *Wb.* 383). As to **silë*, it appears to be a recent formation based on *si* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 50 (derives *-l-* of *cili* from **-ln-*); LAMBERTZ *IF* XXXIV 113 n. 2 (reconstructs a suffix **-l-* in *cili* similar to that of Lat *tālis* 'such'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 91-92 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 34-38.

cimb m, pl. *cimba* 'sting'. A dialectal form related to *thimth* as well as *cimak* id. (JOKL *Idg. Jb.* XXIV 217). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 92, *Etim.* III 39.

cip m 'point, tip; upper part'. A dialectal form standing for **thip* and connected with *thep* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21.

cipë f, pl. *cipa* 'thin skin; milk skin'. Derived from *cip* in its meaning of 'upper part' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 44-45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 441 (borrowed from Slavic).

cirlë f, pl. *cirla* 'blackbird'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Slav **čirъkъ* 'teal'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 440 (mistakenly reconstructs **čërnlle* as borrowed from Slav **čьrnidlo*).

citë adj. 'full, brim-full'. From PAlb **tseita* etymologically identical with Slav **čitъ* 'whole', Lith *kíetas* 'hard' and continuing IE **k^{u}ei̯ətos*. The verb *cis* 'to saturate, to stuff' < **tsitja* also belongs here. ◊ CAMARDA I 87-88 (*cis* to Gk σιτεύω 'to feed'); MEYER *Wb.* 441 (compared with NGk τσιτώνω 'to fill holes with lime'); VAILLANT *RÉS* VI 106-107; FRAENKEL 252; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 124-125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 48-49 (from Slavic).

cjap m, pl. *cjep* 'he-goat'. Various forms including *cap* and *sqap* continue PAlb **tsapa* which, together with Slavic **capъ* id., Rum *ţap* id. and Ital *zappo* id., reflects an Oriental *Wanderwort* of Iranian or Altaic origin, cf. NPers *čapiš* 'one year old goat', Osset *cæw* 'goat', OTurk *čäbiš* 'six-months old kid'. ◊ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (connected with Lat *caper* 'he-goat'); MEYER *Wb.* 387-388 (the same); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 738 (Rum *ţap* from Albanian); DENSUSIANU *GS* I 243-244 (against the Latin etymology of Rum *ţap*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 292 (Rumanian loanword); ROZWADOWSKI *Roczn. Sław.* II 109 (Iranian parallels); ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XLV 662-664 (independent sources of Romance, Albanian and other words for 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133-134; ABAEV I 307; HUBSCHMID *Pyren.* 49, *Kult. SOE* 89; RUSSU *TD* 203 (Rum *ţap* from Dacian); TRUBAČEV *Živ.* 89; ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XIV 624 (pre-Romance nature of Rum *ţap* = Ital dial. *zappo* id.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 48-50; MEIER *Etym.* 56; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 172-173; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 49-51 (follows MEYER).

cmag m, pl. *cmagë* 'peg'. Another variant is *cmak*. Together with

cimak this word is related to *cimb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 93, *Etim.* III 51-52). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 62-63.

cub adj. 'with a short tail, with a tail cut off'. An early borrowing from Slav **čubъ* 'tuft of hair' and also 'stump, a cut off piece'. ◊ MEYER 442 (to SCr *čupa* 'tuft of hair'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58-59 (to *cup*).

cub m 'robber, brigand'. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Goth *þiubs* 'thief', OHG *diob* (MANN *Language* XXVI 384). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58 (to *cub* 'with a short tail').

cucë f, pl. *cuca* 'girl, maiden'. An onomatopoeic form with parallel formations in Slavic as well as in Hung *csucsa* 'loved one' (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 93-94 (from **cull-cë* to *cull*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 384-385 (to Goth *þiwi*); BRÎNCUŞ *SCL* 1 (1961) 25-28; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 59-60.

cull m, pl. *cullë* 'youth, boy'. A relatively recent loanword from Ital *ciullo* 'nincompoop' < *fnaciullo* (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 315-316). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 95 (reconstructs the original meaning as 'skin'), *Etim.* III 63-65.

cup adj. 'odd (uneven)'. Continues PAlb **tsupa* from IE **k̂(e)u-po-*, based on **k̂eu(ə)-* 'to swell', cf. in particular Skt *śūnyá-* 'empty'. As far as the suffix is concerned, cf. Skt *śó-pha-* 'swelling'. ◊ POKORNY I 592-593; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 67 (identical with *sup*).

curr aor. *curra* 'to prick up (ears)'. A phonetic and semantic variant of *thur*.

curr m, pl. *curra* 'high rock'. A nominal derivative of the verb *curr*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 115-116 (borrowed from Hbr *ṣôr* 'rock'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (reconstructs **k̂r̥no-*, to OIr *carn*), *AArbSt.* II 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 96 (to Arm *sur* 'sword', Goth *hairus* id.), *Etim.* III 68-69.

cys aor. *cyta* 'to spur on, to tease'. A difficult word. Maybe, a secondary formation in *-s* based on *thyej*. ◊ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 105-106, 149 (to *qoj* and, further, to Lat *ciēre* 'to move'); MANN *Language* XXVIII

31-32 (from **teudịō*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 96-97, II 327 (related to *nxis*), *Etim.* III 71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 116.

cyth aor. *cytha* 'to prick'. An onomatopoeia or an unusual derivative of *thyej*. Not at all clear.

Ç

çafkë f, pl. *çafka* 'heron'. Borrowed from Slav **čavъka* 'daw, magpie', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *čavka*, SCr *čavka* (MEYER *Wb.* 443). A homonymic *çafkë* 'glass, cup' is borrowed from Slav **čašьka* 'small bowl'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (adducing dialectal *cap* id., reconstructs **capkë* > *çafkë*), *Etim.* III 75-76 (from *çap*); SVANE 145.

çaj aor. *çava* 'to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up'. A parallel variant is NGeg *shaj*. From PAlb **tšenja*, formed on the basis of IE **sked-* 'to split': Skt *skhadate* id., Gk σκεδάννυμι id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 196). Note *çazë* 'leaf' representing a derivative in *-zë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (to Gk σχάζω 'to cut, to incise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 97; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 918-919; MAYRHOFER III 507; FRISK II 721; CAMAJ *Alb. Wotb.* 60; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71; ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 77; HULD 47-48 (reconstructs **-a-* in the Proto-Albanian root); DEMIRAJ *AE* 116-117 (*çaj* < **dë-shaj*, related to Lat *sariō* 'to weed').

çajme f, pl. *çajme* 'red-backed shrike, heron'. Derived from Slav **čaja*, **čajьka* 'gull, lapwing', cf. South Slavic forms: Maced *čajka*, Slovene *čájka* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 77). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 443 (uncertain relation to Slav **čapja* 'heron').

çalë adj. 'lame'. From PAlb **štšala* related to Gk σκολιός 'crooked', Lat *scelus* and their cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 194 (from IE **skel-no-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **eḱs-skolịios*); PISANI *Saggi* 128; FRISK II 723-724; CHANTRAINE 1013; POKORNY I 928; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 80 (to *shalë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 117-118 (reconstructs **dë-shalë*).

çam m, pl. *çamë*, *çamër* 'Chamerian, inhabitant of the western part of Epirus'. Borrowed from early dial. Slav **čamь* or **čama* rendering

an earlier **tjama*, the latter reflecting the Greek river-name Θύαμις of Epirus. ◊ LEAKE *Greece* 13 (establishes the connection between *çam* and Θύαμις); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98 (treats *çam* as a direct continuation of Θύαμις), *Etim.* III 82-83.

çandër f, pl. *çandra* 'prop, support'. From **štšentra* reflecting a singularized plural of the Indo-European neut. **sk̂entrom* with *s*-mobile, close to IE **k̂entrom* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259): Gk κέντρον 'goad, spur', cf. also Latv *sīts* 'spear, lance' < Balt **šintas*. The anlaut *ç(a)-* excludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin or a Romance language, cf. *qendër*. ◊ POKORNY I 567; FRISK I 820-821; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71 (mistaken comparison with *çaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84 (variant of dialectal *qandër* < *qendër*).

çap aor. *çapa* 'to chew'. From PAlb **štšepa* connected with IE **sk̂ep-* 'to cut, to split' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-193). Note that *çapë* 'step', *çap* 'to step, to pace, to go' represent a metaphoric usage of *çapë* 'bite, piece', *çap* 'to chew'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (connects *çapë* 'step' with Turk *çapmak* 'to run' as well as with Slav **stǫpiti* 'to step'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (prefix **ek̂s-* followed by *hap*); POKORNY I 930-932; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84-85.

çapua ~ çapue m, pl. *çaponj* 'spur (of a rooster)'. Derivative of *çapë* 'step' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 89).

çarë f, pl. *çara* 'fissure, crack'. Borrowed from Slav **cara* 'line, rent, cleft', presently attested in South Slavic only in Slovene *cára* (OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 135-136). ◊ OREL *ZfSlaw* XXX/6 914.

çars aor. *çarta* 'to destroy, to spoil'. From PAlb **štšertja* based on IE **sker-ti̯-*, cf. ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skìrti* id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 195-196, XXXVII, 100-101, *LKUBA* 156). ◊ FRAENKEL 803; POKORNY I 938-942; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 118 (originally, from **dë-shart-*).

ças m, pl. *çase* 'moment, time'. Another variant is *çast* (with *-t* generalized from locative as in *në çast*, cf. ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 93-94). Borrowed from Slav **časъ* 'time', cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *časъ*, Bulg *čas*, SCr *čas* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 445). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

çek aor. *çeka* 'to touch'. An onomatopoeia existing in many phonetic variants, cf. *cek* id., *cik* id. and *cok* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 98).

çel aor. *çela* 'to open'. From PAlb **štšela* etymologically related to Hitt *iškallāi-* 'to tear up', ON *skilja* 'to split', Lith *skeliù, skélti* id. (JOKL *IF* XXX 194-195, *WuS* XII 70). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 125; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE **eḱs-skeli̯ō*); FRAENKEL 800; BORETZKY *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 21-26 (on *çelës* 'key' < 'opener' as an Oriental semantic calque); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 100-101; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 (< **dz-šel-* < IE **sel-* 'to put').

çelë f 'best part'. Borrowed from Slav **čelo* 'head', its South Slavic reflexes (Bulg *čelo* and SCr *čelo*) having a specific meaning of a 'front, visible place' and 'end, edge' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 101). ◊ SVANE 180.

çelitet refl. 'to recover, to get well'. Borrowed from Slav **cěliti* 'to heal', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *cěliti*, Bulg *cel'a*, SCr *cijeliti*.

çelnik m, pl. *çelnikë* 'senior shepherd'. Borrowed from Slav **čelьnikъ* 'leader, head', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *čelnik*, SCr *čeonik* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179). As to *çeling* 'senior shepherd', it goes back to NGk τσέλιγκας id., ultimately, from the same Slavic source (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98). The variant *çelik* was influenced by an Albanian Turkism *çelik* 'steel'. ◊ SVANE 194; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 102.

çem aor. *çema* 'to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach'. From PAlb **štšepna* etymologically connected with *çap* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72). For the semantic development cf. ON *skilja* 'to separate, to divide' > 'to understand' (BUCK 1207). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 91 (divides *çem* into prefix *ç-* and *-em* < **apni̯ō* compared with Lat *apiō* 'to fasten, to attach'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98-99, *Etim.* III 103.

çerdhe f, pl. *çerdhe* 'nest'. A singularised plural of the original **çerdhë*. An early borrowing from Slav **čerda* 'row, herd, flock' (Bulg *čreda*, SCr *čreda*) with a particularly interesting shift of meaning (MEYER *Wb.* 446). ◊ JOKL *AArbSt* I 38 (reconstructs **skerdh-* related to Lith *skeȓdžius* 'shepherd' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *LP* VII 199, *St.* I 99, *Etim.* III 108-109.

çerr m, pl. *çerra* 'wren'. A substantivized use of a borrowed Slavic adjective **čьrnъ* 'black' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 111 (onomatopoeia).

çetë f, pl. *çeta* 'clan, armed group'. Borrowed from Slav **četa* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *četa*, SCr *četa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 446-447). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; SVANE 202; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çetinë f, pl. *çetina* 'pine-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **četina* 'bristle, needles', cf. in particular South Slavic: Bulg *četina*, SCr *četina* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 99). ◊ SVANE 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

çë pron. 'what'. With a full reduction of vowel, also is used in the form of *ç'*. From PAlb **tši* continuing IE **k^uid*: Hitt *kuit*, Gk τί, Lat *quid* and the like (BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 206, II 399; HULD 47). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 218 (borrowed from Rum *ce* id.); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328 (from **qish*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 388 (borrowed from SCr *ča* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRISK II 903-904; WALDE-HOFMANN II 404-405; ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (identical with *që*), *Etim.* III 73-74.

çimkë f, pl. *çimka* 'bug'. Another variant is *qimkë*. Borrowed from Lat *cīmicem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14). Another word for 'bug', *çimërr*, seems to be an expressive formation based on *çimkë*. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 137; MEYER *Wb.* 227 (from SCr *kimak* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 119-120 (follows MIKLOSICH).

çjerr aor. *çorra* 'to tear up'. From PAlb **štšera* etymologically related to OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skiriù*, *skìrti* 'to separate' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 410-411). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from **eks-skeriō*); FRAENKEL 808; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 124.

çmoj aor. *çmova* 'to estimate'. Borrowed from Lat *aestimāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 448). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (related to Gk τιμάω); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 126-127.

çnderoj aor. *çnderova* 'to dishonor'. Borrowed from Lat *exhonorāre* id.

çoj aor. *çova* 'to bring, to rise, to send'. Borrowed from Lat *excīre, exciēre* 'to call out, to cause, to wake'. ◊ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk κίω); MEYER *Wb.* 448 (from Lat *excitāre*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 341 (against MEYER, reconstructs **skē-* in the anlaut); JOKL *Studien* 81 (accepts the view of CAMARDA), *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 (close to CAMARDA's view, from **ds-qoj*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to go'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 8-10 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from **eks-skēu̯iō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119.

çotillë f, pl. *çotilla* 'stamp, kind of long blender'. A metathesized form of *toçillë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 102, *Etim.* III 134). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73, *AArbSt* I 156-157 (compares with Lat *quatiō* 'to wield, to beat'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 n. 1 (to *çutër* 'stream, brook').

çubë f, pl. *çuba* 'bush, shrubbery'. Borrowed from Slav **čuba* 'lock, forelock, curl' (SCr *čuba*) with a semantic innovation. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (related to Slav **čuba*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 135-136 (related to *kaçubë*).

çudis aor. *çudita* 'to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav **čuditi* id. as well as Geg *çudë* 'wonder' - from Slav **čudo* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 449). As to *çudi* id., it is an Albanian derivative of *çudis.* ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 323; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 127-129; SVANE 231; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 136-137.

çukë f, pl. *çuka* 'peak'. Borrowed from South Slav **čuka* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 449; MLADENOV *AfslPh* XXXIV 385 (borrowed from Bulgarian); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275 (comparison with Rum *ciucă*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103, *Etim.* III 138-140; SVANE 161, 181.

çullë f 'sheep with little ears'. Borrowed from Slav **čulъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *čula*, SCr *čula*. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 141-142 (Balkan parallels).

çun m, pl. *çuna* 'boy, youth'. Together with *çunë* 'penis', borrowed from

Ital *cionno* 'penis' (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450). ◊ CAMARDA II 67 (from Ital *ciullo* 'little'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77 (from **qun* borrowed from Slav **čędo* 'child'); MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VII 101 (*çunë* borrowed from NGk τσουννί 'branch, twig, penis'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103-104 (related to *cung* 'stump'), *Etim.* III 142-143; SVANE 88.

D

dac m, pl. *daca* 'cat'. An onomatopoeic formation or a hypocoristic based on a personal name (MEYER *Wb.* 62). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134.

daj aor. *dava* 'to divide'. Often used with prefix *n-* as *ndaj* id. Goes back to PAlb **danja*, transformed from **daja* under the influence of other verbs in *-nja*. Further connected with Gk δαίομαι 'to divide', Skt *dáyate* id. (BOPP 483; CAMARDA I 144; MEYER *Wb.* 59, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◊ JOKL *Idg. Jb.* IX 58 (to Skt *dắlayati* 'to split'), *Sprache* IX 128 (follows BOPP); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 471-472; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (verb in **-ni̯ō*); FRISK I 341-342; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 150-151; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119-120.

dak m 'big ram'. From PAlb **dauka* further related to Lith *dvẽkti* 'to breathe', *dvākas* 'breath' and other derivatives of **dheu-* on which *dash* is also based (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 153: related to *dash*).

dal aor. *dola* 'to go out'. From PAlb **dala* etymologically related to Gk θάλλω 'to bloom', i.e. 'to appear, to come out' (MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* III 29). ◊ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114-115, *Kelt. Gr.* II 648 (to OIr *dul* 'go'), *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 121; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 241 (to Fr *daille* < Gaul **dal(l)jā*); FRISK I 649-650; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240, *St. IE* 43 (from **dalnō*); CAMAJ *Alt. Wortb.* 37; CHANTRAINE 421; HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 156-157 (< IE **dhalni̯ō*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 76-77; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* 104 (reconstructs **dalnō* and compares *dal* with Lat *dolō* 'to cut'), *Etim.* III 153-154; CLACKSON *LR* 118; DEMIRAJ *AE* 120.

daltë f, pl. *dalta* 'chisel'. An early borrowing from Slav **dolbto* id., preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *dlato* and also borrowed as Rum *daltă*

(MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◊ SKOK *Slavia* III 115-116; BARIÇ *Hymje* 75; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 319; ÇABEJ *St.* 105 (treats *daltë* as a cognate of Slav **delbto* or of Skt *dălayati* 'to split'), *Etim.* III 154-156; SVANE 78; MURATI *Probleme* 129-130.

dallëndyshe f, pl. *dallëndyshe* 'swallow'. A relatively recent compound motivated by the swallow's forked or "double" tail - **dalluan dysh* 'appearing to be double', with **dalluan* > Tosk *dalluar*, Geg *dalluen* representing the participle of *dalloj* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72-73 with some differences). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk ταλαντεύω 'to swing, to rock, to shake'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *hirundō*); MEYER *Wb.* 59-60 (from Lat *hirundinem* 'swallow' + suffix *-yshë*, influenced by *dallëndis* 'to take heart, to be brave'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 (to Gk χελιδών 'swallow'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 5 (contamination of Lat *hirundō* and **dallë*, to Germ *Schwalbe* 'swallow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236-237 (to Germ *Schwalbe*); MAYER *KZ* LXVI 89-96 (comparison with Illyr *Taulantii*, Ταυλάντιοι, ἔθνος πρὸς Ἀδρία Ταυλαντίνων προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις, Hecat.); HASDEU *EMR* II 51; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134; HALIMI *GjA* (1972) 124 (from **da-në-dyshe*); KNOBLOCH *AIAK* 335-337 (agrees with PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 105-106, *Etim.* III 157-159.

dallgë f, pl. *dallgë, dallga* 'wave'.

dalloj aor. *dallova* 'to discern, to recognize'. Continues PAlb **dalnānja* based on an adjective in **-no-* - **dalna* related to Skt *dălayati* 'to split', Lat *dolō* 'to chip, to hew' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 12). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MAYRHOFER II 24; WALDE-HOFMANN I 364-366; XHUVANI *KLetr.* I/11 2 (to *daj*); ÇABEJ *St. Etim.* III 159-160; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121.

dangë f 'belly'. Another variant is *dëngë*. Goes back to PAlb **dangā* etymologically identical with Lith *dangà* 'table-cloth, cover', Latv *dañga* 'puddle, marshland', Slav **dǫga* 'arc' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). All these forms are deverbatives related to Lith *dengiù, deñgti* 'to cover'. Adjectival *dëng* 'full, stuffed up' continues PAlb **danga* and also belongs here. As to *deng* 'bundle, full sack', it is rather a borrowing from Turk *denk* 'bale' (MEYER *Wb.* 63) than a cognate of the above forms. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 61 (to Slovene *danka* 'rectum'); FRAENKEL 88-89; ÇABEJ *St.* I 106 (to *deng*), 121, *Etim.* III 162 (back formation

of Turk *dangalak* 'stupid' > Alb *dëngallak*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 98-99.

dardhë f, pl. *dardha* 'pear, pear-tree'. From PAlb **dardā*, a derivative of *derdh* 'to tip out, to pour' < PAlb **derda* (OREL *Ètimologija 1986-1987* 220-221) with a semantic motivation established for Slav **gruša*, **kruša* 'pear, pear-tree' < **grušiti*, **krušiti* 'to crumble, to break', IE **peisom* 'pear' < **peis-* (TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 156). ◊ HAHN I 236 (connects *dardhë* with the name of Dardania); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (follows HAHN), *Gr. Gr.* 50; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (to Gk ἄχερδος, ἀχράς 'wild pear, wild pear-tree'); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 89-90 (to IE **ĝher(s)-* 'to stiffen'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **n̥ĝhr̥dis*), XXVIII 34 (from IE **ĝhərd-*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 440; FRISK I 199, 203; CAMAJ *Alb.Wortb.* 121 (to **der-* 'to split'); GINDIN *Onom.* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 107 (to OIr *draigen* 'wild pear'), *Etim.* III 165-167; HULD 48; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121-122.

darë ~ danë f, pl. *darë ~ danë* 'pincers, tongs'. From PAlb **dana*, a participial form related to *daj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 107-108, *Etim.* III 1167-168). ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (considers the unchanged Tosk *-a-* to indicate a lost consonant before *-r- ~ -n-*); JOKL *Studien* 12-13 (develops CAMARDA's etymology based on IE **denk̂*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (to OHG *zanga* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 442; LEHMANN *GED* 338 (follows JOKL); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to IE **dhau-*); JANSON *Unt.* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122.

darkë f, pl. *darka* 'supper'. From PAlb **darkā*, originally a singularize neut. pl. of IE **dorkʷom* reflected in Gk δόρπον id. (CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *Wb.* 61). On the other hand, the connection with *drekë* is doubtless. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 3, 26, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 245; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs **dr̥əkʷ-* in order to explain *drekë*); KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 101 n. 3; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99-100; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 239 (to Illyr Δρακούινα < **darku̯inā*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (adds Bret *dibri* 'to eat'); FRISK I 410-411; CHANTRAINE 294; ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 563; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 168-169; HULD 48-49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122-123.

darovë 'bride's gift'. Borrowed from Slav **darovъ* 'gratuitous'. The

corresponding verb *darovis* 'to make a present, to give money as a gift' seems to continue an unattested Slav **daroviti*, cf. the widespread **darovati* 'to make a present' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 61) while *dari* 'dowry' is based on **dar* borrowed from Slav **darъ* 'gift, present'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; SVANE 212, 231, 252; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 169.

dasmë pl. *dasma* 'wedding'. Another widespread and historically important variant is *darsmë*. Goes back to PAlb **dartšimā*, originally, *'wedding feast', derived from *darkë* (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108-109, *Etim.* III 169-170). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 62 (to Rum *zestre* 'dowry'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 309 (reconstructs **dam-ësë* to be compared with Gk γάμος 'marriage, wedding'); JOKL *LKUBA* 14; HULD 49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 123-124.

dash m, pl *desh* 'ram'. From PAlb **dauša* reflecting IE **dhouso-* 'breath, breathing, animal' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387), cf. Gmc **deuzan* 'wild animal' (Goth *dius*, ON *dýr*), Lith pl. *daũsos* 'paradise', Slav **duxъ* 'breath, spirit'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *daş*. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (to Gk δάσκιλλος 'kind of fish'); MEYER *Wb.* 62; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dash* < **dalsh* connected with *dele*); JOKL *LKUBA* 240-241, 329 f. (compares *dash* < **dhu̯osi̯-* with Lat *bēstia* 'animal'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134-135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91(*dash* ~ Lat *dēnsus*, difficult both semantically and phonetically); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (links *dash* to *desha*); IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; POKORNY I 270; FRAENKEL 115-116; FEIST *Goth.* 121-122; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 139; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351, 356; ÇABEJ *St.* I 109-110, *Etim.* III 171-173 (to Goth *tagl* 'hair'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 153-154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 124-125 (related to *dem*).

degë f, pl. *degë, dega* 'twig, branch'. From PAlb **dwaigā* etymologically related to OHG *zwīg* id., Germ *Zweig* (MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 9, 26, 39). ◊ CAMARDA I 80 (to Gk τέκνον 'child, sprout'); BŪGA II 319; JOKL *Studien* 15; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; KLUGE 897; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; HULD 145 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 179-180 (dubious Alpine-Romance parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

deh aor. *deha* 'to inebriate'. From PAlb **degska*. At the same time, con-

tinuants of **degnja* are attested in *dej ~ dënj* id. Both **degska* and **degnja* are related to *djeg*. ◊ BOPP 539 (to IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle'); MEYER *Wb.* 62-63 (to Goth *dauns* 'vapor'), *Alb. St.* III 29, 90; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *dyllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6-7; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhu̯es-* 'to destroy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 111 (compares *deh* with *dend*), *Etim.* III 182-183; DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

dej adv. 'the day after tomorrow'. From PAlb **daja* continuing IE loc. dual **du̯oi̯-ous* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). For the development of IE **du̯o-* > PAlb **da-* see OREL *Antič. balk. 3* 37-39. ◊ CAMARDA I 310 (to Gk δήν); MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 39 (to IE **du̯oin-/*du̯ein-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* II 307; FRAENKEL 108; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73 (close to MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 183-184 (back formation based on *andej*.

(G) dêjë f 'place where the snow melts, low place'. Denominative forms: *dejet ~ dêjet*. From PAlb **danjā* related to Skt *dhánvan-* 'dry land', OHG *tenni* 'threshing-floor' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *deh*); SCHMIDT LVII 6-7 (to Skt *ádhvanīt* 'to burn out, to fade away'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE **dhu̯es-*); POKORNY I 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 180-182 (to *ndej*).

dele f, pl *dele, dhen, dhën* 'sheep'. The Geg variant *delme* represents a formation in **-mā* (and hardly has anything in common with the name of Dalmatia *pace* MEYER *Wb.* 63 and ÇABEJ *St.* I 111). The word is based on PAlb **dailā* 'sheep' < 'suckling' and related to various *l*-derivatives from IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29 operates with **dailjā* < IE **dhaili̯ā* or **dhoili̯ā*), cf., in particular, Arm *dayl* 'colostrum' < IE **dhəilo-*. Suppletive plural forms *dhen, dhën* should be treated separately as a Proto-Albanian (collective) derivative in **-anti* based on *dhi* 'she-goat'. Thus, the source of *dhen, dhën* is to be reconstructed as **aiganti-*, with apheresis of the anlaut vowel (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357). ◊ BRUGMANN 117; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dhën* compared with IE **dhē(i)-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 239 (mistakenly explains *-l-* from **-ln-*), 251-253 (compares *dhen, dhën* with Celt **damatos* 'sheep' > W *dafad*, Bret *dauat* or with *n*-derivatives of IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle', in particular, with Skt *dhenā* 'milk cow', cf. also OIr *dínu* 'lamb' and the like), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87 (traces of this root in Balkan place names); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77-78; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; PORZIG

Gliederung 150; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240-241; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*dhen* to Lat *gēns* 'kin, tribe'); POKORNY I 241-242; DURIDANOV *ŽA* XVIII 37 (*dhen* - to Thr Δανδαλῆται); ÇABEJ *St.* I 152 (comparison of *dhen, dhën* with Gk δημός 'fat'), *Etim.* III 184-186 (follows MEYER); HULD 143; KÖDDERITZSCH *LB* XXXI 108; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 52; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 127-128, 157-158 (agrees with MANN).

deltinë f 'clay'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **delbtina* further connected with **delbto* ~ **dolbto* 'chisel'. The semantic development seems possible but not quite obvious: 'clay' < *'pounded mass'? ◊ JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 24 (from **ndë-baltinë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 112 (compares *deltinë* with *daltë*), *Etim.* III 187-188 (to *dyllë*).

dell m, pl. *dej* 'tendon'. From PAlb **daisla* probably related to Lith *gýsla* 'blood-vessel, tendon', Slav **žila* 'tendon' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 18) if the latter are treated separately from Skt *jiyá-* 'bow-string', Gk βιός 'bow' (BRUGMANN *Grundr.* I 345). ◊ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk δέω 'to tie'); PEDERSEN *IF* V 68 (to Lat *fīlum* 'thread'), *KZ* XXXVI 326 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 13 (comparison with Gk δέω 'to bind'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87-88; FRAENKEL 150; FRISK I 237; MAYRHOFER I 448; VASMER II 57-58; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 112-113 (connects *dell* with Slav **dolъ* 'valley' and Gk θόλος 'mud' - those two having nothing in common), *Etim.* III 189-190; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128 (against ÇABEJ).

dem m, pl. *dema* 'young bull'. From PAlb **dama* etymologically related to OIr *dam* 'ox' and, probably, to Gk δάμαλος 'calf' (CAMARDA I 73; MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 26, 64). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 164; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK I 345; ÇABEJ *St.* I 113, *Etim.* III 190-191; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128-129.

dend aor. *denda* 'to stuff'. An archaic non-assimilated variant is NGeg *tend*. From PAlb **tenda* related to Skt *tandate* 'to weaken', Lat *tendō* 'to stretch'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21 (based on Lat *dēnsus*); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (related to Lat *dēnsus*), *Alb. St.* V 72 (borrowed from Lat *tendere*); BARTHOLOMAE *IF* I 300 (to Lat *dēnsus* 'thick'); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 341 (to *gdhënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 19; CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 239; POKORNY I 1065-1066; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 193-194 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 129 (to *ndej*).

denjë adj. 'worth'. Borrowed from Lat *dignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 63 (borrowed from Ital *degno*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195.

depërtoj aor. *depërtova* 'to penetrate'. Borrowed from Rom **dē-penetrāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 65). ◊ MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (borrowed from Lat *dēpartīre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195-196 (derived from *ndëpër* 'across').

derdh aor. *derdha* 'to pour out'. In Old Albanian the stem is not umlauticized: *dardh* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Continues PAlb **darda* close to onomatopoeic Lith *dardė́ti* 'to rattle', Latv *dȁrdêt* 'to creak', W *go-dyrddu* 'to mumble, to grumble'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 64 (to Slav **dьrzъ* 'daring'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 26; FRAENKEL 83; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 n. 2 (to Skt *sṛjáti* 'to sell off, to discharge'), *KZ* XXXVI 289, *Kelt. Gr.* I 494; JOKL *Studien* 13-14 (to Skt *dhā́rā* 'stream'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42-43 (to Skt *kṣarati* 'to flow'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 114-115 (to Gk θορός 'sperm'), *Etim.* III 197-198.

derë f, pl. *dyer* 'door'. From PAlb **dwōrā*, a secondary *a*-stem based on IE **dhu̯er-* id.: Skt *dvā́r-*, Gk θύρα, Tokh B *twere* and the like (CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *BB* VIII 188, *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29, 39, 71). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132, *LKUBA* 240, 255; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (reconstructs **dhu̯eres*); PISANI *Saggi* 103; FRISK I 695-696; MAYRHOFER II 83-84; POKORNY I 278; OREL *Antič. balk. 3* 37-39 (on the development of the anlaut); HAMP *LP* XX 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 104, 125; HULD 49; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 198-201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 129-130.

(T) derë adj. 'bitter; difficult'. From PAlb **deuna* etymologically identical with OS *tiono* 'evil', OE *teona* 'wrong' (JOKL *Studien* 19-20 with further erroneous link to *dhunë*). ◊ HAHN 29 (connected with *dhunë*); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (accepts HAHN's etymology with some doubt); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 346; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* I 689; ÇABEJ *St.* I 115 (to the Indo-European word for 'tear': Gk δάκρυ), *Etim.* III 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 130 (dialectal phonetic development of *hidhur*).

dergj aor. *dorgja* 'to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill'. A more frequent form of present is pass.-refl. *dergjem*. From PAlb **dergja* further etymologically connected with Lith *dìrginti* 'to move', *dìrgti* 'to lose energy, to become weak', Slav **dьrgati* 'to pluck, to pull' and particularly with Gmc **targjan* 'to tear': MHG *zergen* 'to pluck, to pull' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9). ◊ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to Lith *sergù* 'to be ill', OIr *serg* 'illness' supposing IE **su̯-* > Alb *d-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 71; TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 56; FRAENKEL 96; VASMER I 500-501; HAMP *IF* LXXIX 155 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 115-116 (to Lith *dárga* 'rainy weather', Slav **dorga* 'road'), *Etim.* III 201-203; HULD 49-50; LINDEMAN *IF* XCVIII 48-50; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131 (agrees with VASMER).

deri prep. 'to, up to, till'. From PAlb **deur(e)i* having the same structure as Gk δεῦρο, δεῦρε, δευρί 'here' compared with Lith *aurè* id. and Av *avarə* id. and analyzed as *δε-αυρο or *δε-υρο. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 299 (borrowed from South Slav **dori* 'to'); MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *feri*); FRISK I 371-372; FRAENKEL 26; BARTHOLOMAE 175.

derr m, pl. *derra* 'pig'. From PAlb **darja* connected with Gk χοῖρος id. < IE **ĝhori̯os* (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 64). Note a derivative *derk* 'piglet' continuing PAlb **darika*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78 f. (reconstructs **ĝhōr-n-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (to *dosë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45-46 (to Skt *-dāri-* 'making burst'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 118; FRISK II 1107-1108; HULD 148 (from IE **su̯oinro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 116 (explains *-rr-* by expressive gemination), *Etim.* III 205-206; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on PAlb **-rj-* > *-rr-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131-132.

det m, pl. *dete* 'sea'. From PAlb **deubeta* 'depth' based on IE **dheub-* 'deep' (JOKL *Studien* 14-15). Intermediary stages of the phonetic development are preserved in the uncontracted Italo-Alb *dejt*, *dejët* and in dialectal forms with a long vowel - *dēt*. PAlb **deubeta* is particularly close to Gmc **deupiþō* 'depth' > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (connected with *dal* 'to go out'); MEYER *BB* VIII 187 (to Gk Θέτις, name of the sea-goddess), *Wb.* 64 (reconstructs *dejt* < **delt* to be compared with Gk θάλασσα), *Alb. St.* IV 54 (follows BUGGE); RIBEZZO *Riv. Indo-greco-italica* XVI 25 f. (reconstructs **dakti* compared with Epir δάξα· θάλασσα Hes.); TAGLIAVI-

NI *Dalmazia* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118, *Etim.* III 209-210; POKORNY I 267-268; ONIONS 258; OREL *SBJa Lekiskol.* 148-149 (Baltic toponymic parallels: Lith *Duobýtė*, Latv *Daubīte*); HULD 50.

detyrë f, pl. *detyra* 'duty, debt'. Borrowing from Rom **debitūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 66). The verb *detoj* ~ *detonj* reflects Rom **debitāre.* ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 118-119 (derived from *detorës* 'debtor'), *Etim.* III 210-211; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 41, 82-83.

dëboj aor. *dëbova* 'to drive away'. Other variants are *zboj, xboj, cboj.* Related to *boj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119, *Etim.* III 212-214). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (borrowed from Rom **disbināre*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 44 (agrees with BUGGE); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 119 (reconstructs **bhōreịō* connected with *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (to IE **u̯ei-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk πτοέω < **de-bhoịēịō*).

dëfrej aor. *dëfreva* 'to enjoy oneself'. Based on the recombination of its antonym, *shëfrej, shufrej* 'to suffer' < Lat *sufferāre* id., as a prefixal formation in *shë-* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 214-215). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 111 (from Rom **disfrenāre* or **dēfrenāre*); KRISTOFORIDHI 98 (to *fryj*).

dëftoj aor. *dëftova* 'to show, to point'. Borrowed from Rom **indictāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 64-65, *Alb. St.* IV 41). ◊ CAMARDA I 64 (derives *dëftoj* from IE **deiḱ-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054 (borrowed from Rom **doctāre*); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (analyzes the verb as **dë-fëtoj*, its root borrowed from MGk φωτίζω 'to shine, to illuminate'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 63 (follows MEYER); JOKL *RIEB* II 65-67 (based on **ftoj*, to *foti* 'oil lamp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 122, 130; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 16-24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 120 (to **f-tonj* further related to Gk στέγω 'to cover', Lat *tegō* id.), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 215-217 (from Lat *digitāre*).

dëgjoj aor. *dëgjova* 'to hear'. Dialectal forms *ndëgoj* and, particularly, *dëlgonj, diligonj* reflect the obvious Latin source - *intelligere* 'to perceive' (MEYER *Wb.* 66-67).◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; BARIĆ *ARSt* 33-34 (related to Gk ἀκούω 'to hear', Goth *hausjan* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 217-218.

dëkoj aor. *dëkova* 'to hit, to strike'. Borrowed from Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning 'to impose, to inflict' > *'to inflict pain'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom **dēcōleāre* based on *cōleus* 'bag, sack'); GAZULLI 19 (*-koj* to Gk χέω); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 539-560 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 120-121 (connects *dëkoj* with *koj* and *mëkoj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 218-200 (from **dërkoj*, to *darkë*).

dëlir aor. *dëlira* 'to clean, to cleanse, to deliver'. The variant *dëliroj* is morphologically more regular. Continues Rom **deliberāre* and is connected with *lirë* (CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 247). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (derived from *lirë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 221 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

dëllinjë f, pl. *dëllinja* 'juniper'. A more archaic variant *dëllënjë* seems to reflect PAlb **daislanjā* (for the derivational structure cf. *mëllënjë*) related to *dell* < **daislā* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). Semantically, the juniper is described as a wiry, sinewy plant, cf. Russ *možževel'nik* id. derived from Slav **mozgъ* 'brain, marrow', Lith *māzgas* 'knot'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom **cedrulanea* or **cedrulina* derived from *cedrus* 'cedar, juniper'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9-10 (to Lith *dúlis* 'fog', Skt *dhūli-* 'dust' and the like); JOKL *LKUBA* 191-193 (same as VASMER); JAGIĆ *AfslPh* VIII 654-655; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; FRAENKEL 426-427; VASMER II 637; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121 (related to *daltë* and *dalloj*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132.

dëm ~ dam m, pl. *dëme ~ dame* 'damage'. Borrowed from Lat *damnum* 'hurt, harm, damage'. As to *dënoj* 'to condemn, to punish', it is an Italian loanword (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121, *Etim.* III 222-224; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 94, 115.

dërgoj aor. *dërgova* 'to send'. Borrowed from Lat *dēlēgāre* id. with an irregular change of *liquida* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk τρέχω 'to run'); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowing from Lat *dīrigere* 'to arrange, to lay straight'); JOKL *IF* L 43; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 226 (follows MEYER).

dërmoj aor. *dërmova* 'to cut into pieces, to plummet down'. Borrowed from Lat **dērāmāre*, cf. Rum *dărîma* 'to tear off' (MEYER *Wb.* 65, *Alb.*

St. IV 56). Note a derivative *dërmë* 'steep slope'. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 42; ÇABEJ *St.* I 122 (reconstructs **dromoj* and connects it with *dromcë*), *Etim.* III 227-229.

dërrasë f, pl. *dërrasa* 'board, stone plate'. From PAlb **deratjā* based on IE **der-* 'to tear, to split', see *djerr* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 158-161: to Slav **dьrati* 'to tear'). ◊ CAMARDA II 143 (to *dru*); MEYER *Wb.* 66 (from Ital *terrazza* 'terrace'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk χάραξ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 158-159; HELBIG 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 230-231 (derived from *rrasë* 'flat stone').

dëshiroj aor. *dëshirova* 'to wish'. Borrowed from Lat *dēsīderāre* 'to long for, to desire' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 65). As to the noun *dëshirë* 'desire', it seems to be a deverbative rather than a continuant of Lat *dēsīderium* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 123, *Etim.* III 233). ◊ CAMARDA I 176 (wavers between the correct etymology and the comparison with *dashur*, participle of *dua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122.

dëshmoj aor. *dëshmova* 'to testify'. Borrowed from Rom **testimōniāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 64). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 124, *Etim.* III 233-234 (denominative); HAARMANN 153.

dëshpëroj aor. *dëshpërova* 'to make desperate'. Borrowed from Lat *dēspērāre* 'to despair' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from Ital *disperare* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 235.

dështoj aor. *dështova* 'to have a miscarriage'. Borrowed from Rom **dēpositāre* used as a replacement of *dēpōnere* in its meaning 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St.* V 72). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; SPITZER *MRIW* I 318-319 (connects *dështoj* with Ital *tosto* 'fast, quick'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 38 (derives the verb *dështoj* from a noun **dushytë* 'miscarriage' explained as IE **dus-sūto-* 'badly born'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 124 (a prefixal derivative of *shtoj*), *Etim.* III 235-236.

di aor *dita* 'to know'. From PAlb **dīja* connected with IE **dheį(ə)-* 'to see', cf. Skt *dhyāti, dhyāyati* 'to observe, to feel, to think', Av *dā(y)-* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St.* III 29; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Aorist *dita* and participle *ditur* ~ *ditun* are based on PAlb **dita*, a formation in **-to-*, cf. Skt part. *dhyāta-* and *dhīta-*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to

Skt *vid-* 'to know'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 29; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 112, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI 104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; POKORNY 243; MAYRHOFER II 45; HULD 152; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125 (reconstructs PAlb **din-* < IE **ĝenə-* 'to know'), *Etim.* III 237-238; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132-133 (*di* < **dhiH-m̥*).

diç pron. 'something'. As all other pronouns in *di-*, contains an element identical with the verb *di* as the first part of the compound (CAMARDA I 214; MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 105; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125.

diel f 'Sunday'. Derivative in **-jā* or in **-nā* based on *diell*, a calque of Lat *diēs solis* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 43). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 240-241.

diell m, pl. *diej* 'sun'. From PAlb **delwa*, a tabooistic substitute of the original word for the sun based on a color adjective, cf. Skt *hári-* 'pale, yellowish', Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith *žel̃vas* id. ◊ BOPP 513 n. 3 (to Skt *dívā* 'by day'); CAMARDA I 123 (comparisons with Gk ἥλιος 'sun' and, on the other hand, with δίαλος· φανερός, λαμπρός); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (links *diell* to *dal* or, alternatively, reconstructs **dheg^{u}h-lo-*, cf. *djeg*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to IE **su̯el-* 'sun', cf. CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (follows MEYER in reconstructing **dheg^{u}həlos*); MAYRHOFER III 581; WALDE-HOFMANN I 639; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk σέλας 'light, shine'); FRAENKEL 1297; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125-126 (to OIr *dellrad* 'shine', OE *deall* 'bold, splendid', Arm *delin* 'green'), *Etim.* III 241-242; HULD 50-51 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology).

dihas aor. *dihata* 'to pant'. Borrowed from Slav **dyxati* 'to breathe', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: OCS *dyxati*, Bulg *dixam*, SCr *dihati* (MEYER *Wb.* 67). ◊ SVANE 256; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 242.

dikë f 'desire, lust'. Continues PAlb **dīkā*, a substantivized fem. adj. related to Lith *dýkas* 'idle, empty', Slav **dikъ* 'wild'. ◊ FRAENKEL 95; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 29-30; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243 (borrowed from SCr *dika* 'pride').

diktoj aor. *diktova* 'to discover, to find out'. Borrowed from Rom **dēcaptāre*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 67 (from Lat *dētegere*); JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60

(from Rom **dis-captāre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243-244 (unclear).

dimër ~ dimën m, pl. *dimra ~ dimna* 'winter'. From PAlb **deimena* related to IE **ĝheimen-* id.: Skt *heman* loc. 'in winter', Gk χεῖμα 'winter' and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.*; MEYER *Wb.* 67, *Alb. St.* III 18, 64). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ὄμβρος 'rain', Lat *imber* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 130, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 66; LA PIANA *Studi* I 52-53 (to *tym*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; ERNOUT-MEILLET 294; PORZIG *Gliederung* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (erroneous comparison with OE *tīma* 'time'); MAYRHOFER III 607; FRISK II 1079-1081; ANTTILA *Schw.* 35, 134; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52-55; HULD 51; OREL *ZfBAlk* XXIII 146; JANSON *Unt.* 21-23; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 245; DEMIRAJ *AE* 133.

din (3 sg.) aor. *diu* 'to break (of the day)'. Also appears as refl. *dihet* id. From PAlb **dine*, a denominative verb based on IE **dino- ~ *deino-* 'day': Skt *dína-* 'day', Slav **dьnь* id., Lith *dienà* id., Latv *dìena* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (derivative of *ditë*); JOKL *Studien* 22 (a derivative in **dei-* with a verbal suffix **-nja*); MAYRHOFER II 41; FRAENKEL 93; IVANOV *Slav.* 168; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 213.

dirë f, pl. *dira* 'trace'. Borrowed from South Slav **dira ~ *dir'a* id.: Bulg *dir'a* > *dira*, SCr *dira* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 126). ◊ SVANE 141; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 248.

dishtë f, pl. *dishta* 'mill funnel'. Another variant is *dishkë*. Borrowed from Lat *discus* 'disk' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 249-250). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 123 (suffix *-shtë*).

dishull m, pl. *dishuj* 'kind of aromatic shrub, Pistacia lentiscus'. Other variants (*dyshkull* and *dushkull* as well as *ndryshkull*) result from various types of folk etymology associating this plant with *dushk* and *ndryshk*. Borrowed from a deminutive Rom **disculus* according to the shape of leaves. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 250 (derived from *dyllë*).

ditë f, pl. *dit, ditë* 'day'. From PAlb **dītā* etymologically connected with Gmc **tīdiz* 'time' (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* 'brightness, splendor' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 10-11, 40). ◊ BOPP 513; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dína-* 'day'); CAMARDA I 73 (to Lat *diēs* 'day'); MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from **din-të* related to Skt *dína-* 'day', Slav **dьnь* id., Lith

dienà id.), *Alb. St.* III 26; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 230 (to *-di* in *perëndi*), *KZ* XXXIV 546 (follows MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 22; MLADENOV *Ist.* 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ONIONS 923; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 190; MAYRHOFER II 44-45; ÇABEJ *St.* I 126-127, *Etim.* III 251-253; HULD 51-52.

djalë m, pl. *djem, djelm* 'boy, youth'. From PAlb **dela* probably connected with Latv *dę̄ls* 'son', Lat *fīlius* id. as a derivative of IE **dhēi-* 'to suck' (XYLANDER 317; ÇABEJ *St.* I 127-128). Note that the vocalism in Proto-Albanian is irregular so that a secondary transformation of the stem must be presumed. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (derives *djalë* from *dal*), *Alb. St.* III 29; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 310-311 (to *dal*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 115; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* I 114 (to Gk τᾶλις 'maiden'); VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 269 (to Thr -τελμις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113-114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; HULD 52; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 255-258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 134-135.

djall m, pl. *djaj* 'devil'. Borrowed from Lat *diabolus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* V 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 98 (connection with Gk διάβολος id.); THUMB *IF* XXVI 12-13 (from Gk διάβολος); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; JOKL *LKUBA* 20 (from Greek); HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 258-259; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 137-138.

djathë m/n, pl. *djathëra* ~ *djathna* 'cheese'. A diminutive in *-thë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121) of **djadh* < PAlb **dedi-*, the latter to be compared with Skt *dádhi* 'sour milk' and OPrus *dadan* 'milk', derivatives of **dhēi-* 'to suck' (JOKL *Studien* 15-16, *WuS* XII 70). For the irregular development of the root vowel cf. *djalë*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 102, *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 316; PISANI *Saggi* 123; MAYRHOFER II 15; POKORNY I 241; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 54, 91, 97 (from IE **ĝhesito-*); HAMP *Word* IX 140, *KZ* LXXXIV 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* I 284-286; HULD 52-53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 259-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 135-136.

djathtë adj. 'right'. Old Albanian texts preserve *djathë* 'right (side)' (BUZUKU), thus showing that *djathtë* is a relatively new formation in *-të* based on PAlb **detsa* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 128-129). The latter is etymologically connected with IE **dek̂s-* 'right': Skt

dákṣiṇa-, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 69). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 17, III 13, 26; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 10-11; WALDE-HOFMANN I 346-347; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 366-367; POKORNY I 190; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (phonetically impossible **deḱsto-* with **-ḱst-* reflected as Alb *-tht-*); HAMP *RESEE* XIX/1 141-145 (reconstructs **deḱsino-*); HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 260-261 (to Lat *decus* 'beauty, decoration'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 137-138.

dje adv. 'yesterday'. From PAlb **de* etymologically identical with Skt *hyás* id., Gk χθές id., Lat. *heri* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 63). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37, 345; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 292; MAYRHOFER II 29; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 1097-1098; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222; HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261; PUHVEL *Festschr. Hoenigswald* 317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138.

djeg aor. *dogja* 'to burn'. From PAlb **dega* etymologically related to IE **dhegʷh-* 'to burn': Skt *dáhati*, Tokh AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti* and the like (BOPP 508; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 9, 29). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 250; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, XXVIII 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 85-85; IVANOV *Slav.* 129; HULD 53-54, *KZ* CVII 166; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 101, 127; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261-262; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138-139.

(G) djemën pl. 'demons, devils'. A lexicalized plural of *djall* similar to that of *djalë* ~ *djem* (SKOK *AArbSt* I 220-221). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *daemōnem* 'demon'); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (same as MIKLOSICH - but the stress is placed differently); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13 (borrowed from Gk δαίμονες id. - but the development of -αι- > *-je-* would be quite unique); JOKL *LKUBA* 18 (agrees with THUMB), *IF* XLIV 13 n. 1 (follows SKOK); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 10-11 (borrowed from OCS *demonъ* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows THUMB); ÇABEJ *St.* I 129 (repeats THUMB's etymology), *Etim.* III 262-264; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 83.

djep m, pl. *djepe*, *djepa* 'cradle'. Borrowed from Gk δέπας 'beaker, goblet' (CAMARDA II 191). For the semantic development cf. E *cradle* ~ OHG

kratto 'basket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 69-70 (related to Slav **zybъka* id.), *Alb. St.* III 18, 36; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 158-159, *Mélanges Pedersen* 155 (reconstructs **ĝhoubhā* thus slightly correcting MEYER); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; ÇABEJ *St.* I 129-130 (from IE **dheubh-* ~ **dheup-*; Gk δέπας is explained as an ancient Albanian loanword), *Etim.* III 264-265.

djersë f, pl. *djersë* 'perspiration'. Another variant is *dirsë*. From PAlb **widertjā* with the loss of the unstressed first syllable. Further related to Gk ἱδρώς id. < **su̯idrōt-s*, cf. also Latv *sviêdri* id., Lat *sūdor* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 288-290). ◊ CAMARDA I 48, 96 (to Gk ἕρση 'dew'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 81 (to Gk δρόσος 'dew'), *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to *zjarr*); JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology); FRISK I 710-711; CHANTRAINE 456; WALDE-HOFMANN II 623-624; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 265-266; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 139-140.

djerr aor. *dora* 'to destroy'. From PAlb **dera* or **derna* related to Skt *dr̥ṇáti* 'to burst, to tear', Gk δέρω 'to skin', Goth *gatairan* 'to tear' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 70, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 8; FRISK I 368-370; MAYRHOFER II 59; FEIST *Goth.* 203.

djerr m, pl. *djerre* 'fallow land'. From PAlb **dersa* etymologically identical with Gk χέρσος 'dry land' (CAMARDA I 96) < IE **ĝhersos*. ◊ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 412 (same as CAMARDA); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to *djerr* 'to destroy'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325-326 (to *bie* 'to bear'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21-23 (to *var*, *vjerr*); FRISK II 1089-1090; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 266-268 (to *bie* 'to fall').

dobët adj. 'weak'. Derived from *dobë* id. The latter is borrowed from Slav **dobъ* 'good, fine' unattested in South Slavic where a more usual **dobrъ* id. is widespread. Note *dobi* 'profit, use' related to *dobë*. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 129 (to Lat *dēbilis*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (based on *udob*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 272-273; SVANE 273.

dobis aor. *dobita* 'to win'. Borrowed from Slav **dobyti* 'to acquire, to win' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 70). The Albanian verb is semantically closer to SCr *dobiti* than to Bulg *dobija*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 136; SVANE 199-200; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 273.

dojkë f, pl. *dojka* 'nurse'. Borrowed from Slav **dojka* id., cf. in particular South Slavic continuants: Bulg *dojka*, SCr *dojka* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 131, *Etim.* III 277). ◊ SVANE 190.

doke f 'traditions'. Borrowed from Gk δοκή 'opinion, view, meaning'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-56 (related to *duket*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 131 (agrees with JOKL), *Etim.* III 277-278.

dokërr f, pl. *dokrra* 'big bone, bone of arm or leg'. Derived from **dok* (for the formation pattern cf. *kokërr*), borrowed from Gk δοκός 'rafter, beam' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk δόκανα 'a structure of two joined upright bars'); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Turk *dogru* 'direct'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 8 (from **dorkr-* composed of *dorë* and *krah*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix *-ërr*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 132 (an expressive form compared with *doçkë* 'little hand' and the like).

dolinë f, pl. *dolina* 'valley'. Borrowed from Slav **dolina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *dolina*, SCr *dolina*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106 (borrowed from SCr *dolina*).

dorbëri f 'herd'. A secondary phonetic transformation of **dobëri* derived from Slav **dobro* 'property' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 71 (borrowed from Ital *turba* 'crowd'); JOKL *Studien* 16-17, *IF* XXXVII 100 (a compound consisting of *dor-* < IE **ĝhu̯er-* 'animal, beast' and *-bëri* compared with Lith *būrỹs* 'crowd'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 215; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 133 (derived from **torbar* based on *torbë* 'shepherd's bag; knapsack'), *Etim.* III 286-287.

dorë f, pl. *duar* ~ *duer* 'hand'. A singularized neut. plural PAlb **dārā* < IE **ĝhesr-* (PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 115) related to Gk χεῖρ id., Hitt *keššar* id., Tokh A *tsar-* id., B *ṣar-* id., Arm *jeṙn* id. (BOPP 492; MEYER *Wb.* 72, *Alb. St.* III 18, 71). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 92 (to Gk δῶρον 'palm'); *Gr. Gr.* 81; JOKL *LKUBA* 90, *IF* XXXVI 132, XLIX 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 295, 300; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (from **ĝhərd-s-*); FRISK II 1082-1083; CHANTRAINE 305; PORZIG *Gliederung* 187; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 121; POKORNY I 203; VAN WINDEKENS I 521; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115; HULD 54; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 288-291; SCHRIJVER *BC* 58; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140.

dosë f, pl. *dosa* 'pig, sow'. From PAlb **dā(i)tjā*, a derivative of IE **dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (Ölberg apud Demiraj; Çabej *St.* I 134-135). ◊ Camarda II 203 (to Gk θῶς 'jackal'); Jokl *Studien* 17 (reconstructs IE **su̯ātii̯ā* further connected with **sū-* 'pig'); Barić *ARSt* I 6-7 (from **dērgi̯ā* related to *derk* < **dergo-* as *darkë* to *dasmë*); Pedersen *KZ* XXXVIII 393 (to *derk*, *dirk*, from **dērk*^{u}*i̯ā*); Vasmer *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 13 (borrowed from Bulgaro-Turk *doχs* 'pig'); Tagliavini *Dalmazia* 100 (agrees with Jokl), *Stratificazione* 135; Ribezzo *RivAlb* I 140, II 144 (from **ĝhētii̯ā*, to Maced γοτάν· ὗν); Huld 148 (follows Jokl); Çabej *Etim.* III 293-296; Demiraj *AE* 140-141.

dot part. of irreal. A lexicalized sequence of two particles, *do* and *të* (Lambertz *LP* VII 92). ◊ Meyer *Wb.* 72 (borrowed from Lat *in tōtō*); Pedersen *BB* XX 233-235, *KZ* XXXVII 236-238 (reconstructs acc. **dhētim* of a deverbative related to IE **dhē-* 'to put'); Mann *Language* XXVI 381; Mihăescu *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Lat *tōtum*); Çabej *St.* I 135 (follows Lambertz), *Etim.* III 296-297; Mann *Comp.* 129 (identical with Gk δῆτα); Haarmann 154 (same as Mihăescu).

dra ~ drâ f 'oil-cake, melted butter'. Reflects PAlb **dragā* (Meyer *Wb.* 72-73, *Alb. St.* III 29, 37, 72 with basic etymological parallels) with secondary nasalization in Geg and the loss of the consonant preserved in the variant with a long vowel *drā*. Close parallels are found in Germanic (ON pl. *dreggiar* 'yeast') and in Baltic: OPrus *dragios* 'yeast' (if not borrowed from Germanic), OLith *dragės* id. (if not from Old Prussian), Lett dial. *dradzi* 'sediment in melted butter'. Cf. also Slav **droždži* 'yeast' (but Bulg *drožde* 'something easy to melt or break'!) and a corresponding verb **drozgati* 'to press, to knead'. The word seems to represent a North European innovation in Indo-European. ◊ Camarda I 74 (to Gk τρύξ 'must'); Meyer *Gr. Gr.* 69; Jokl *IF* XXXVI 101; *Die Sprache* IX 149; Pisani *Saggi* 124; Reichelt *KZ* XLVI 322; Duridanov *Thr.-Dak.* 94 (reconstructs Dac **draga*); Hirt *BGDS* XXIII 349 f. (Old Prussian < Germanic); Toporov *PJa* I 363 f.; Būga *RR* III 206 (on Lett *dradzi*); Trautmann *APSpr.* 322; Endzelin *KZ* XLIV 65; Fraenkel 100; Pisani *Saggi* 124; Anttila *Schw.* 122; Pokorny I 251; Trubačev *ÈSSJa* V 128 f. (on the Slavic form as derived from **drozg-*); Vasmer I 540 (Slav **drozga* < **drogska*); Orel *ZfBalk* XXIII 140, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; Demiraj *AE* 141.

dragë f, pl. *draga* 'avalanche'. Borrowed from Slav **dorga* 'ravine' (Çabej

St. I 136) unattested in the meaning 'avalanche'. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 47-49 (reconstructs **dë-ra-gë* and connects it with *rashë*); SVANE 81, 161; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 299-300.

dragua ~ dra(n)gue m, pl. *dragonj ~ drangoj* 'dragon'. Another variant is (T) *drangua*. It represents a borrowing from Rom **drancōnem*, a modification of Lat *dracōnem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046, 1050: also considers the possibility of borrowing from Italian). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 134 (borrowed from Gk δράκων id.); CAMARDA I 82 (to Gk δράκων id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 52, *Wb.* 73 (directly from *dracōnem* or from Ital *dragone*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 300-302 (from Latin).

drang m, pl. *drangje* 'barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub'. From PAlb **dranga* further to be compared with ON *drangr* 'stone pillar', *drengr* 'thick trunk', Lith *dránga* 'perch, pole', Slav **drǫgъ ~ *drǫga* (MANN *Language* XXVI 386; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73). ◊ TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 59; FRAENKEL 101; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 303 (from South Slavic reflexes of **drǫgъ*).

drap m, pl. *drapa* 'long pole'. From PAlb **drapa* further related to Gk δρέπω 'to cut off'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to Gk τράπηξ 'pole'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 14 (to Pol *drab* 'long stick'); FRISK I 417; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 304.

drapër ~ drapën m, pl. *drapinj, dërpënj, drepër ~ drepën, draperinj* 'sickle'. Borrowed from Gk Dor δράπανον id., cf. the attested form Gk δρέπανον (BUGGE *BB* XIX 167; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (treats *drapër* and Gk δρέπανον as cognates); MEYER *Wb.* 73 (from Gk δρέπανον), *Alb. St.* III 26, 72 (related to δρέπανον), *Gr. Gr.* 40; PERSSON *BB* XIX 167; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII; PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (related to δρέπανον); ÇABEJ *St.* I 136 (follows BUGGE and THUMB), *Etim.* III 304-305; HULD 54-55; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 39, *SPhAen* 39; JANSON *Unt.* 40-41; CLACKSON *LR* 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142.

dre ~ drê m, pl. *drerë ~ drenë* 'deer'. Continues PAlb **drani-* identical with ἀρανίς [for δρ-]· ἔλαφος (LIDÉN *Studien* 67-68, 95-96). Further related to Skt *dhráṇati* 'to sound', OHG *trëno* 'drone' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 319). For the semantics of this comparison cf. Slav **bykъ* 'bull'

(and also 'bug') ~ **bykati* 'to roar, to bellow'. ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to Messap βρένδον · ἔλαφον); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 297 (to Arm *erinǰ* 'heifer'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 288 (to Thr Δρένις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135-136; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to a Thracian name Δρένις); MAYRHOFER II 115-116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 136-137 (to OIr *darn* 'head', cf. Gk κάρα 'head' ~ κέρας 'horn' ~ Lat *cervus* 'deer'), *Etim.* III 305-307; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142-143 (from **d-ran-* based on IE **u̯r̥Hn-*).

dredh aor. *drodha* 'to turn, to rotate'. From PAlb **dredza* continuing IE **dreĝh-* closely related to Arm *daṙnam* 'to turn', *darǰ* 'curve, turn' < IE **dr̥ĝh-* (LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 101-102). Note a derivative of *dredh* - *dridh* 'to shake, to vibrate'. As to *dredhëz* 'strawberry', it is identical with *dredhëz* 'cord, string' derived from *dredh.* ◊ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρέω 'to flee'); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (secondary connection between *dredhëz* and *dredh*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 29, 72, *IF* V 181 (related to Gk τρέχω 'to run, to hurry'); JOKL *Studien* 17-18 (to OHG *drāen* 'to turn' reconstructing **tre-dh-* for the Albanian verb), *IF* XXX 206-208; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62 n. 1; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108 (follows LIDÉN); AČAREAN *HAB* I 639; PISANI *Studi* 129 (*dredh-ëz* - to Lat *frāgum*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 34; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 110; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; ÇABEJ *St.* I 137-138 (accepts LIDÉN's etymology), 138-139 (connects *dredhëz* 'strawberry' with OIr *driss* 'thornbush, brier-bush', Gk δρίος 'bush'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 308-310; CLACKSON *LR* 122-123; DEMIRAJ *AE* 143-144.

dregë f, pl. *drega* 'scab'. From PAlb **dragā*, an *o*-vocalism deverbative connected with West Gmc **targjan* 'to pull, to stir' (Germ *zergen*), Slav **dъrgati* 'to pull, to tug', Lith *dìrginti* 'to move, to irritate'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 74 (to *dredhëz* 'strawberry'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; KLUGE 882; FRAENKEL 96; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139 (comparisons with IE **der-* 'to tear' and Skt *da(r)dru-* 'leprosy, eruption', W *tarwyden* 'lichen, eczema' and the like).

drejtë adj. 'straight, right'. Borrowed from Lat *directum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* V 73). Note the development of the cluster *-ct-*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1054; JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 24-31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139, ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 312-315; HAARMANN 122; HULD 55; LANDI *Lat.* 121.

drekë f, pl. *drekë* 'lunch, dinner, midday meal'. Connected with *darkë* and reflecting PAlb **drikā* related to *darkë* (MEYER *Wb.* 61) and reflecting a zero-grade **dr̥kʷā* close to Bret *dibri* 'lunch', OBret *diprim* 'to eat' (HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 116). However, the development of **-i-* > *-e-* remains unclear. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 245; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs **drōkʷ-*); HIRT *Ablaut* 126; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix *-kë*); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 314; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253; MANN *HAED* 61 (zero grade in the root); ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 315-316; HULD 48-49; KÖDDERITZSH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62-63; DEMIRAJ *AE* 144-145.

dremis aor. *dremita* 'to slumber'. Borrowed from South Slav **drěmiti* 'to doze, to slumber', cf. Maced *dremit*, SCr *dramiti*. Cf. also a Slavic derivative in *drëmkë* 'nap'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowed from Slav **drěmati* id.); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (from SCr *drijemati*); SVANE 253; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 484.

drenjë f, pl. *drenja* 'quail'. From PAlb **dranjā*, derivative from *dre* ~ *drê* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 316). ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Gk τετράων); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (from Rom **tetraonem*, cf. Lat *tetraōnem* 'heath-cock'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 319-320 (to *dra*).

dreq m, pl. *dreqër* ~ *dreqën* 'devil'. Borrowed from the nom. sg. or pl. of Lat *dracō* 'dragon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 73). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1051; JOKL *IF* XXX 291; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140, *Etim.* III 316-317 (from Gk δράκων); LANDI *Lat.* 28, 112, 143-145.

drënjë f 'cornel-cherry', adj. 'healthy, sound'. From PAlb **draunjā*, a derivative of IE **dreu-* 'tree'. For the evolution of meaning cf. Slav **sъ-dorvъ* 'healthy' ~ **dervo* 'tree' and Lat *rōbustus* 'healthy' ~ *rōbur* 'oak'. ◊ MEILLET *Etudes* I 88; BENVENISTE *Word* X 259, *Inst.* I 108-110 (semantic analysis of **dreu-*); VASMER II 90; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140 (derivation based on Bulg or Maced *dren* 'cornel-cherry'), *Etim.* III 318.

drinjë f, pl. *drinja* 'brushwood'. From PAlb **drūnjā* related to *dru* and the Indo-European word for 'tree'. ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101 n. 1 (from SCr *drijen* 'cornel-cherry'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 320-321 (from Slavic).

dritë f, pl. *drita* 'light, luster, pupil (of an eye)'. From **driktā* based on IE **derk̂-* 'to look' and, in particular, close to OE *torht* 'bright', OHG *zoraht* (MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* III 27, 43). ◊ BRUGMANN 131; JOKL *Studien* 53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90, *Sprache* IX 120; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 42; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 149; POKORNY I 213; CHANTRAINE 265; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 688; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140-141 (to Lith *žeriù, žerė́ti* 'to shine', Slav **zьrěti* 'to see' and the like), *Etim.* III 322-323; HULD 55; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145.

drithë m/n, pl. *drithëra* ~ *drithna* 'grain'. From PAlb **dritsā* etymologically connected with Lat *hordeum* 'barley', OHG *gersta* id. < IE **ĝhr̥zd-* (JOKL *IF* XXX 302). In Albanian, the development of the voiced Indo-European cluster seems to be surprising. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 351; SPITZER *MRIW* I 335 (from **ĝhr̥su̯o-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108; WALDE-HOFMANN I 656-657; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; ERNOUT-MEILLET 299; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 209; CHANTRAINE 583; POKORNY I 446; *SGGJa* I 88; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 277; ÇABEJ *BUShT* XV/3 57 (to IE **der-* 'to tear'), *Etim.* III 323-325; HULD 55-56; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 91; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145-146.

drizë f, pl. *driza* 'blackthorn, sloe'. From PAlb **dridzjā* etymologically connected with IE **derĝh-* 'to hold, to be firm': Skt *dr̥hyati* 'to be firm', Slav **dьržati* to hold' < **dьrzjati* and, in particular, **dьrza* > Russ *dereza* 'kind of thorny plant' (with a secondary *polnoglasie*), see KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk. 3* 27. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 75 (related to *dru*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 248 (suffix *-zë*); MAYRHOFER II 61-62; VASMER I 502; MANN *Hist. gr.* 34 (to OIr *driss* 'blackthorn'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 231; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk δρίος 'bush'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 325-326 (to *drithë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 146.

drobis aor. *drobita* 'to tire'. Borrowed from Slav **drobiti* 'to break, to crush' in an otherwise unattested meaning (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 326-327 (from Maced *drobi*); SVANE 232.

drokth m, pl. *droktha* 'broom'. A deminutive based on **drok* probably borrowed from Slav **drokъ* 'genista' which, however, is not attested in South Slavic.

dromcë f, pl. *dromca* 'crumb, bit'. Borrowed from Slav **drobьnica* 'trifle, small object', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: Maced *drobnica* 'trifle', Bulg *drobnica* 'pear-tree with small fruit', SCr *drobnica* 'particle' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 82, *Wb.* 75). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 142 (connects *dromcë* with *drudhe* and IE **der-* 'to tear' or **dhreu-* 'to break'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 329-331.

dru ~ drû m, pl. *drunj, drurë ~ drun* 'tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)'. From PAlb **druwa* etymologically compared with Slav **drъvo* 'wood', Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς 'tree, oak' (BOPP 541; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 75). The nasalization in Geg is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 142-143) and, probably, influenced by the plural forms. The word was borrowed to Rum *druete* 'thick and short tree'.◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 27, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 232, 269; BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 161 (borrowing from Slav **drъva*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 144; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 100-102; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (from IE **dr̥no-*); MAYRHOFER II 36; FRISK I 421-422; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276-277; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275 (original *n*-stem), *LB* XXV 78 (collective **druu̯ā*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 16; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 141-142; HULD 56; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 332-334; DEMIRAJ *AE* 146-147.

druaj ~ druej aor. *druajta, drojta, drova* 'to be afraid'. From PAlb **drāunja* derived from *dre, droe* 'fear' < PAlb **drāwā*. The noun is related to Latv *druvas* 'fear' and, further, to Lith *draudžiù, draũsti* 'to forbid, to deter, to scare off'. ◊ CAMARDA I 73 (to Skt *trásati* 'to be afraid', Gk τρέω 'to flee in fright'); MEYER *Wb.* 75 (etymologically connected with OHG *droa* 'threat' but its anlaut continues IE **t-*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (explains Alb *d-* from **en-t-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 371 (to Gk ταράσσω 'to stir, to frighten'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Lith *drovà* 'self-consciousness, awkwardness' which is, in fact, a Germanic loanword); FRAENKEL 102; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276 (to Rum *droaie* 'band, gang; a lot'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 143-144 (to E *dread*), *Etim.* III 334-337.

drudhe f, pl. *drudhe* 'crumb'. A singularized plural of **drudhë*. From PAlb **drudza* related to Lith *drùzgas* 'splinter, fragment', *drùžti* 'to become weak'. ◊ CAMARDA I 115 (to Gk θρύπτω 'to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 370 (to *rrudhë* 'wrinkle'); FRAENKEL 107; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (derived from *-rrudh* related to *rrjedh*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 176 (to OIr *druidim*

'to close'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121 (suffix *-dhe*); ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 14 (to Lith *dìrginti* 'to pull'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 144 (connects *drudhe* with *dromcë* and IE **dhreu-* 'to break'), *Etim.* III 231-233.

drugë f, pl. *druga* 'spindle, shuttle'. Borrowed from SCr *druga* id. < Slav **drǫga* (MEYER *Wb.* 75). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 295; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 313-314 (from NGk τρούγα, δρούγα 'thread'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 74, 79; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81; ÇABEJ *St.* I 144, *Etim.* III 337-338; SVANE 47, 81.

drushtë f, pl. *drushta* 'pole, mast'. From PAlb **drustā* further connected with *dru.*

druth m 'wrath'. A derivative in *-th* of *droe, dre* 'fear', cf. *druaj ~ druenj.*

(G) **drŷ** m 'kind of lock, bolt'. From PAlb **drūna* related to the Indo-European word for 'tree' and, probably, referring to the strength of the lock, cf. Gk δροόν· ἰσχυρόν (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165). The closest formal parallels of PAlb **drūna* are Skt *druṇa-* 'bow', Iran **drūna-* 'bow' in Pers *durūna* 'rainbow', Ossetic *ærdyn* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276) and Slav **drynъ* 'stick, pole'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to OIr *dron* 'hard, strong'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109 (suggests Skt *dróna-* 'wooden trough' as an exact parallel); MILLER *Oss.* 30; FRISK I 419; MAYRHOFER II 78; ÇABEJ *St.* I 145, *Etim.* III 339-341; TRUBAČEV *VJa* 1975/1 135, *ÈSSJa* V 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148-149.

drydhët adj. 'easy to plane (of wood)'. Continues PAlb **drūdza* (with a secondary suffix *-ët*) close to Slav **dryzgati, *druzgati* 'to squeeze, to crush'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 133, 145.

dryshk m 'rust'. From PAlb **drūdz(i)ska* derived from **drūdza* > *drydh(ët).* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 76 (explains the verb *ndryshk* 'to rust' from Rom **in-russicō* based on *russus* 'rusty'); HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372-373 (a prefixal derivative of IE **reudh-* 'red').

dua ~ due aor. *desha* 'to love'. From PAlb **dāusna* connected with IE **ĝeus-* 'to taste', cf. Skt *jóṣati* 'to be fond of', Gk γεύομαι and the like (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 101-102, *LKUBA* 127). The diphthongization of the root vowel into *-ua-* may be explained by the original long diphthong in Proto-Albanian **dāusna* (JOKL). The aorist goes back to PAlb **deuša.*

◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *dēbeō* 'must'); MEYER *Wb.* 76, *Alb. St.* III 17, 61, 90; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 80; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; LA PIANA *Studi* I 49-51 (to Gk δέομαι 'to lack, to miss'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 286; MAYRHOFER I 441; FRISK I 302; POKORNY I 399-400; HULD 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 173-175; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < **-s-* in *desha* < IE **ĝeusm̥* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149.

duaj ~ **duej** pl. 'sheaf'. Continues PAlb **dōnja* related to Skt *dhānā́* 'grain, cereals', *dhānyá-* 'grain', Lith *dúona* 'bread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 26, 86 (to Gk δέω 'to tie'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 117; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223, 239; POKORNY I 242; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 37; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 341-342 (plural of *dorë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149-150 (to Skt *dā́man-* 'band').

dudë f, pl. *duda* 'gum'. An onomatopoeic formation (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 342-343).

duke ~ **tue** part. before gerund While *duke* may go back to an earlier **ntuke*, its widespread variant *tuke* seems to be more conservative. In Old Albanian as well as in some dialects one also finds *tue* (BUZUKU) and *tu* (BOGDANI). All these particles reflect compounds of *tu* (for the etymology see *këtu*) and *ke* (identical with *ku*) or *e* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 120). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 146-147 (from *tuke* where *e* is a proclitic pronoun), *Etim.* III 349-352.

duket refl. 'to appear, to be visible'. Borrowed from MGk or NGk δοκεῖ 'to seem, to appear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk δοκέω 'to see, to observe'); MEYER *Wb.* 76-77 (follows CAMARDA and, alternatively, compares *duket* with Goth *þugkjan* 'to think'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 2 (against comparisons with Gk δοκέω); JOKL *Studien* 18 (to Lith *žvākė* 'light', Lat *fax* 'torch' and the like), *LKUBA* 53-55; PISANI *Saggi* 118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 352-354.

duq m, pl. *duqe* 'bung; cock (of a gun)'. Borrowed from Lat *ducem* appearing in similar meanings in several Romance languages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 148). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (from Lat *ductus* 'connection', *'canal'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 359; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 112.

duroj aor. *durova* 'to be patient'. Borrowed from Lat *dūrāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 77). Note, however, that the reflex of Lat *-ū-* is irregular. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148 (from Ital *durare*), *Etim.* III 361-362.

dushk m, pl. *dushqe* 'oak'. Another variant of this word is *drushk*. It continues PAlb **druška*, a derivative of *dru* (DIEFENBACH I 49; MEYER *Wb.* 77). ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk τόξον 'bow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 166, *Vox Rom.* VIII 151-152 (from Alpine Illyrian substratum); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLVIII 411, *AGlt* XXIV 19 (from Rom **drusculum*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (to Raeto-Rom *dāsa* 'branch of a conifer'); PISANI *KZ* LXXI 62-63 (to Lat *dūmus* 'smoke' < **dus-mos* and OHG *zūsach* 'bushes'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148-149 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* III 363-365; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148, 150-151.

dy num. 'two'. From PAlb **duwō*, fem. **duwai* with a contraction similar to that of *qytet* and *grykë*. Further parallels are reflexes of IE **d(u)u̯ō(u)*, fem. **d(u)u̯oi* (BOPP 511; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 27, III 26, IV 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78 (thinks of IE **dū* and compares with Lith *dù*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282 (from IE **du̯ōi̯e*); SKOK *AArbSt* II 307 (from **dui*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 35 (from **du̯u̯i* > **du̯i*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; ÇABEJ *St.* I 149-150 (reconstructs **du̯i-*), *Etim.* III 366-369; HULD 56-57 (compares fem. *dy:* with Slav **dъvě*); HAMP *Numerals* 905-906; DEMIRAJ *AE* 151-152.

dyllë m/n 'wax'. From PAlb **dūla* related to Gk χυλός 'juice' (MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 18, 76 but reconstructing **ĝhū-dlo-*). Both forms, going back to IE **ĝheu-* 'to pour', appear to reflect **ĝhu-slo-* with a compensatory lengthening. ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to IE **dheu-* 'to flow'), *Sprache* IX 154; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 54-55 (to Gk δαλός 'burning wood'); PISANI *Saggi* 118 (reconstructs **ĝhūlo-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; FRISK 1123-1124; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 132-133 (same as LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* I 150-151 (compares *dyll* with IE **ĝhel-* 'yellow'), *Etim.* III 371-373 (to Gk θύος 'burning offering'); HULD 57, *KZ* XC 181; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (identical with Slav part. **davilъ* 'pressing, squeezing'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 152.

dynd aor. *dynda* 'to shake'. An onomatopoeia. Note a deverbative *dyn-*

dallë 'flood, inundation'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 150 (a variant of *dend*), *Etim.* III 373-375.

dysh m, pl. *dysha* 'two, pair'. A derivative based on *dy* (MEYER *Wb.* 78) and reflecting PAlb **dwis* identical with Skt *dvíḥ* 'twice', Gk δίς id., Lat *bis* id. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 86; FRISK I 398-399; WALDE-HOFMANN I 107; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 376-377.

Dh

dhallë ~ dhalltë f 'buttermilk'. From PAlb **dzalā* related to Gk γάλα, gen. γάλακτος 'milk' (MEYER *Wb.* 83). Apparently, the Albanian form is the result of a deep morphological transformation as far as Gk γάλα continues *γάλακτ. Note that phonetically **dzalā* < **ĝləkt-* is similar to **ara* 'bear' < **r̥kto-* (cf. *ari*). Rum *zară* is an Albanian loanword. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows MEYER), *Sprache* IX 153 (to *dele*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147-148; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs **ĝələkto-*); LA PIANA *Vocale* 33 (from **dlagos*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; PISANI *Saggi* 118; FRISK I 283-284; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 419-421; REICHENKRON *Dakische* 170 (substratum word); HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276-277 (reconstructs **ĝolH-*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HULD 57; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 41 (to *dele*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 153-154 (to Skt *jala-* 'water').

dhe m/f/n, pl. *dhera ~ dhena* 'earth, land'. From PAlb **dzō* reflecting IE **dhĝhōm* 'earth': Hitt *tekan*, Tokh A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk χθών (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Gk γῆ 'earth', δῆ id.); CAMARDA I 46 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 83 (does not exclude the connection with γῆ); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 135-136; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 237-238 (equal to Arm **ti* 'earth'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (follows CAMARDA); LA PIANA *Vocale* 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228, *ABS* III 37-40; MAYRHOFER I 288-289; FRISK II 1098-1099; POKORNY I 414-415; HAMP *Minos* IX 199 (different anlauts of *dje* and *dhe* make the connection with **dhĝhōm* less probable), *FLH* IV 137, *KZ* CIII 289-292 (from IE **dheĝHo-*); VAN WINDEKENS I 506-507; SCHINDLER *Sprache* XIII 200; HULD 58

(*dhe* < **dhoiĝho-*, to Gk τοῖχος 'wall'); OREL *Balcanica* 110-112, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to the first component of Δη-μήτηρ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 155-156.

dhel aor. *dhela* 'to fondle, to caress, to flatter'. Metathesis of *ledhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). Note that its derivatives *dhelatoj* id. and *dhelatar* 'only son' also have their counterparts in unmetathesized *ledhatoj* and *ledhatar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (treats *dhelatar* as a borrowing from Ital *diletto* 'delight, pleasure'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114-115.

dhelpër ~ dhelpën f, pl. *dhelpra ~ dhelpna* 'fox'. From PAlb **dzelpinā* transformed by a taboo typical of words for 'fox' (MEILLET *BSL* XXVIII 45) from **welpinā*, a derivative connected with Lith *vilpišỹs* 'wild cat' (STIER *KZ* XI 143-144; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15) and, further, with other irregular forms: Lat *volpēs* 'fox', Gk ἀλώπηξ id. and the like. The development of **welpinā* to **dzelpinā* could be influenced by *dhel* or by *dhe*. ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἀλωπά, ἀλώπηξ 'fox'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (from Lat *volpēs* or a modification of CAMARDA's etymology); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 16 (against BUGGE); JOKL *LKUBA* 297-299 (to IE **ĝhel-* 'yellow'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 214; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; FRAENKEL 1254; WALDE-HOFMANN II 830; FRISK I 83; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix *-p-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156 (to Gk γαλέη 'weasel').

dhemb aor. *dhemba* 'to ache'. In Tosk also *dhëmb*. From PAlb **dzemba* etymologically identical with Skt *jámbhate* 'to snap at', Lith *žembiù, žem̃bti* 'to cut' and Slav **zębǫ*, **zębti* 'to freeze, to feel cold' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334). ◊ BOPP 460 (to Skt *dam-* 'to tame'); MEYER *Wb.* 84-85 (to Lat *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan'), *Alb. St.* III 16, 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173-174; FRAENKEL 1289; POKORNY I 369; MAYRHOFER I 419; VASMER II 111; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156-157.

dhemje f, pl. *dhemje* 'caterpillar'. Another variant is *vemje*. Derivative of *dhe* (MEYER *Wb.* 84; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 136) that may be reconstructed as PAlb **dzōmjā*. ◊ LIDÉN *AfslPh* XXVIII 33; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228-229, IV 189-191 (to δεμελέας, δεμβλεῖς· βδέλλαι, Hes.); XHUVANI *BUShT* XII 97-99 (analogical influence of *dhjes* and *dhemb* in the secondary form in *dh-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277 (to *ve* 'egg'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 157.

dheulë f, pl. *dheula* 'ant'. A recent derivative in *-lë* based on *dheu*, the definite form of *dhe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 153).

dhez aor. *dheza* 'to set on fire, to burn'. From PAlb **dagja* with a sandhial change of the initial **d-*, cf. *ndez* id. Further connected with *djeg*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (separates *dhez* from *djeg*); JOKL *LKUBA* 333; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 235; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38.

dhëmb ~ dhamb m, pl. *dhëmbë ~ dhambë* 'tooth'. From PAlb **dzamba*, a dialectal Indo-European word for 'tooth' shared by Albanian together with Tokh A *kam* 'tooth', B *keme* id., Latv *zùobs* id., Slav **zǫbъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 16, 35, 64). The original meaning seems to be preserved in Gk γόμφος 'peg', Skt *jámbha-* 'bit, peg'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dánta-* 'tooth'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 264; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 100, 128; FRISK I 319-321; FRAENKEL 1288-1289; MAYRHOFER I 419; VAN WINDEKENS I 186; HULD 58; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 158.

dhëndër ~ dhandër m, pl. *dhëndurë ~ dhandurë* 'bridegroom, son-in-law'. In the auslaut *-rr* is also possible. From PAlb **dzanra* with a secondary epenthesis in **-nr- > -nd(ë)r-*, cf. *ëndërr*. The plural form in *-ur-* is not clear. The word is etymologically identical with Skt *jārá-* 'suitor', Gk γαμβρός 'son-in-law', Lat *gener* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 33). PAlb **-an-* seems to continue IE **-emə-* or a similar cluster. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gener*); MEYER *Wb.* 85 (to Lith *žéntas* 'son-in-law', Slav **zętь* id.), *Alb. St.* III 16, 24, *Gr. Gr.* 250; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48 (to Skt *jāmātar-* 'son-in-law', Av *zāmātar-* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114 (combines MEYER's and JOKL's views); ERNOUT-MEILLET 270; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42 (reconstructs **genros*); PISANI *Saggi* 130 (*dhëndër* as a contamination of Skt *jāmātar-* and Lat *gener* 'son-in-law'); FRISK I 287; CHANTRAINE 209; MAYRHOFER I 431; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228 (from **ĝenətēr*); FRAENKEL *ZfslavPh* XXIII 348 (*-ërr < *-urr* influenced by *vjehërr*); FRISK I 287; ANTTILA *Schw.* 132-133 (from **ĝenH-tr-*); HULD 58-59 (reconstructs IE **ĝomH-ter-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 159-160.

dhi f. pl *dhi* 'she-goat'. From PAlb **aidzijā* corresponding to Gk αἴξ id. (CAMARDA 75 who also adduces Lacon δίζα· αἴξ and Arm *ayc* id.). The Albanian word may be an ancient adjective, cf. Gk αἴγε(ι)ος 'of a goat'. ◊ POTT *KZ* IV 70; MEYER *Wb.* 85 (compares with Skt *ajá-* 'goat', Lith *ožỹs* id. or with OHG *ziga*, Lacon δίζα· αἴξ), *Alb. St.* III 28, 37; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320, 335; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 241, *Sprache* IX 149; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; BONFANTE *REIE* II 61-63; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (to OHG *ziga*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; JOKL *Symb. gramm.* I 241; FRISK I 41-42; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140; HULD 59 (supports PISANI); KARULIS *LEV* I 56 (to Lith *óda* 'skin', Latv *âda* id.), 94 (to Lith *ožỹs* 'goat', Latv *âzis* id.); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 38; DEMIRAJ *AE* 160.

dhjamë f, pl. *dhjamëra* ~ *dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'. The dialectal variant *vjam, vjamë* is secondary. From PAlb **dzel-mā*, related to *dhallë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 86 (to Gk δημός 'fat' but how to explain the initial **d-*?), *Alb. St.* III 28; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 15 (treats *vjam* as the original form); JOKL *Sprache* IX 153; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CHANTRAINE 274; POKORNY I 175; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (follows MEYER but does not explain the short **ĕ* vs. Gk -η-); PORZIG *Gliederung* 126, 178; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 274; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 55; HULD 59-60; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 47 (borrowed from Late Gk ζέμα 'decoction, cooking'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74 (derivative of *ve* as Slav **sadlo* 'fat' goes back to **saditi* 'to put, to place'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161.

dhjes aor. *dhjeva* 'to defecate'. From PAlb **dzetša* or **dzetja* related to Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id. (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 86, *Alb. St.* III 18, 27). As far as neither **-tš-* nor **-tj-* could correspond to IE **-d-*, the resulting form in Albanian may be explained either by a taboo transformation or as a reflex of a verbal form based on a participle **ĝhed-to-*; the latter would regularly yield **dzetša*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 274; JOKL *Studien* 61; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 160; LA PIANA *Studi* I 55-56 (to Gk δεῖσα 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; PISANI *Saggi* 117; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 237; FRISK I 1078-1079; CHANTRAINE 1250; MAYRHOFER III 573; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 153-154 (to ON *dríta* 'to defecate', E *dirt*, Slav **driskati* ~ **dristati* 'to defecate); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *foria* 'diarrhea'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161-162 (reconstructs **ĝh(e)détįo-*).

dhjetë num. 'ten'. A relatively recent derivative in *-të* based on **dhjeth* < **detsa* etymologically connected with IE **deḱm̥* 'ten': Skt *dáśa*, Gk δέκα, Lat *decem* and the like (BOPP 459-460; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 86). The irregular initial *dh-* < **d-* is explained by sandhi in the numerals from 11 to 19 where **-d-* is preceded by vowels (MEYER-LÜBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14, 28 (from **deḱm̥ti* - phonetically impossible as the syllabic **-m̥-* must be vocalized); BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 110-111; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46, *KZ* XXXVI 284-285; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 131; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 106; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 70-71, 112-114; MAYRHOFER II 26; FRISK I 359-360; WALDE-HOFMANN I 327-329; HULD 60; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XX/2 123-124; HAMP *Trends* LVII 901-902, 916-917, *Numerals* 916-918; DEMIRAJ *AE* 162-163.

dhunë f, pl. *dhunë* 'labor pains, shame, disgrace'. From PAlb **edunti* or **adunti*, further compared with Gk ὀδύνη 'labor pains', Arm *erkn* id. (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 51-52, *AArmL* VIII 17-19). These forms may be derived from **ed-* 'to eat' (FRISK II 351). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to Gk δέννος 'reproach, insult'); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (compares with *derë, dherë* 'bitter'); JOKL *Studien* 19-20 (reconstructs **dus-n-ā* and links it to Skt *duṣ-* 'evil, bad, difficult', *dunóti*, (he) burns', Gk δαίω 'to light up, to kindle'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251-252; LA PIANA *Studi* I 63 f. (follows CAMARDA); AČAREAN *HAB* II 64; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk αἰσχύνη, reconstructs **ĝhunā*); MAYRHOFER II 49-50; POKORNY I 180; ÇABEJ *BShkSh* II/4 34 (to Lat *fuscus* 'dark brown', *St.* I 154-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 112 (to Germ *dunkel* 'dark'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; JANSON *Unt.* 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 163-164 (follows OREL).

dhuroj aor. *dhurova* ~ *dhunova* 'to make a present'. Borrowed from Lat *dōnāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 87). In Geg the form **dhunoj* was replaced by Tosk *dhuroj*. The intervocalic Geg *-n-* is, however, preserved in derivatives, such as *dhurëti* ~ *dhunëti* 'present, donation'. Occasionally, the forms with the "correct" *d-* have been attested in dialects. Forms with initial *dh-* may reflect **addōnāre*. ◊ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk δωρέομαι 'to make a present'); JOKL *LKUBA* 300; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 155-156; JANSON *Unt.* 49-50.

E

e conj. 'and, also'. From PAlb **ō(d)* (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 145-146) going back to IE **ēd* ~ **ōd*, abl. sg. of the pronominal stem **e-/*o-*, cf. Skt *ā́t* 'then, and', Av *āt̰, āat̰* id., Lith *ō* 'and, but' (if not borrowed from Slavic, SADNIK - AITZETMÜLLER *Vgl. Wb.* I 1-2), Slav **a* and, but'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (from Lat *et* 'and' with an inexplicably preserved *-t*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Grundr. rom. Phil.* I 1057 (questions the Latin origin of *e*); PUŞCARIU *Etym. Wb.* I 565 (< Lat *et*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 514; MAYRHOFER I 72; ÇABEJ *St.* I 156; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; HAMP *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*e* < **i̯oi*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61.

ec(i) aor. *eca* 'to go, to run'. Another variant is *ecëj*. From **etës* < PAlb **aitatja* based on a derivative in **-to-* of IE **ei-* 'to go' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA I 95 (to Gk εἶμι 'to go'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (from Rom **itiō* replacing *itō* 'to go'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 18 (to *erdha*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 158 (related to *hedh*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 157-158 (reconstructs **iti̯ō* as a source).

edh m, pl. *edha* 'he-goat'. From PAlb **aidza* connected with Gk αἴξ 'goat', Arm *ayc* id. (TREIMER *ZfRomPh* XXXVIII 408; MANN XXVI 381), cf. *dhi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Lat *haedus* 'kid'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; JAHUKIAN *OAI* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 201; FRISK I 41-42; CLACKSON *LR* 90; ÇABEJ I 158 (to Skt *ajá-* 'goat', Lith *ožỹs* id.); HULD 61.

edhe conj. 'and, also'. A sequence of enclitics *e* and *dhe*, with *-dh-* < **-d-* in the intervocalic position. The first element *e* is identical with *e* 'and, also'. As for *dhe*, it reflects PAlb **dō* < IE **dō* (in the intervocalic position) as preserved in Slav **da* 'and, so that'. Note Slovene *ada* < Slav **a da*, a full correspondence of *edhe*. The variant *dhe* is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). The Geg form *ende* may be explained as a different compound including *en-* < IE **ani* (cf. POKORNY I 39) and *de* < PAlb **dō*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 83 (derives *dhe* from Turk *de* 'and'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 158; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146 (mistakenly derives *edhe* from IE **ōĝe* and compares it with Lith *ōgi* where there are no traces of a palatal); BENVENISTE *St. Balt.* III 121 f. (pronominal sources of **dō*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78, *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*dhe* < **ĝhō*

related to Lat *hōc*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61 (*dhe* < **ĝhoi* compared with Lat *huic*).

egër adj. 'wild'. Borrowed from Gk ἄγριος id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (from Lat *agrestis*); CAMARDA I 28, 36 (comparison with Gk ἄγριος); MEYER *Wb.* 94 (borrowed from Lat *ācer* 'sharp, violent'), *Alb. St.* IV 10; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15 (reconstructs **n̥-gʷori-* 'living in the mountains'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111-112 (agrees with VASMER); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687 (from Indo-European); ÇABEJ I 159.

egjëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. A compound of a privative particle *e-* < PAlb **a-* < IE **n̥-* and *gjell*; thus, *egjëll* means 'without food' (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). See also *esëll*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (connected with *esëll*); ÇABEJ I 159 (to *agull* 'dawn', derivative of *agoj*).

egjër f 'Lolium temulentum'. Borrowed from Lat *ebria* f. 'drunk', probably, influenced at some stage by *egër*. For the semantic development cf. the French name of the same plant *ivraie* < Lat *ebriāca* (MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 78-79 (privative *e-* followed by *gjër* 'soup' which is compared with Lith *sóra* 'millet'; thus, the resulting meaning is 'not millet' > 'wild grass'); ÇABEJ I 159-160 (identifies *egjër* with *egër* or, alternatively, follows JOKL but compares *-gjër* with *grurë*).

eh aor. *eha* 'to sharpen'. From PAlb **akska* derived from IE **ak̂-* 'sharp': (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◊ POKORNY I 18-22; FRISK I 52; WALDE-HOFMANN I 8.

ehull m, pl. *ehuj* 'icicle'. Derivative of *eh* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 191-192). However, cf. a similarly looking *akull*. ◊ ÇABEJ I 160 (compound consisting of the prefix *e-* and *hell*); MANN *Comp.* 13 (related to Gk ἄκυλος 'edible acorn').

elb m, pl. *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* 'barley'. From PAlb **albi* identical with Gk ἄλφι 'kind of grain' (CAMARDA I 60; MEYER *Wb.* 94, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 16 (looks for Iranian and Altaic parallels to the Greek - Albanian isogloss); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235 (to Turk *arpa*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112; MANN

Language XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK I 81; CHANTRAINE 67; POKORNY I 29; BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 61; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 164-165.

emër ~ emën m, pl. *emra ~ emna* 'name'. From PAlb **enmen-* or **inmen-*, etymologically close to OIr *ainm* id., Slav **jьmę* id., OPrus *emnes* id. and, further, to other continuations of IE **(o)noHmn̥* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 41; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112 (reconstructs **enmen*); FRAENKEL *TŽ* III 484 (on the first syllable in Baltic); MANN *Language* XVII 21; PISANI *Saggi* 132; POKORNY I 321; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 5; VENDRYES [A] 36-37; CHANTRAINE 804; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 244-245; ANTTILA *Schw.* 126; VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* I 96; HULD 61-62; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 79; HAMP *AION-L* II 185-190, *Laryngeals* 138; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; BEEKES *Sprache* XXXIII 5, *Lar.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; JANSON *Unt.* 23-26; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 227-228; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 165.

emtë f, pl. *emta* 'aunt'. Borrowed from Lat *amita* 'paternal aunt' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 129.

end m 'pollen'. From PAlb **anda* etymologically connected with Skt *ándhas-* 'herb', Gk ἄνθος 'flower' (CAMARDA I 55; MEYER *BB* VIII 184). Note a denominative verb *end* 'to blossom' < PAlb **anda.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (to *ëj*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 30 (to OHG *anado* 'wrath'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk ἄττομαι), XXVI 380; FRISK I 108-109; CHANTRAINE 136; MAYRHOFER I 36; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HAMP *Laryngeals* 141 (to Arm *and* 'field'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ I 160-161 (borrowed from or related to Gk ἄνθος); DEMIRAJ *AE* 166.

end aor. *enda* 'to weave'. From PAlb **enda*, a secondary formation based on an unattested noun **anda* 'weaving tool' related to Lith *iñdas* 'vessel', Latv *endas* 'part of sledge', Slav **ǫda* 'fishing rod' - all of these reflecting **en-dhē-* 'instrument, something applied' with various vocaliza-

tions of the prefix. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 95 (related to *vej*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (to Gk ἅπτομαι); MANN *Language* XVII 21; FRAENKEL 92; VASMER IV 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 166-167.

end aor. *enda* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Etymologically identical with *end* 'to blossom'.

endem refl. 'to roam'. Metaphorically used *end* 'to weave'.◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 161 (to Illyr ἄνδινος· περίπατος); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167 (to Dor ἐνθεῖν 'to come' but it is a dialectal form of *ἐλθεῖν).

enë f, pl. *enë* 'vessel'. Singularized plural of *anë* id., see *an.*

eng m 'deaf and dumb'. From PAlb **anga* etymologically related to Lith *angùs* 'sluggish, lazy, idle', *éngti* 'to strangle', Latv *îgt* 'to wear off, to languish'. ◊ FRAENKEL 10; MANN *Comp.* 25 (to Goth *aggwus* 'narrow' and the like).

engjëll m, pl. *engjëj* 'angel'. Borrowed from Lat *angelus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 95). ◊ CAMARDA I 13 (to Gk ἄγγελος id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 117.

enjë f 'juniper, yew'. Another variant is *venjë* displaying a phonetically secondary initial *v-*. From PAlb **aignjā* related to the Indo-European, and in particular Germanic, word for 'oak': ON *eik*, OHG *eih* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ ÇABEJ II 281 (to Lat *acus* 'needle', Lith *aštrùs* 'sharp').

enjë ~ êjë f, pl. *enja ~ êja* 'dairy goat'. From PAlb **agnjā* connected with Gk ἀμνός 'lamb', Lat *agnus* id. (ÇABEJ I 162). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 237-238 (to Gk οὖθαρ 'udder' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; FRISK I 93-94; POKORNY I 9; WALDE-HOFMANN I 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; JANSON *Unt.* 79-81.

enjte f, pl. *enjte* 'Thursday'. A morphologically more conservative form is outdated *enjtë*, an adjective in *-të*. As other Albanian words of weekdays rendering Latin names, this words seems to translate Lat *Iovis diem.* If so, *enj-* must be an early Albanian equivalent of Jupiter. It continues PAlb **agni-*, presumably, reflecting the archaic Indo-European

word for 'fire' (TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32). For the phonetic development cf. *enjë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 95 ("dunkel"); OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 31 or 282 (to Etr *ais* 'god'!); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112-113; MJEDE apud ÇABEJ I 162 (from Gk ἔνη 'the day after tomorrow').

epem refl. 'to bow down, to bend'. Related to *ap* ~ *jap*, cf. Germ *nachgeben* 'to give way, to stretch' (ÇABEJ I 162-163). The variant *hepem* has a secondary *h*-. ◊ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 417-418 (to Gk σκαμβός 'curved, crooked').

epër adj. 'upper'. From PAlb **eupera*, a secondary analogical ablaut variant of IE **uperos* id.: Skt *úpara-* 'lower', Av *upara-* 'upper', Gk ὕπερος id. (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 96 (derivative of IE **epi*), *Alb. St.* III 86; FRISK II 966-967; CHANTRAINE 357; MAYRHOFER I 105; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (to Goth *iup*); ÇABEJ I 163 (prefix *e-* followed by *për*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167-168.

erë f, pl. *erëra* ~ *erëna* 'wind'. From Rom **er(a)* based on Lat *āēr* 'air' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 96: reconstruction of Rom **aira*). The feminine form in Albanian may go back to an original pl. neut., the gender of *erë* being motivated by its meaning. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113 (from Lat *aer*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165; HULD 62.

ergjënd ~ **argjand** m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044.

ergjëz m, pl. *ergjëz*, *ergjëzë* 'young louse'. Another variant is *ergjiz*. A derivative in *-ëz* based on *arg* id. attested in Italo-Albanian < PAlb **arga* related to Arm *orǰil* 'louse' and its more problematic cognates Skt *likṣā* 'nit', Lith *érkė* 'tick' (MEYER *Wb.* 15; BUGGE *Beiträge* 17). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 99, 329; HERMANN *KZ* XLI 48; PISANI *Saggi* 120; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; POKORNY I 335; ANTTILA *Schw.* 106; MAYRHOFER III 100; FRAENKEL 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165-166 (to IE **aḱ-* 'sharp'); KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 81.

err m 'darkness'. From PAlb **ausra* related, with a frequent change of meaning from 'morning dawn' to 'evening dawn', to Lith *aušrà* 'dawn', Gk ἕως id. and the like. The verb *err* 'to keep smb. till late in the night'

is a denominative. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 96-97; *Alb. St.* IV; JOKL *Studien* 21 (to Gk ἔρεβος 'darkness of the underworld'); FRISK I 605-606; FRAENKEL 27; ÇABEJ *St.* I 166-167 (analyzes *err* as consisting of the prefix *e-* and a root identical with *re* 'cloud').

esëll adv. 'on an empty stomach'. Another variant is *esull*. A compound consisting of a privative *e-* < PAlb **a-* < IE **n̥-* and the root identical with *sillë* (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). ◊ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk ἐσθλός 'courageous, brave'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (comparison with *egjëll*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 167 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

esh m, pl. *eshë* 'hedgehog'. A back-formation or a phonetic mutation of the attested and, obviously, more conservative variant *eshk*. The latter reflects PAlb **etska* < **edz-k-a* etymologically related to Gk ἐχῖνος id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežỹs* id., Slav **ežь* id. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 141 (borrowed from Slavic); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 97 (follows STIER); TRAUTMANN *BSWb* 73; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 199; FRAENKEL 118; KLUGE 324; FRISK I 601; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 37; SVANE 142.

eshke f, pl. *eshke* 'kidney'. Singularized plural of an earlier form **eshkë* continuing **aiškā*. The latter continues IE **oid-skā* to be compared with Slav **jьsto* id. and ON *eista* 'testicle' < **oidsto-*, derived from IE **oid-* 'to swell' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII 273). For the semantic development cf. Slav **pъtjьka* 'kidney' from IE **peu-t-* 'to swell'. As to Alb *veshke*, it is a contamination of *eshke* and *veshje* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to *eshkë*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 f. (to Lat *inguen* 'groin'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284; POKORNY I 774; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 242-243.

eshkë f 'fungus'. Borrowed from Lat *ēsca* 'food, bait' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 97). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1044; HAARMANN 123; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74.

eshtë f, pl. *eshta* 'fiber, muscle fiber'. Etymologically identical with *ashtë* as a variant of its singularized plural. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192.

et m 'thirst'. From PAlb **alk-ti-* closely related to Lith *álkti* 'to be hungry', Slav **olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* 'hunger'. ◊ CAMARDA I 15 (to Gk αἶθος 'fire'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to IE **eus-ti-* or to Gk αἰτέω 'to demand, to beg'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161-163 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRAENKEL 8; ФАСМЕР II 452; ÇABEJ *St.* I 167-168 (accepts MEYER's view).

ethe pl. 'fever'. Singularized plural of **eth*, a derivative in *-th* based on PAlb **aida*. The latter is etymologically close to Skt *edhas-* 'firewood, fuel', Gk αἶθος 'fire' and the like (CAMARDA I 77; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 162-163). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (to IE **eus-* 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (related to *athët*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *aestas*); FRISK I 37; MAYRHOFER I 128; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowing from Gk αἰθός 'burning'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 168-169 (follows BARIĆ); FRISK I 37-38; HULD 62; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 168-169.

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ëj ~ âj aor. *ëjta ~ âjta* 'to blow, to swell'. From PAlb **anj* related to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe', Goth *us-anan* 'to blow out' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 5, *Alb. St.* IV 67). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk οἰδέω, οἰδάω 'to swell', 111 (to Gk ἄω 'to blow'); JOKL *Studien* 37; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows MEYER); POKORNY I 39; MAYRHOFER I 33; FEIST *Goth.* 538; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (follows CAMARDA I 57); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256-257; HULD 63; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (repeats ÇABEJ's etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 171-172.

ëmbël ~ ambël adj. 'sweet'. From PAlb **amla* identical with Skt *amlá-* 'sour' (TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* 1875, 529). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 10 (agrees with TOMASCHEK); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69; MAYRHOFER I 46; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (reconstructs **əm̥los*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170 (to *mjaltë*), VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 169-170 (against TOMASCHEK on semantic grounds; reconstructs **Hen-m(e)lit-*).

ëndë ~ andë f 'appetite, desire, wish'. From PAlb **antā* derived from **anja* > *ëj* (MEYER *Wb.* 5-6) and specifically close to Gk ἄνται· ἄνεμοι, ἀντάς· πνοάς, Hes. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 170). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 19 (reconstructs **handë* < **khonti* with further fantastic comparisons); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170-171 (follows MEYER but, at the same time compares *ëndë* with Hitt *anza-* 'desire'); MANN *Comp.* 21-22 (comparisons with non-existent Tokharian and Irish forms).

(T) ëndë f. 'fine flour'. From PAlb **anta* derived from **anja* > *ëj* and, thus, historically identical with *ëndë* 'desire'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (to *end*).

ëndërr ~ andërr f, pl. *ëndrra ~ andrra* 'dream, sleep'. Continues PAlb **anrjā* with an epenthetic *-d-*. Identical with the Indo-European word for sleep **oner-* (Gk ὄναρ) ~ **onerio-* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anurj*), cf. CAMARDA I 38; MEYER *Wb.* 11, *Alb. St.* III 66. Note that the Albanian feminine noun corresponds to the original Indo-European neuter and may go back to a singularized plural form. For the development of the cluster **-nr-* cf. *dhëndër*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 101; BARIĆ *ARSt* 1-2 (to Gk ἔδαρθον, aor. 'to sleep', Lat *dormiō* 'to sleep'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133, *LKUBA* 6; MANN *Language* XVII 19; PISANI *Saggi* 121; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; FRISK II 393; CHANTRAINE 802; POKORNY I 779; ANTTILA *Schw.* 127; HAMP *AION-L* II/2 187; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230, *Etim.* IV apud DEMIRAJ (to *nder*); HULD 63; CLACKSON *LR* 236; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on PAlb **-rj-* > *-rr*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 171 (to Skt *nidrā́* 'sleepiness, drowsiness', formally possible).

F

faj m, pl. *faje* 'guilt, sin'. Borrowed from Rom **fallia*, derivative of Lat *fallere* 'to deceive, to trick' (MEYER *Wb.* 98, *Alb. St.* IV 16). ◊ TREIMER *KZ* LXV 96 (from IE **spel-* 'to break'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

(G) fâj aor. *fana* 'to fill, to cram, to surfeit'. From PAlb **spanja* related to Gmc **spannjan* 'to tighten' with a secondary expressive gemination (ON *spenna* and the like). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22-23 (to Skt *pūrṇa-* 'full' and the like, with *f-* < **ph-*); KLUGE 720; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 (to dialectal *fëngem* 'to eat much').

fajkë f, pl. *fajka* 'side (of a ship)'. Borrowed from the Dalmatian reflex of Lat *faciēs* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 - 173). Note a derivative in *fajkoj* 'to polish'. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (treats *fajkoj* as a variant of *fërkoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550.

fajkua ~ **fajkue** m, pl. *fajkonj* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Lat *falcōnem* id. (CAMARDA II 70; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137, *LKUBA* 306; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173; LANDI *Lat.* 143, 145.

fal aor. *fala* 'to give, to present, to offer', refl. 'to set (of the sun)'. From PAlb **spala* etymologically connected with Gk σφάλλω 'to overthrow' (CAMARDA I 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Slav **xvaliti* 'to praise'), *Alb. St.* IV 61; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192 (follows MEYER); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24, *Hymje* 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRISK II 827-828; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173-174 (follows CAMARDA).

famë f 'good reputation, rumor'. Borrowed from Lat *fāma* 'rumor, fame'.

famull m, pl. *famuj* 'godchild'. Borrowed from Lat *famulus* 'servant, attendant', otherwise lost by Romance languages (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 174; LANDI *Lat.* 137.

faqe f, pl. *faqe* 'face, cheek'. As many other feminines of this morphological type, *faqe* seems to continue an earlier **faq*. Borrowed from Lat *faciēs* 'face' (RASK apud HULD 63; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 338; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124-125; HULD 63; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85, 149-150.

farë f, pl. *farë, fara* 'seed, semen, kin'. From PAlb **sparā* < IE **sporā* closely connected with Gk fem. σπορά 'seed' and further related to **sper-* 'to spill, to sow': Gk σπείρω id., σπέρμα 'semen, seed' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 24; MANN *Language* XVII 17, MANN XXVI 386-387; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147.) As to *faroj, faros* 'to destroy, to exterminate', it is a denominative based on *farë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100 (Germanic loanword, cf. Langob *fara* 'descendants, family, kin'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24 (*faroj* from IE **spher-* 'to kick with a foot');TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 114 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 295; POKORNY I 993; FRISK II 762-763; HULD 62-63; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

farkë f, pl. *farka* 'smithy'. Borrowed from Lat *fabrica* 'workshop' (MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 111, 118.

fashqe f, pl. *fashqe* 'diaper'. A singularized plural of **fashqë* also attested as *fashë* 'diaper, stripe'. Borrowed from Lat *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Wb.* 100). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 125; LANDI *Lat.* 120.

fat m, pl *fate* 'fate; bridegroom, husband, friend'. Borrowed from Lat *fātum*. Undoubtedly, *fat* 'fate' is identical with *fat* 'fate' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100) - a widely attested metaphor, cf. Alb *shortë* 'fate; spouse, wife' < Lat *sorte(m)* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 176-177). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *Studien* 107, *LKUBA* 15 (*fat* 'bridegroom' borrowed from Goth **fadi-* 'master, lord'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24-25, *Hymje* 71 (arbitrary comparison with Skt *sphā́yate* '(he) grows fat, increases'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

fe f, pl. *fe* 'belief, religion'. Borrowed from Lat *fidem* 'faith' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26) as the long [*ē*] in *fē* reflects a contraction of the intermediate **feë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 177). The verb *fejoj* 'to betroth' is a late derivative of *fe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 178). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (from Ital *fe* id.), 106-107 (*fejoj* borrowed from Ital *fidare* 'to entrust'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 133.

feje pl. 'nostrils'. A plural form of *fyell*, normally appearing in a phrase *fejet e hundës* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 235).

felë f, pl. *fela* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed from Rom **favalia*, cf. Ital *fiale* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). The homonymous *felë* 'piece, slice' is, in fact, a phonetic variant of *thelë*. ◊ TREIMER *KZ* LXV 98 (from IE **spel-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

femc m 'sting (of insects)'. A phonetic variant of *thimth, thimc* (JOKL *IJ* XXIV VII 217). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 76 (to *themboj* 'to bore'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 98 (connects *femc* with Lat *spīna* 'thorn'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 8144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 178 (to *feme* 'awl').

femër ~ **femën** f, pl. *femra* ~ *femna* 'woman'. Borrowed from Lat *fēmina* id. (CAMARDA I 122; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; JANSON *Unt.* 50.

fend aor. *fenda* 'to fart'. From PAlb **spenda* related to Skt *spandate* 'to shiver', Gk σφαδάζω 'to shiver, to tremble'. ◊ FRISK II 825; POKORNY I 989.

ferr m 'hell'. Borrowed from Lat *infernum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131.

ferrë f, pl. *ferra* 'thorn, thorny bush'. From PAlb **spernā* derived from IE **sper-* 'spear, stick': Lat *sparus* 'short spear', Gmc **speru-* 'spear' > ON *spjǫr* (cf. OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147). Note a derivative *ferrël* 'stalk, stem' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 179). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (to *ther* 'to cut'), 102 (*ferrël* borrowed from Lat *ferula* 'fennel-giant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 99 (to W *ffern* 'talus, malleolus', Lat *spernō* 'to sever, to separate'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; WALDE - HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 225.

fëlligë f 'ignominy, shame'. A variant of this word seems to be *fëllegë* 'sloppy work'. The verb *fëlliq* 'to make dirty' also belongs here as a denominative. The form *fëlligë* is an irregular transformation of *fëdigë* 'tiredness, strain, work' borrowed from Ital (Venetian) *fadiga* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 102 (*fëdigë* < Venetian *fadiga*; *fëlliq* < Lat *fornīcem* 'brothel'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (to *thellë*).

fëmijë m/f, pl. *fëmijë* 'child, family, spouse'. Borrowed from Lat *famīlia* 'family' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24-25; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1047 (from Ital *famiglia* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMANN 125; HULD 64; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 108, 126.

fëndyell m, pl. *fëndyej* 'awl'. A derivative of *fund.* ◊ CAMARDA I 201 (to Gk σφόνδυλος 'cervical vertebra'); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (to Lat *findere* 'to cleave, to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (related to *femc*).

fëng ~ fang m, pl. *fëngje ~ fangje* 'virgin land, land difficult to cultivate, lawn, meadow'. Borrowed from Ital *fango* 'mud' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 120-121 (from Goth *waggs* 'paradise' < *'meadow'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180-181 (agrees with MIKLOSICH).

fërgoj aor. *fërgova* 'to roast, to fry'. Borrowed from Lat *frīgere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1055; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127.

fërkoj aor. *fërkova* 'to rub'. Borrowed from Lat *fricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; HULD 64.

fërroj aor. *fërrova* 'to grind roughly'. Clearly connected with *fërratë* 'gruel' (borrowed from Rom **farīnāta*) and seems to continue Rom **farīnāre* related to Lat *farīna* 'ground corn, flour'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 182 (related to *ther*).

fic aor. *fica* 'to make soft'. Derived from an unattested **fij* < PAlb **spija* related to Skt *sphā́yate* 'to become fat', Slav **spěti* 'to ripen'. ◊ POKORNY I 983; VASMER III 734.

fier m 'fern'. From PAlb **spera* or **sperna* that may be somehow connected with other Indo-European words for 'fern' (presumably based on the word for 'wing'), e.g. Gmc **farnaz*: OHG *far(a)n*. In any case, in the name of fern various irregular changes of taboo origin cannot be excluded. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Slav **paporotь* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk πτέρις id.); FRISK II 611; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22 (from Latin), 3-4 350 (from Gk πτέρις); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250; HAARMANN 126 (from Rom **filicāria*).

(G) fijan m, pl. *fijanë* 'child to be baptized'. A Geg church form of Rom **filiānus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 183; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 126, 133.

fik m, pl. *fiq* 'fig'. Borrowed from Lat *fīcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 113, 140.

fik aor. *fika* 'to extinguish (of fire); to bring misfortune, to ruin, to destroy'. From PAlb **speika* related to Lith *peĩkti* 'to despise, to scold', *pỹkti* 'to be angry', Latv *peĩkt* 'to be spoilt'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26 (from Ital *ficcare*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 100-101 (to Lat *spīca* 'point, top'); FRAENKEL 525; ÇABEJ *St.* I 183-184 (to Swedish *spink* 'lean man', Norw *spiken* 'dry').

fill m, pl. *fij, fije* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *fīlum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). The verb *filloj* 'to begin' is derived from *fill* as it is clear from *zë fill* 'to begin' (CAMARDA I 76). Note that the morpheme *-fish* in *dyfish* 'twice', *trifish* 'thrice', appearing as *-fijesh* in Old Albanian (BUDI, BOGDANI) goes back to abl. pl. of *fill* (KRISTOFORIDHI 427). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050, 1053; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk σπίλος); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 14 (to OHG *spīl* 'spear tip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (accepts KRISTOFORIDHI's explanation of *-fish*), IV 95-96; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

fink m, pl. *finkë* 'finch'. Recent borrowing from Germ *Fink* id. As to *sfingës* id., it comes from NGk σπίγγος id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 185 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of Gmc **finkan* ~ **finkjan* 'finch').

finjë f, pl. *finja* 'soapwater, soap suds'. Historically identical with *thinjë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 166 (identical with *hie*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 101 (to OHG *spiȥ* 'spit'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 185-186 (to SCr *sinjav* 'grey').

fishkem ~ **fyshkem** refl. 'to wither, to fade'. Based on the adjective *fishkët* 'withering, dry'. Goes back to PAlb **spūška* etymologically related to Lith *pùškas, pūškas* 'blister, fin, pimple', Latv *pusks* 'tuft'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (together with its variant *veshkem* ~ *vyshkem*, to Lat *vēscus* 'small, week, feeble'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 35-38; FRAENKEL 680; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (related to *fyell*).

fishkëlloj aor. *fishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Belongs to a group of phonetic

variants such as *vëshlloj*, *fëshëlloj*, *frushkullij* and the like. All these forms continue Rom **fistulāre* or **fisclāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (onomatopoeia).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'harpoon'. A more conservative variant is *fushnjar*, itself derived from *fushnje* id. The latter, or more exactly an earlier and unattested **fushnjë*, was borrowed from Rom **fuscinia*, derivative of Lat *fuscina* 'trident' (MEYER *Wb.* 106, *Alb. St.* IV 60). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 201 (on Old Albanian *fushqinë* id.).

fishnjar m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'marten'. Historically identical with *fishnjar* 'harpoon'.

fjalë f, pl. *fjalë* 'word, speech, tale'. From PAlb **spelā* etymologically connected with Goth *spill* 'story, fable', ON *spjall* 'story, speech', OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. and Arm *ar̊aspel* 'fable' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146-148; HULD 64-65). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (borrowing from Lat *fābella* 'fable, short story, tale'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (from **spelĝā*, to Lat *flagrō* 'to flame, to blaze'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 190; AČAREAN *HAB* I 253-254; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; HAARMANN 84-85; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (on Alb *f-* < IE **sp-*); POKORNY I 985; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 107.

flak aor. *flaka* 'to throw, to fling'. From PAlb **awa-laka*, derived with a prefix **awa-* from IE **lēk-* ~ **lək-* to bend, to jump': MHG *lecken* 'to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiù*, *lė̃kti* 'to fly', Latv *lèkt* 'to spring, to jump' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (to Lat *flaccus* 'flabby', Ital *fiaccare* 'to weaken'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 251 (to Gk σφάλλω 'to overthrow'); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186-187 (from *flakë*; semantically, cf. Ital dial. *lampare* 'to throw on the ground, to drop' ~ *lampo* 'lightning' but the direction of derivation is opposite there).

flakë f, pl. *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* 'flame'. A back formation based on an unattested **flakull*. The latter is a borrowing from dialectal Rom **flacula* reflected in Ital *fiaccola* id., Rum *flacără* id. and replacing *facula* 'little torch'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (borrowed from Rom **flaca* metathesized from **facla* < Lat *facula*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 53; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 231

(to MHG *vlackern*, Germ *flackern* 'to tremble, of flame'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 187 (onomatopoeia).

flamë f 'cold (illness), epilepsy, cholera (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat nom. sg. *flāmen* 'blowing, blast' used metaphorically as Russ *povetrie* 'infection'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (from Lat *flamma*); MEYER *Wb.* 107 (from Ital *flemma* 'phlegm'); LA PIANA *Vocale* 50 (related to *flakë*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 101 (to Germ *flink* 'nimble, quick'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 187-188; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 135.

flas aor. *fola* 'to speak'. The present *flas* is obviously a recent formation based on the lost **fal*, and the verb belonged to a group with the quantitative ablaut in aorist (MEYER *Wb.* 106). Continues PAlb **psala*, further related to *fjalë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (from Lat *fābulō* 'to speak', cf. in particular Dalm *faular*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146.

flashkët adj. 'sluggish, lame'. Phonetic development of **plashkët* continuing PAlb **plakska* identical with Lith *plókščias* 'flat', Slav **ploskъ* id. and, in particular, Slav **ploxъ* 'flat, bad, evil, poor'. ◊ BRÜCKNER 419; POKORNY I 831-832.

flatër f, pl. *flatra* 'wing'. A singularized plural of *fletë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *fletë*).

fle ~ flê aor. *fletë, fjeta* 'to sleep'. From PAlb **awa-leja* etymologically connected with Slav **lějǫ, *lějati* 'to doze, to slumber' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◊ CAMARDA I 108-109 (to Gk φλάω 'to crush'); MEYER *Wb.* 107-108 (borrowing from Lat *flō* 'to blow', with insurmountable difficulties in semantics), *Alb. St.* IV 67; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 f. (to Gk κλίνω 'to lean, to bend' with Alb *f-* < *th-* < **k̂-*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 21-22 (to **fell* 'to blow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* XLVII 1 f. (from IE **bhlend-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (reconstructs IE **sphlend-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117; GOR'AČEVA *Ètimologija 1981* 76; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188-189 (to Slav **lěnь* 'laziness', Lith *lěnas* 'quiet').

flegë f, pl. *flegë* 'splinter'. From PAlb **awa-lagā*, a prefixal derivative of IE **legh-* 'to lie' in *o*-grade, cf. Gk λόχος 'ambush'. Derived from *flegë* (as its singularized plural?) is *flegër, fregull* 'nostril, door-leaf', probably, reflecting a secondary influence of *fletë* on its semantics.

◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 149 (to *flugë*); FRISK II 111-112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 ("elementary formation" cognate with *fletë* and *flugë*), OREL FORT. 79

fletë f, pl. *fletë* 'wing, leaf'. From PAlb **awa-lekta*, a prefixal derivative of IE **lek-* 'to fly': Lith *lekiù, lė̃kti*, Latv *lèkt*, OHG *lecken* 'to jump, to kick'. ◊ CAMARDA II 192 (to *flutur*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Ital *foglietta* 'little barrel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; SKOK *AArbSt* I 226 (borrowed from Lat fem. *foliāta* 'leaved, leafy' - but the cluster *-li-* [lj] would yield Alb *-j-*); LA PIANA *Studi* I 104 (to OHG *blat* 'leaf' and the like); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 189-190 ("elementary formation").

fli ~ flî f, pl. *fli ~ flî* 'sacrifice'. Identical with *fëli, fërli* 'kind of pastry' (originally baked to celebrate baptism) and borrowed from Rom **firigilīnum* (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 121, *IF* XLIV 30-32 (borrowed from MGk εὐλογία 'wafer, communion bread' - but how to account for the Geg nasal?); ÇABEJ *St.* I 179 (agrees with JOKL).

flojere f, pl. *flojere* 'flute'. Known to all languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, this is a relatively late borrowing from Rum *fluier* id. continuing Lat adj. *flātūrālis* 'blowing', cf. *flātūra* 'blowing'. ◊ CAMARDA I 161 (comparison with Lat *flāre* 'to blow'); MIKLOSICH *Wander.* 23 (to *fryj*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Rom **flatuāria*; on the other hand, connected with *fyell*); GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 587-589 (borrowed from Gk *φλοιάριον based on φλοιός 'bark'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 302 (borrowed from Rum *fluier* < Rom **vivulellus*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 190-191 (to Geg *fluer* 'drawer'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172 (against ÇABEJ).

flok m, pl. *flokë* 'hair'. Borrowed from Lat *floccus* 'lock, flock' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 108-109). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117, *Stratificazione* 84; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 139.

flori ~ florî m, pl. *florinj* 'gold; (pl.) golden coins'. Borrowed from MLat *florīnus* 'gold piece' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 191-192.

floskë f 'layer (of snow)'. Borrowed from Slav **ploska* unknown in

this meaning in South Slavic languages. Cf., however, Bulg fem. sg. *ploska* 'flat' and SCr *ploska* 'flat vessel'.

flug m 'swing, zest, zeal'. Continues PAlb **awa-luga* that may be connected with IE **leug-* 'to break' (see *flugë*) or with **leugh-* 'to lie': Goth *liugan*, Slav **lъgati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 109 (borrowed from NGk φλόγος 'flame'); VASMER II 469; POKORNY I 686-687; FEIST *Goth.* 334; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 ("elementary formation").

flugë f, pl. *fluga* 'shingle'. From PAlb **awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE **leuĝ-*, cf. Skt *rujáti* 'to break', Lat *lūgeō* 'to mourn, to deplore' ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 146-150 (to *lugë*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 102 (to MHG *splīzen* 'to split'); MAYRHOFER III 64-65; WALDE-HOFMANN I 830-831; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 ("elementary formation"); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172-173.

flutur f, pl. *flutura* 'butterfly'. A back formation based on *fluturoj* 'to fly'. The latter is borrowed from Rom **fluctulāre*, a modification of Lat *fluctuāre* 'to move in waves, to move to and fro' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ CAMARDA II 192 (related to *fletë*); MEIER *Etym.* 92; CANDREA-HECHT *Romania* XXXI 310-311; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 33-39 (opposes the Latin etymology); IONESCU *LR* 6 (1984) 476-479.

flladis aor. *flladita* 'to cool'. Borrowed from Slav **xolditi* id., cf., in particular, SCr *hladiti* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 306). ◊ SVANE 175, 232.

forbël f, pl. *forbla* 'peelings, sweepings (of nuts), empty nut-shell'. Other variants are *formël* and *forlë*. Borrowed from Lat *formella* 'small form' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA II 64 (compares *formël* with Gk φορμός 'basket'); MEYER *Wb.* 110 (derives *forbël* from **vorbël* < Rom **orbulus* and *formël* from Ital *forfore* 'scabs'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 192-193 ("of unclear origin").

fortë adj. 'strong'. Borrowed from Lat *fortis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; CAMARDA I 167). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 110 (from Ital *forte* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

foshnjë f, pl. *foshnja* 'infant'. The Geg form is *foshi*. Both forms reflect an unattested **fosh* that may result (irregularly as far as the anlaut is concerned) from **ftosh*, the latter being a borrowing from Lat *fētōsus*, to *fētus* 'offspring'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 100 (related to *fashqe*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 23-24 (to Skt *phaṇas-* 'foam'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

fqinjë m/f, pl. *fqinjë* 'neighbor'. Borrowed from Rom **vīcīnius* based on Lat *vīcīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 92; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157.

fqollë f, pl. *fqolla* 'flax ready for spinning; first combings of flax'. Another variant of this word is *fjollë*. Borrowed from MGk φακιόλης 'handkerchief, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (separates *fjollë* as a continuation of Rom **fileōlum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193.

fraq m, pl. *fraqra* ~ *fraqna* 'biting cold, frost'. Singularized form of the original **frak* continuing PAlb **awa-raka*, a prefixal formation etymologically related to Lith *rakù, ràkti* 'to peck open, to lance', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 248 (reconstructs **vë-rak-i̯o-* related to OIr *diorain* 'to sprinkle'); *SGGJa* I 55; FRAENKEL 694; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193-194 (considers dialectal *thrak* in *mot thrak* 'cold period' to be the older form and uses it to reconstruct **ther-ak*, further to *ther*).

frashër ~ **frashën** m, pl. *frashëra* ~ *frashna* 'ash-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *fraxinus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 127; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 124.

frashuall ~ **frashuell** m 'haricot'. Borrowed from Lat *phaseolus* 'kind of bean' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175) with a secondary epenthetic *-r-* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045). In Tosk the NGk φασούλι id. was adapted as *fasul*. ◊ HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 78, 85, 93.

fre ~ **frê** m, pl. *frerë* ~ *frena, frenj* 'bridle; grape-stalk; comb'. Borrowed from Lat *frēnum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16;

HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 55.

(G) fruer m 'February'. Borrowed from Lat *februārius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194-195; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 75-76, 127, 157.

frushkull m, pl. *frushkuj* 'whip'. A transformation of the original **fushtull* borrowed from Rom **fustulum*, cf. Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel, club'. The variant *fshikull* is explained by the influence of *fshikë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112 (identifies this word with *frushkull* 'whistle'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 104 (connects *frushkull* with Ital *frusta* 'whip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia), 199.

frushkull f, pl. *frushkulla* 'whistle'. Another variant is *frushull*. A radical phonetic transformation of the original Lat *fistula* 'pipe, tube' (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia).

fruth ~ frûth m 'measles'. Deminutive or collective in *-th* based on PAlb **spruga* related to Skt *sphūrjati* 'to thunder, to rumble', Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise', Lith *sprógstu, sprógti* 'to break, to crack up' (MANN *Language* XVII 13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (related to *hurdhe*), *Alb. St.* III 32; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 242; FRAENKEL 882-883; FRISK II 828; MAYRHOFER III 545-546; TICHY *Onom.* 177-181; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (*f-ruth* related to IE **reudh-* 'red').

fryj ~ frŷj aor. *fryva, fryjta ~ fryna* 'to blow'. Continues PAlb **sprūgnja* etymologically connected with Lith *sprūgstu, sprūgti* 'to escape, to get out', Slav **prygati* 'to jump, to spring'. The noun *frymë* 'breath' is derived from *fryj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 112 (to Gk πνέω 'to blow'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 26 (reconstructs **sphrūgnįō*, to Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Gk σπαίρω), XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 883; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195-196; VASMER III 390-391; HULD 65.

fryt m, pl. *fryte* 'fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *frūctus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 112) through the intermediary stage of early Alb **frūjt*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 39-41; LANDI *Lat.* 121, 148.

(G) fshâj aor. *fshana* 'to sigh'. Other (secondary) variants are *mshâj* and *shâj*. Goes back to PAlb **pušanja* related to Lith *pùškinti* 'to puff', *puškénti* 'to splash', Slav **pyxati* 'to blow, to puff' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to *psherëtij*); XHUVANI *BIShk* III/4 95-97 (to *shëmoj*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321-322 (analyzes *-shâj* as a prefixal form of **anə-* 'to breathe, to blow'); FRAENKEL 680; VASMER III 421; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI but thinks *sh-* < **ups-*, compares *fshâj* with OIr *osnad* 'sigh' < IE **hupstxanH-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 196 (from *ofshe* 'ouch!').

fshat m, pl. *fshatra* ~ *fshatna* 'village'. Borrowed from Lat *fossātum* 'ditch', *'surrounded by a ditch' > 'camp' continued in Rum *ṣat* 'village', cf. also NGk φουσσᾶτον 'army' (LACEA *Dacoromania* I 253-255; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 17). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112-113 (from Rom **massātum* based on late Lat *massa* 'country estate'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041, 1049; GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* II 642 (reconstructs Rom **fixātum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76-77, *Hymje* 66 (derives *fshat* from IE **ambhi-sed-*, cf. Slav. **besěda* 'conversation, feast' < *'sitting around'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 456 (to Gk ἄσις 'mud'?!); JOKL *LKUBA* 141, 317-318 (agrees with MEYER); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 112, *ZfromPhil* L 518-519, LIV 496 (supports LACEA's etymology); BALOTA *RHSEU* XIV 243-246 (derives *fshat* from IE **ambhi-sek-ti-* 'tilled around'); SANDFELD 71 n. 1.; BOJAN *CL* XV/1 73-79; ROSETTI *RRL* 1 (1972) 91, *Etudes* 217; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 196-198 (links *f-shat* to *shatoj*); LANDI *Lat.* 40-42, 128, 140.

fsheh ~ mshef aor. *fsheha* ~ *mshefa* 'to hide'. In Geg, there exist also variants *mçef*, *çef*. This prefixal verb continues PAlb **skepska* etymologically connected with Gk σκέπω 'to cover, to shield, to screen' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-195). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250; FRISK II 724; ÇABEJ *St.* I 198 (follows JOKL).

fshij ~ mëshîj aor. *fshiva* ~ *mëshîva* 'to brush, to sweep'. A prefixal verb derived of the root attested in *shij*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 114 (to OHG *bes(a)mo* 'broom'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 78; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Gk ξύω); PISANI *Saggi* 124 (to Slav **mětǫ* 'to sweep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 173.

fshikë f, pl. *fshika* 'blister, bubble, bladder, bruise'. Another variant is *pshikë*. Borrowed from Lat *vēsīca* 'bladder' MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21). ◊ HAARMANN 156-157.

ftek aor. *fteka* 'to think over, to consider'. A prefixal formation derived from *teket*.

ftikem refl. 'to dry up'. Variant of *fik, fikem* (KRISTOFORIDHI 109).

ftilloj aor. *ftillova* 'to make clear, to explain, to set in order'. Borrowed from Lat *ventilāre* in its metaphoric meanings: 'to set in motion, to bring forward'. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 63-64 (to *shtjell*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (metathesis of *tfilloj* id. related to *fill*).

ftoh ~ ftof aor. *ftoha ~ ftofa* 'to cool, to make cold'. The verb goes back to PAlb **awa-tāja* (with privative/negative **awa-*). As to **tāja*, it is identical with Slav **tajǫ*, **tajati* 'to melt', Osset *tajyn* id. and other reflexes of IE **tā-*. Note that Osset *dajyn* 'to wet' < Iran **ava-tā-* forms a full correspondence of *ftoh*. Adjective *ftohët* 'cold' and noun *ftohtë* 'cold, frost' are late derivatives (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45-46). ◊ CAMARDA I 63 (to Gk πτώσσω 'to shrink (from)'); MEYER *Wb.* 113 (secondary verbal stem based on *ftoftë* < **vë-top-të*, to IE **tep-* 'to warm': Skt *tápati* 'to make warm, to heat', Lat *tepeō* 'be warm' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (inchoative **-sk̂-* > *-h-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, *LKUBA* 126 (*f-* < **au-* in *ftoh*), *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; VASMER IV 30-31; POKORNY I 1053-1054; HULD 65; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358-359; ABAEV III 223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 173-174 (against OREL; suggests a metathesis of **tpo-* > **pto-* > **fto-*).

ftoj aor. *ftova* 'to invite'. Borrowed from Lat *invitāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131.

ftua ~ ftue m, pl. *ftonj* 'quince'. Borrowed from Rom **cotōneum* id., namely, 'Cydonian apple' (CAMARDA II 63; MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from *cydōnium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046, 1050, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 42-45; LANDI *Lat.* 120-121.

ftujë f, pl. *ftuja* 'one year old she-goat'. Other variants are *ftulë, vëtulë*. Borrowed from Rom **vitulea*, cf. Lat *vitulus* 'calf, foal' (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; WEIGAND 21 (derived from *vjet*); GRAUR *SCL* VII/3-4 276-277 (borrowed from Rum *vătui* 'one year old male kid' which continues the substratum word **wet-* 'year'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 158.

fund m, pl. *funde* 'bottom, end'. Borrowed from Lat *fundus* 'bottom' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 139.

fuqi f, pl. *fuqi* 'power, strength, force'. If the intermediary form was **fujqi*, it could be a borrowing based on Rom **fulcius*, the latter derived from *fulcīre* 'to prop up, to support, to make strong' (MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Latv *spèks* 'strength').

furfurit aor. *furfurita* 'to sparkle, to shine'. A descriptive stem.

furkë f, pl. *furka* 'distaff, fork'. Borrowed from Lat *furca* 'fork' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28-29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120, *Origini* 190, 239; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ROHLFS *Spr.* 117; HAARMANN 127.

furr m, pl. *furre* 'oven'. Another variant is *furrë*. Borrowed from Lat *furnus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 114.

furrik m, pl. *furriqë, furriqe* 'chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box'. Another variant of singular is *furriq*. The modern form *furrik* is a back formation based on the original *furriq* borrowed from Lat *fornicem* 'arch, vault'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (uncertain comparison with *furr*); JOKL *AArbSt* I 39-41 (to *farë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 201; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 158.

fus aor. *futa* 'to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant'. From PAlb **sputja*, a form with *s* mobile etymologically related to Lat *putō* 'to trim, to prune', Tokh A, B *putk-* 'to divide'. ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk φύομαι 'to grow'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 107 (to Lith *spáudyti* 'to smooth with, to mash'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VAN WINDEKENS I 397.

fushë f, pl. *fusha* 'plain, open field, meadow'. Borrowed from Lat *fossa* 'ditch, trench, gutter', also 'furrow', and originally describing an irrigated plot of land. Note that *fushatë* 'campaign' was formed already in Albanian, probably, as a calque of Ital *campagna* 'country, campaign'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūsum* 'pouring, poured'); BARIĆ

ARSt. I 23 (reconstructs **pḷthuịām!*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120-121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 277.

fyej aor. *feva* 'to offend, to insult, to make a mistake'. Identical with *fëjej* 'to make a mistake' derived from *faj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 201).

fyell ~ **fyll** m, pl. *fyej, fej, fyje* 'flute'. Goes back to PAlb **spāli-* etymologically related to Gk σπήλαιον 'cave, cavern' < *'hollow'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 108 (to *flojere*), *Alb. St.* V 76; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 21-22 (to Gk φυσάω 'to blow', Lat *pustula* 'bubble, blister'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (to Lith *pliūšẽ* 'rush, reed'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 297-299 (borrowed from Rom **vivula* 'viola'); FRISK II 765-766; ÇABEJ *St.* I 201-202 (from IE **spel-* 'to split').

fyl adj. 'hollow'. Akin to *fyell* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 202-203). Note *fyçkë* 'hollow, stupid' and *fyrbë* 'hollow' < **fylbë* derived from *fyl*. It is possible that *fyshtë* 'thoroughly baked (of bread)' and *fyshtër* 'Forsythia' also belong here (ibid.).

fyt m 'throat, gullet'. From PAlb **spūta* etymologically related to Lat *spuō* 'to spit', *spūtum* 'spittle', Gk πτύω 'to spit' and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 25). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūtis* 'vessel, pitcher'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 112 (to Skt *sphāvayati* 'to fatten, to strengthen' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 121, *Stratificazione* 88; FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 258.

fytyrë f, pl. *fytyra* 'face'. Borrowed from Lat *factūra* 'formation, creature' (MEYER *Wb.* 116). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 305 (from Lat *faciēs* 'face'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 144; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055 (from Ital *fattura* 'magic'); TAGLIAVINI *St. albanesi* III - IV 222, *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 45-49; ÇABEJ *St.* I 203 (agrees with MEYER); LANDI *Lat.* 68, 121.

G

gabonjë f, pl. *gabonja* 'eagle'. A suffixal formation in *-onjë* based on **gabë*, related to *shkabë* id. The latter consists of the prefix *sh-* and

the same stem (JOKL *LKUBA* 244, 304). The source is PAlb **gabā* that seems to go back to a cultural *Wanderwort* also attested in Lat *capys, capus* 'bird of prey' (ibid.). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

gacë f, pl. *gaca* 'heat, hot ashes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **garьca*, deminutive of **garь* 'ash, fire'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 21 (from IE **g^uhor-ti̯-ā*, to **g^uher-* 'to be hot'), *ZONF* X 186; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; DEMIRAJ *AE* 174-175 (borrowed from Turk *garra* 'shining' or *kor*).

gagaç m, pl. *gagaçë* 'stammerer'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gagačь* derived from **gagati* 'to cackle, to shout', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Maced *gaga*, SCr *gagati*.

gajgë f, pl. *gajga* 'kind of nut'. Borrowed from a deminutive Slav **galьka* derived from **gal'a* 'lump, pebble'.

gajushë f, pl. *gajusha* 'bush, shrubbery'. Derivative of **gaj* borrowed from Slav **gajь* 'grove, bush', cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *gaj*, Slovene *gaj* (POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78).

gak m, pl. *geqe* 'boar'. From PAlb **gauka*, a derivative of IE **g^uōu-* 'dung, excrements', similar to Maced γοτάν (leg. γοῦταν)· ὗν (Hes.) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 117-118 (comparisons with Fr *coche* and Germ *Hacksch* 'breeding boar'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328 (secondary form of plural as demonstrated by the lack of palatalization in *g-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136-137; POKORNY I 484; ÇABEJ *St.* I 203-204 (related to *hakoç*).

galamsh m, pl. *galamsha* 'lame person'. A prefixal derivative of *lëmsh* (MEYER *Wb.* 119, 243). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 80-81 (from **g^uou-* + *lam-sh*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *ga-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 204.

galë f, pl. *gala* 'jackdaw; black sheep'. Borrowed from Slav **gal'a* 'black animal, jackdaw' (MEYER *Wb.* 118). While the meaning 'black sheep' is attested in SCr *galja*, the meaning 'jackdaw' is known only in East Slavic: ORuss and Russ *gal'a*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 146.

galinë f 'lump of earth'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **golina*

'empty place, hill withour grass', with the unstressed *-*o*- rendered as -*a*-.

gamis aor. *gamita* 'to bark'. Borrowed from Slav **gamiti* 'to shout, to be noisy' unattested in South Slavic.

gamule f, pl. *gamule* 'heap'. A singularized plural of *gamulë* id. going back to PAlb **gamula* and etymologically identical with Lith *gãmulas* 'bale, lump', Slav **gomola* id. The metathetized form *magulë* was borrowed to Rum *măgură*. ◊ CIHAC I 152 (Rum *măgură* from Lat *macula* = *maculum* 'bag'); MEYER *Wb.* 118- 119 (to Slav **mogyla* 'tomb, hill'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 18-19 (to Slav **mogǫ* 'I can'); SCHWARZ *AfslPh* XLI 139 (borrowed from early Proto-Slavic **magūla*); VALEK *ČMMZ* 14 (to Pre-Rom *ma*- and Slav **gora* 'mountain'); ŠAHMATOV *AfslPh* XXXIII 91 (to Celt **mogo*- 'great'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 467 (to Av *maγa*- 'hole, pit'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; FRAENKEL 132; POP *RP* 234-257; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 18-19; OREL *OLA 1981* 301-306 (a suffixal derivative of IE **dhĝhōm* 'earth').

gand m 'accident, vice, defect'. From PAlb **ganda* further connected with Lith *gañdas* 'rumor', *gañdinti* 'to frighten', Latv *gañdêt* 'to spoil'. ◊ HELBIG 61, 121 (connected with *gënjej* 'to deceive', of Italian origin); FRAENKEL 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* I 204 (identical with *ganë*, participle of *gas*, cf. *ngas*); AJETI *ZfBalk*V/2 142-143 (*gandoj* from SCr *ganuti*).

gangull adv. 'whole; poached (of egg)'. Goes back to PAlb **gangula*, a suffixal derivative of **ganga* connected with Lith *gánga* 'movement', *gángytis* 'to move'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Gk γογγύλος); FRAENKEL 134.

garbe f, pl. *garbe* 'flower-pot'. A singularized plural of the original *garbë* going back to PAlb **gar(i)bā*. As the Slavic word for 'pot' **gъrnъ* derived from the name of 'oven' **gъrnъ* and further from IE **gʷher*- 'to burn', the Albanian lexeme is derived from the same Indo-European root. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 210-211, *Rem. term.* 190-201.

garbë f, pl. *garba* 'notch, nick'. Goes back to PAlb **garbā* etymologically related to OIr *gerbach* 'wrinkled', ON *korpna* 'to get wrinkled',

OPrus *garbis* 'mountain', Slav **gъrbъ* 'hump'and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 78; FRAENKEL 135; SLAWSKI *SEP* I 256.

gardh m, pl. *gardhe, gjerdhe* 'fence'. Continues PAlb **garda* related to Goth *gards* 'house', Lith *gar̃das* 'fence', Slav **gordъ* 'town, fence' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 119-120, *Alb. St.* III 9, 72). Geg *gardhën* 'croze' is derived from *gardh.* Rum *gard* is an early Albanian loanword. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* IV 26-27 (borrowed from Slav **gordъ*); SKOK *Slavia* III 115 (follows WEIGAND); FEIST *Goth.* 197-198; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 147, 319 (a Slavic loanword); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 297-301 (corroborates MEYER's view); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122, *Origini* 308; MANN *Language* XVII 19, *Language* XXVIII 35; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 37-38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; MURATI *Probleme* 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

garë f, pl. *gara* 'competition, race'. Continues PAlb **garā* probably connected with Gk χαίρω 'to rejoice' and its derivatives, cf. in particular Gk χάρμη 'joy of battle; battle, fight'. Together with χαίρω, *garë* belongs to IE **ĝher-* 'to wish, to feel inclination'. ◊ POKORNY I 440-441; FRISK II 1062-1064.

gargull adv. 'full'. From PAlb **garg-ula* related to Lith *gar̃galas, gargõlas* 'thickening, knotted thread, thread' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ FRAENKEL 134.

gargull m, pl. *garguj* 'starling'. A more rare variant is *garbull.* The source of this loanword is Rom **galbulus* 'blackbird' (MEYER *Wb.* 119). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26 (from Lat *galgulus*); HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206.

garris aor. *garrita* 'to neigh'. Borrowed from an expressive verb, Slav **gavьriti* ~ **gavьrati* 'to tease, to spoil', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gavr'a*, SCr *gavrati.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 119 (borrowed from Lat *garrīre* 'to chatter'); HAARMANN 128; TZITZILIS *LB* XXX/2 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206 (onomatopoeia); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 112-113.

gashtellë f, pl. *gashtellë* 'knee-cap'. A suffixal derivative of *gashtë* id.

that may be identified with *gashtë* 'whetstone'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244 (to *shtjell*).

gashtë f, pl. *gashta* 'whetstone'. From PAlb **galstā*, a suffixal derivative related to Lith *gãlas* 'end', Latv *gals* id. A similar motivation in a word for 'whetstone' may be traced in Lith *budė̃* 'fungus; whetstone'. On the other hand, it is extremely tempting to compare *gashtë* with Lith *galą́sti* 'to sharpen', *galástuvas* 'whetstone', Latv *galuôda* 'whetstone' but this is only possible if these verbs are analyzed as **gal-and-*, i.e. not according to the accepted view according to which **gland-* is reconstructed. ◊ BŪGA I 324; FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 244.

gatë f, pl. *gata* 'heron'. From PAlb **gatā* continuing **ĝhn̥tā*, a derivational variant of IE **ĝhan-s-* 'goose', cf. Gmc **ganta* < IE **ĝhand-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 121 (borrowed from Rom **ganta* 'stork, wild goose' > Fr *jante*, Prov *ganta* with serious phonetic and dialectal complications); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 412-413; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Rom **catta*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAARMANN 116.

gatuaj ~ gatuej aor. *gatova* 'make ready, prepare'. Note that *gat* 'ready', *gati* id. are secondary formations based on the verb which is an early Slavic loanword, from **gotovati*, **gotoviti* 'make ready, prepare'. As in *patkua* < **podъkova*, *-ua-* < **-ōu-* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *IF* XLIX 277) renders Slav **-ova-* with a bilabial *v* [u̯] (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). Rum *gata* 'ready' was borrowed from Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 130 (to Gk ἀγαθός 'good, fine'); MEYER *Wb.* 121 (treats *gat* and Slav **gotovъ* 'ready' as cognates), *Alb. St.* III 7, 23; JOKL *IF* XLIX 290, L 36; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; HAMP *RRL* XVIII/4 333-345; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 70-72; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 152.

gath m, pl. *gathë* 'catkin'. A deminutive in *-th* of an unattested **gat* borrowed from Rom **gat(t)us* 'cat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). For the meaning cf. Germ *Kätzchen* and E *catkin*.

gavër f, pl. *gavra* 'hole'. From PAlb **ga-wara*, a prefixal derivative related to *varr* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

gaz m, pl. *gaze* 'joy, laughter'. From Lat *gaudium* 'joy' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 120). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; HAARMANN 128; HULD 65-66; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 125.

gdhe ~ gdhê m, pl. *gdhenj* 'gnarl, knot'. Another variant in Tosk is *gdhë*. From PAlb **ga-daina*, a prefixal formation based on an adjective in **-no-* that belongs to the same root as Skt *dáyate* 'to divide', Gk δαίομαι id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (links *gdhe* to *gdhend* and, further, to *vgje*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (connects *gdhe* with *gdhend*); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *tanna* 'fir-tree'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

gdhend aor. *gdhenda* 'to plane'. In Old Albanian there is a parallel form *dhend* (BOGDANI). A denominative verb derived from *gdhe* with a suffix *-d-* < **-t-*. Thus, one might reconstruct PAlb **ga-den-ta* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (compares *gdhend* with *vgje*); JOKL *Studien* 21-22 (to ON *detta* 'to hit, to strike'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106; FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21; POKORNY I 175-176; ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (follows JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175-176.

gdhij ~ gdhîj aor. *gdhiva ~ gdhina* 'to stay awake at night'. Also used impersonally as *u gdhi* 'the day began'. Goes back to a prefixal **ga-deinja* related to *din* (JOKL *Studien* 22). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242 (from **ditnja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176.

gegë m, pl. *gegë* 'Geg, North Albanian'. An onomatopoeia of babbling, indistinct speech as contrasted to *shqipe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 249.

gem m 'branch'. Together with *gemb* id., a phonetic variant of *gjemb* (JOKL *Studien* 26-28). The adjective *gemtë* 'crooked' is derived from *gem*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 122 (from Ital *gambo* 'stem, stalk'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (agrees with JOKL).

ger m, pl. *gera* 'squirrel'. From PAlb **gaura* related to Lith *gaũras* 'hair, down, tuft of hair', Latv *gauri* 'pubic hair', MIr *gúaire* 'hair' and describing the squirrel as 'furry'. ◊ FRAENKEL 140; POKORNY I 397-398.

gëlbazë f, pl. *gëlbaza* 'liver illness of sheep caused by worms'. Another variant is *këlbazë*. Borrowed from Slav **kъlbasa* 'stuffed gut, sausage', a derivative of **kъlbъ* 'stomach (of animals)' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). The irregular change of Slav **-s-* > Alb *-z-* is explained

by the analogical influence of suffixal forms in *-az(ë)*. Rum *gălbează, călbează* is borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to *qelb*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 ; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 155 (to *kalb*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 233.

gëloj aor. *gëlova* 'to burst out; to be gathered, to be accumulated, to blaze (of fire)'. A denominative continuing PAlb **gal-ānja* related to OHG *quellan* 'to well up, to pour out, to stream from', Skt *gálati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze'. ◊ KLUGE 574; MAYRHOFER I 329; POKORNY I 471-472.

gëlltis aor. *gëlltita* 'to swallow'. Borrowed from Slav **gъltati* ~ **gъltiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gъltam* 'to swallow', SCr *gutati* 'to swallow', *gutiti* 'to squeeze', Slovene *goltiti* 'to swallow' (SVANE 254).

gëras aor. *gërita* 'to creak'. An onomatopoeia of uncertain origin.

gërbë f, pl. *gërba* 'hump'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrba* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123), cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gъrba*, SCr *grba*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 195; SVANE 184.

gërbulë f 'mange, scab, lepra'. From PAlb **garb-uli-*. Derived from *garbë* 'notch, nick' and thus formally identical with Lith *garbùlis* 'hair-lock'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 95 (derivative of *kalb*); FRAENKEL 154; ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (agrees with LA PIANA).

gërç m 'convulsion, cramp'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrčь* id., a variant of **kъrčь*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grъč*, SCr *grč* (MEYER *Wb.* 125). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SVANE 184, 232.

gërçak m 'jug, pitcher'. Another variant is *kërçak*. Borrowed from Slav **kъrčagъ* 'clay vessel, pitcher', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *krъčagъ*, Bulg *kъrčag*, SCr *krčag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 190). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78; SVANE 74.

gërdallë f 'old horse'. Derivative based on Slav **gъrdъ* 'ugly, bad; proud', cf. *gërditet*.

gërditet refl. 'to feel sickened, to be sick'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrditi* 'to be proud', in some languages also - 'to feel bad, to be sick' as in SCr *grditi*, Slovene *grdeti se* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 289; SVANE 182, 232.

gërdhatë f, pl. *gërdhata* 'barren, rugged mountain chain'. As well as *gerdhele* 'boulder, clod' and *gerdhet* 'cellar', a derivative of *gardh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (divides *gerdhet* into a prefix *ge(r)-* and a root *dhe* 'earth').

gërdhij aor. *gërdhiva* 'to scratch'. Continues PAlb **grad-īnja*, a denominative verb with **grad-* < **ghr̥ndh-* related to OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith *gréndžiu, grésti* 'to scrape, to scratch'. ◊ FRAENKEL 167; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 137-138.

gërfej m 'cave with two entrances'. Apparently, this dialectal word from Mirdita was misintepreted as far as its meaning is concerned. Perhaps, the original meaning was 'study, office room'. Its source is, clearly, MGk γραφεῖον 'record-office, registry'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (prefix *gër-* followed by *-fej*, plural of *fyell*).

gërgalle f, pl. *gërgalle* 'rocky area'. A singularized plural of **gërgallë* further related to *gargull* and continuing PAlb **garg-alā*.

gërgas aor. *gërgita* 'to irritate, to incite'. Borrowed from SCr *grgati* 'to tinket, to putter, to pick (teeth or nose)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (onomatopoeia); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

(G) gërhanë f, pl. *gërhanë* 'card, hackle'. Another form is *kërhanë*. Singularized plural of *krehër* ~ *krahen* 'comb' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 208). Note the voicing of the initial *k-* as in many other examples.

gërhas aor. *gërhita* 'to snore'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrxati* 'to cough, to expectorate', represented in South Slavic by SCr *krhati* (MEYER *Wb.* 123-124, *Alb. St.* IV 103). ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (reconstructs **gri-khak-i̯ō*), *St. Varia* 32-33 (from **gher-ghark-i̯ō*, to Skt *gharghara-* 'thundering, ringing'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 208-209 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of *grahmë*); SVANE 261.

gërk m, pl. *gërqe* 'Greek'. A parallel form of singular is *gërq*. Borrowed from Slav **grьkъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grъk*, SCr *grk* (MEYER

Wb. 124). The feminine form *gërqinjë* goes back to Slav **grъkyni* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20). Cf. also *grek.* ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213.

gërlac m 'windpipe'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **gъrdlačь* or directly derived from Slav **gъrdlo* 'throat' (MEYER *Wb.* 124).

gërlas aor. *gërlata* 'to bend'. Of obscure origin.

gërlicë f 'turtle dove'. Borrowed from Slav **gъrdlica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gъrlica*, SCr *grlica* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125).

gërmadhë f, pl. *gërmadha* 'ruin'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **gromada* 'heap, mass', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gramada, grъmada*, SCr *gramada* (MEYER *Wb.* 124). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 52.

gërmis aor. *gërmita* 'to pick, to gnaw'. A denominative based on *grimë.*

gërmoj aor. *gërmova* 'to dig'. A denominative verb derived from *gërmë* 'letter' in its otherwise unattested meaning 'line, scratch' so that the original meaning of *gërmoj* would be 'to scratch lines'. If so, *gërmë* must be considered a borrowing from ancient Greek rather than a loan from NGk γράμμα the only meaning of which is 'letter' and which is reflected in Albanian as *gramë.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*), 128 (*gërmë* < NGk γράμμα); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254-255.

gërmuq adv. 'crooked'. An expressive derivative of *gërmoj.*

gërshas aor. *grisha* 'to invite'. A variant of *grish*, aor. *grisha* id. Originally, from PAlb **grisa*, a zero grade of IE **gʷer-*: Skt *gṛṇā́ti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù, gìrti* 'to praise' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Lith *gar̃šas* 'sound'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 72; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 224; HAMP apud SCHRIJVER *BC* 143 (to Celt **bardos* 'bard' < **barsdo-* < **gʷr̥s-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180.

gërshet m, pl. *gërsheta* 'plait'. A parallel form is *kërshet.* The source of this word is Gk κορσωτός 'tasseled (hair)', cf. also κορσωτήρ 'barber'.

◊ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Ital *grisola* 'wicker-work'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 209-210 (divides the word into *gë(r)-* and *-shet*, the latter to be compared with *shatë*).

gërshërë ~ gërshanë f, pl. *gërshërë ~ gërshanë* 'scissors'. Borrowed from Rom **carsānia*, an irregular phonetic transformation of **caesānia*, cf. Ital *cesoie* id. < Rom **carsōria*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to IE **kers-* 'to cut'); MEYER *Wb.* 124 (reconstructs Rom **carpsōria* as a source); JOKL *LKUBA* 155-157 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gërthapë pl. 'garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)'. Another variant is *gëthapë*. Together with the umlauticized form *gëthep* 'hook', continues PAlb **ga-tsap-* related to *thep*.

gërthas aor. *gërthita* 'to cry, to shout'. A variant of *kërcas*, with the dialectal substitution *-th-* > *-c-* and the voicing of the anlaut. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

gërthël f, pl. *gërthëla* 'crab, crayfish'. From PAlb **karts-ila* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut. Related to Skt *karka-* 'crab', Gk καρκίνος 'crab, crayfish', Lat *cancer* id. ◊ MAYRHOFER I 169; FRISK I 789-780; WALDE-HOFMANN I 151; POKORNY I 531.

gërvish aor. *gërvisha* 'to scratch'. Another variant is *gërvisht*. As other derivatives in *-ish(t)*, this is a secondary formation based on **gërvij*. The source of the latter remains unclear. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (from Slav **grebǫ* 'to rake up').

gërresë f, pl. *gërresa* 'scraper'. From PAlb **garatjā*, a suffixal derivative of an unattested *o*-grade noune **gara* based on *grij* (MEYER *Wb.* 130). Borrowed to Rum *gresie*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 9-10 (suffix *-esë*), 23-24 (related to OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278.

gërric aor. *gërrica* 'to scratch with nails'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*.

gërryej ~ gërryj aor. *gërreva* 'to scrape, to scour'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (from **grēd-*, cf. OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVIII 35 (to Gk

χραίνω); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to various forms in *gërr-/kër-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 177-178 (prefix *gë-*).

gështallë f 'splint, piece of wood'. A parallel form is *kështallë*. Goes back to PAlb **ka-stalnā*, a prefixal derivative related to *shtjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 210-211).

gështenjë f, pl. *gështenja* 'chestnut'. Together with a parallel form *kështenjë*, borrowed from Lat *castanea* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 81, 97.

gëzof m, pl. *gëzofë* 'fur, pelt'. Borrowed from Gk γαύσαπος 'frieze' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29), the latter itself being an Oriental loanword (from Akk *guzippu* ~ *kuzippu*). The phonetic details of the Albanian word, however, remain irregular: the place of the stress, the voiced *-z-*, the vowel of the second syllable and the auslaut *-f* do not correspond exactly to the Greek form. They could be better explained by a Greek dialectal or Macedonian γαυσᾶφος. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 585 (borrowed from an ancient Balkan language to Albanian and Greek), JOKL *Beiträge* (< **gʷŏu-di-āpos* 'bovine'); FRISK I 202.

gëzhojë f, pl. *gëzhoja* 'nut shell'. A singularized plural of *gëzhollë* which is a metathetic form of *zhgoll* ~ *zhguall*. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 211). ◊ HELBIG 78 (borrowed from Ital *guscio* 'nut shell').

gica pl. 'first teeth of an infant'. A word of the expressive vocabulary. Cf. also *gic* 'darling'.

gilcë f, pl. *gilca* 'sinew'. Other variants are *gilzë* ~ *kilzë* 'groin, hollow of knee or elbow'. The word is derived from an unattested **kilë* going back to PAlb **kūlā* and identical with Lith *kū́la* 'thickening, swelling', Slav **kyla* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 306; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 262-263.

gisht m, pl. *gishta, gishtëra* ~ *gishtna, gishtërinj* 'finger, thumb'. The Greek-Albanian and South Tosk form *glisht* leads to the reconstruction of PAlb **glista*. Related to Lith *gélti* 'to prick, to sting', *gālas* 'end, tip' and

the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 393; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 125). ◊ BOPP 498 (to Skt *aṅguṣṭhá-* 'thumb'); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (follows BOPP); BRUGMANN *IF* XI 285-286 n. 1 (to Gk βλιμάζω 'to feel hens to see if they are fat'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Skt *aṅgúli-* 'finger, thumb'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to Slav **gъrstь* 'handful'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 79 (to Arm *čiwł* 'twig, finger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123, *Stratificazione* 88-89; PISANI *Saggi* 132; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Ètimologija 1986-1987* 222-224 (reconstructs **glista* but connects it with *ngjis*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 178-179 (to W *bys*, OCorn *bis, bes* 'finger').

glasë f, pl. *glasa* 'bird's droppings'. Borrowed from Rom **galliātia*, a derivative of Lat *gallus* 'rooster', cf. Rum *găinaţ* 'fowl's droppings' < **gallīnātia* (MEYER *Wb.* 122). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 60; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Lat *gallīnācea*); LANDI *Lat.* 137-138.

gledhë f, pl. *gledha* 'caress'. From PAlb **gladā*, a substantivized adjective related to Lat *glaber* 'smooth', OHG *glat* 'shining, even, smooth', Lith *glodùs* 'smooth', Slav **gladъkъ* id., **gladiti* 'to caress'. ◊ FRAENKEL 158; WALDE-HOFMANN I 603; POKORNY I 432; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 114-116.

glepë f, pl. *glepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)'. Also attested as *gëlepë*. From PAlb **ka-laipā*, derived from IE **leip-* 'to smear with fat' (JOKL *LKUBA* 314). For the development of the prefix **ka-* see *gloq*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (thinks of OHG *chlëbên* 'to glue'), *Alb. St.* III 31; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to MHG *klepe*); POKORNY I 670-671; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 101 (adduces a dubious variant *gëlapë*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 214 (against CAMAJ); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176-177 (to Gk λοπός 'shell, scale').

glinë f 'clay'. Borrowed from Slav **glina* 'clay', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *glina*, SCr *glina* (JOKL *Studien* 109). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 308; SVANE 169.

gliqe pl. 'knee tendons'. A suffixal derivative going back to **gëliqe* and further connected with *gilcë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 126 (borrowed from Slav **kl'uka* 'stick, cane').

glistër f, pl. *glistra* 'rainworm'. Derived from **glistë* borrowed from

Slav **glista* 'worm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *glista*, SCr *glista* (SVANE 157).

gloq m, pl. *gloq* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes), testis'. Note a dialectal form *gëluq*. Goes back to PAlb **ka-lāukja*, a formation with a prefix **ka-* occasionally voiced in Albanian. The stem reflects a lengthening of IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' and is also found in *loqe* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427). ◊ POKORNY I 687-690.

gllanik m, pl. *gllanikë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav **golvьnikъ* derived from **golvn'a* 'charred log, charcoal', cf. Bulg *glavn'a*, SCr *glavnja* (JOKL *Studien* 108, *LKUBA* 315). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 19-20 (from Bulg *klanik* 'space between the fireplace and the wall'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 216 (agrees with JOKL); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 307; KRISTOFORI 64; ÇABEJ *St.* I 211-212 (supports VASMER); SVANE 56.

gllavinë f, pl. *gllavina* 'wheel hub'. Borrowed from Slav **golvina* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *glavina*, SCr *glavina* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ SVANE 35.

gobellë f, pl. *gobella* 'deep place (in water)'. Together with *gobetë* 'hollow', derived from **gobë* continuing PAlb **gāubā*, further etymologically connected with Lith *gaũbti* 'to cover, to wrap', Slav **gъbnǫti* 'to bend'. ◊ FRAENKEL 140; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 188-189.

gocë f, pl. *goca* 'girl'. Derived from *gop*.

gocë f, pl. *goca* 'oyster'. Other variants are *guacë, guaskë, guazë* describing any shell. A derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 212).

godas aor. *godita* 'to strike, to beat'. Borrowed from Slav **goditi* used in a meaning unattested in South Slavic (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◊ SVANE 229, 232.

godinë f, pl. *godina* 'building'. An Albanian derivative of *godis*.

godis aor. *godita* 'to build'. Historically identical with *godas*, this verb has a meaning developped in Albanian from a different usage of *godis*

'to fit, to adjust' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123). ◊ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; REITER *ZfBalk* VII/1-2 125-129.

gogël f, pl. *gogla* 'ball, acorn'. A descriptive stem. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 78 (to *gogë*, an expressive word denoting 'Vlach'); JOKL *Studien* 24-25 (to OHG *chliuwa* 'ball', Lat *galla* 'gall-nut' and the like); DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (reduplicated stem related to Arm *kałin* 'acorn', Gk βάλανος id.).

gogësij aor. *gogësiva, gogësita* 'to yawn'. An expressive formation (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (to Gk χάσκω 'to yawn').

gojë f, pl. *gojë* 'mouth'. As immediately clear from the variant *golë* preserving *-l-*, this element of the basic vocabulary is an Italian loanword from *gola* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *gula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123.

golle f, pl. *golle* 'hole'. A singularized plural based on **goll* borrowed from Gk γωλεός 'cave, cavern'.

gomë f, pl. *goma* 'resin'. Borrowed from Rom **gumma*, a variant of Lat *gummi*.

gomilë f, pl. *gomila* 'heap of stones, stone hill'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *gomila* id., SCr *gomila* id., metathesis of Slav **mogyla* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19).

gop m 'vagina, vulva'. From PAlb **gāupā* related to Gk γύπη 'cave', ON *kofi* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 21). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; FRISK I 335; POKORNY I 395-396.

gorricë f, pl. *gorrica* 'wild pear'. Borrowed from Slav **gorьnica*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gornica* (MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164, 309; SVANE 125.

gosë f, pl. *gosa* 'water-hole'. Continues PAlb **gātjā* formally close to Slav **gatь/*gatъ* 'dam, pool' and Skt *gātú-* 'passage, way'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 108-109.

gostis aor. *gostita* 'to receive guests'. Borrowed from Slav **gostiti* id.:

Bulg *gost'a*, SCr *gostiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 212, 233.

gozhdë f, pl. *gozhdë, gozhda* 'nail'. Borrowed from Slav **gvozdь* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gvozd*, dialectal *gozd*, SCr *gvozd* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 30, 88, 229.

gozhup m. pl. *gozhupa* 'lambskin waistcoat'. Borrowed from Bulg dial. *kožuf, kužuf* 'leather-coat, fur-coat', Maced *kožuv* id. continuing Slav **kožuxъ*.

grabë f, pl. *graba* 'erosion, hollowing out'. From PAlb **grabā* etymologically related to OHG *grab* 'grave', Slav **grobъ* id. and other derivatives of IE **ghrebh-* 'to dig' (MANN *Language* XXVI 380). ◊ POKORNY I 455-456; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 133-134.

grabis aor. *grabita* 'to steal, to rob'. Borrowed from Slav **grabiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *grab'a*, SCr *grabiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◊ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 66 (related to Slav **grabiti*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 295; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 233.

gradë f, pl. *grada* 'nest'. Borrowed from Slav **gordъ* 'fence, wall, town', cf. Bulg *grad*, SCr *grad*. Note the change of gender in Albanian.

gradinë f, pl. *gradina* 'garden'. Borrowed from Slav **gordina*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gradina*, SCr *gradina*. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 58.

grah ~ graf aor. *graha ~ grafa* 'to spur on, to call, to roar'. From PAlb **graska* etymologically related to Skt *gr̥ṇā́ti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù, gìrti* 'to praise'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 128 (to Goth *hrops* 'call' and the like); FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200-201.

gram m, pl. *grama, gramra ~ gramna* 'couch-grass, knot-grass'. Bor-

rowed from Rom *grāma (> Spanish *grama*) replacing Lat *grāmen* 'grass' (MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 147.

grashinë f, pl. *grashina* 'vetch, sweet pea'. Borrowed from Slav **goršina* 'pea', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *grašina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 185). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326; SVANE 104.

grath m, pl. *grathë* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle'. A deminutive derived from PAlb **graba*, an *o*-grade noun related to *kreh*.

gravë f, pl. *grava* 'cave, den, lair'. From PAlb **gravā* etymologically identical with Lith *griovà*, Latv *grava, gŗava* 'ravine, precipitous valley', OPrus *grauwus* 'side' further connected with Lith *griū́ti* 'to decline, to collapse', Latv *gŗūt* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◊ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 342; FRAENKEL 171.

grazhd m, pl. *grazhde* 'manger'. Borrowed from South-Eastern Slavic, cf. Bulg *gražd* id. < Slav **gordjь* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 129). ◊ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

grebash m, pl. *grebasha* 'rake'. Borrowed from Slav **grebašь*, a derivative based on **grebǫ, *grebti* 'to rake'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 109-110.

grehull m, pl. *grehuj* 'thicket'. Derived from *greh*, a variant of *kreh*.

grek m, pl. *grekë* 'Greek'. Borrowed from Lat *graecus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (from Ital *greco*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (agrees with MEYER); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1043; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9 35-42 (from West Macedonian with *ъ > [ä]); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); LANDI *Lat.* 71, 140.

grellë f, pl. *grella* 'deep place'. Continues PAlb **gritlā* with a secondary *e* < **i* based on the analogy with *i* < **e* in singularized plurals. PAlb **gritlā* is formally identical with Lith *gurklỹs* 'crop', OPrus *gurcle* 'throat', Slav **gъrdlo* id., cf. also **žerdlo* 'river-bed; opening'. Together with Balto-Slavic, the Proto-Albanian word reflects IE **gʷr̥tlom* (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◊ POKORNY I 475; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 204-205.

grep m, pl. *grepa* 'hook, fish-hook'. A more archaic form of the word is preserved in its variant *gërjepë*. It continues PAlb **ga-repa* related to *rjep*. Note *grremç* < **grepç* id. as one of derivatives of *grep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 129 (borrowed from Ital *grappa* 'hook'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St*. I 218 (on *grremç* as derived from *grem* ~ *grep*).

grerë ~ **grenzë** f, pl. *grera, grerëz* ~ *grenëz, grenza* 'wasp, hornet'. From PAlb **graisnā* < **grisnā* that, despite its voiced anlaut, must be equated with Lat *crābrō* 'hornet', OHG *hornaȝ* id., Lith *širšuô* id., Slav **sьršenь* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 346 (to Skt *gar-* 'to swallow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 89 (singularized plural in Geg); KLUGE 316; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk βροντή), *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 283-284; POKORNY I 576; VASMER IV 432; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 258.

greth m 'flax-combings'. Derived from *kreh* (MEYER *Wb*. 204).

grëmëratë f 'beestings, clots of curdled milk'. Borrowed from Lat *glomerātum*, participle of *glomerāre* 'to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap', with assimilation of *liquida*. Borrowed to NGk γραμενάτα with a dissimilation of sonorants. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 130 (from Rom **cremorātum*), *Alb. St*. V 78-79 (goes back to Lat *glomus* 'ball'); PASCU *RE* 56 (from Arum **grumurata*); ÇABEJ *St*. VII 204, 258.

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'jay, magpie'. Borrowed from Rom **gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* 'griffin'. The form *grizhël* magpie' seems to be a form of *grifshë*. ◊ CAMARDA II 71 (from Gk γρύψ 'griffin'); MEYER *Wb*. 130 (from Friul *gripp* 'kind of bird' or Ital *griva* 'thrush'); ÇABEJ *St*. I 214-215 (related to *krip* 'hair', *krife*).

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'arbutus, wild strawberry-tree'. A metaphoric use of *grifshë* 'mane' for a bushy tree. Other variants are *krifshë* and *kripçë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St*. I 291-292 (to *krife*).

grifshë f, pl. *grifsha* 'mane'. Derived from **grifë* id., a variant of *krife*.

grigj m, pl. *grigje* 'flock, herd'. Another variant is fem. *grigjë*. Borrowed from Lat *gregem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn*. 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

31; MEYER *Wb.* 130). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1052; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132-134; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 85, 103.

grih aor. *griha* 'to sharpen'. From PAlb **greiska* etymologically related to Gk χρίω 'to rub, to anoint, to prick', Lith *grieju, griẽti* 'to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (identified with *grij*); FRAENKEL 168; FRISK II 1120; POKORNY I 457; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215-216.

grij ~ grîj aor. *griva, grijta* 'to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away'. From PAlb **grinja* etymologically related to IE **g^u̯er-* 'to swallow': Skt *giráti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù, gérti* 'to drink', Slav **žerti* (MEYER *Wb.* 130, *Alb. St.* III 8). Another derivative of the same root is preserved in *gris* 'to wear out, to tear'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (to *gërryej*), *Slavia* XIII 321; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to *grurë*); MAYRHOFER I 335; FRAENKEL 148-149; POKORNY I 474-476; WALDE-HOFMANN II 836; AFCVTH II 62-63; ÇABEJ *St.* I 216 (to Gk χόνδρος 'granule, lump (of salt)' and OE *grindan* 'to grind').

grill m 'lumpy soil, waste land, slate'. Borrowed from Lat *gracilis* 'poor (of soil)'.

grimë f, pl. *grima* 'crumb, bit'. From PAlb **grima* derived from *grij*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lat *grūmus* 'heap').

grindë f, pl. *grinda* 'quarrel'. A suffixal derivative of *grij* reflecting PAlb **grin-tā*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (borrowed from Ital *grinta* 'wrath').

gromësij aor. *gromësita, gromësiva* 'to belch'. The Geg variant *gropësij* is phonetically closer to its source - *gropoj* 'to dig out', *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 216-217). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (based on Slav **gromъ* 'thunder'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Latv *grẽmens* 'heartburn'); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER).

gropë f, pl. *gropa* 'pit, hole, grave'. Borrowed from OHG *crôpa* (FRIEDWAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 234), probably via Rum *groapă* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk κρύπτω 'to hide'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slav **grobъ* 'grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 131 (same as MIKLOSICH); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14 (early Slavic loanword); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

groshë f, pl. *groshë* 'bean, lentil'. Borrowed from Slav **goršь*, an adjective derived from **gorxъ* 'pea' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 132). Note the West Slavic development of the inlaut group **-or-* that may reflect an extinct dialectal source of the word. As to *groshull* 'chick-pea', it seems to be a recent Albanian derivative of *groshë*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 184 (also agrees with MEYER), *Slavia* XIII 307-309 (related to ON *grautr* 'grits', Latv *graûds* 'grain, corn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 217-218 (etymologically connected with Slav **gorxъ*).

grozhël f, pl. *grozhla* 'vetch'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **grozdьlь*, a derivative of **grozdь* 'cluster'.

grua ~ grue f, pl. *gra* 'woman, wife'. From PAlb **grāwā* related to Gk γραῦς 'old woman' (CAMARDA I 39, 65; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276). The latter is further connected with IE **ĝerə-* 'to become old'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from IE **gʷnōn-*, to **gʷen-* 'woman, wife' but **-n-* would be preserved in Geg); BRUGMANN *IF* IX 372 (on the derivational structure of γραῦς); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 155; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126, *Stratificazione* 115-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 20; BARIÇ *Hymje* 49; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; FRISK I 324; POKORNY I 390-391; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Schmidt* 67-76; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 381; HULD 66; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from γραῦς); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180-181.

grumbull m, pl. *grumbuj* 'heap, crowd'. Another variant is *grumull*. Continues PAlb **grumbula* etymologically comparable with Lith *grum̃bulis* 'hump, uneven place' and its cognates connected with *grùblas* 'uneven place, hillock' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *grūmulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from Ital *grumolo* 'cabbage-stump'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (from Lat *grūmulus* 'little hill, hillock'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *grùmulas*); FRAENKEL 172-173.

grurë ~ grunë m/n 'wheat'. From PAlb **grunā*, singularized pl. neut. going back to IE **ĝr̥̄nom* 'grain' (CAMARDA I 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66, 94): Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaurn*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav **zьrno* (an adjective in **-no-* the meaning of which is clear from Skt *jūrṇá-*, *jīrṇá-* 'old, decayed, withered'). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (borrowed from Lat *grānum*); MEYER *Wb.* 133, *Alb. St.* III 8, IV 105 (agrees

with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1054 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 414 (links *grurë* to Lith *grū́das* 'grain, wheat', Latv *graûds* id., OHG *grūz* 'groats'); MANN *Language* XVII 13; MAYRHOFER I 439, 443; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 8; FEIST *Goth.* 309-310; WALDE-HOFMANN I 618-619; VASMER II 95-96; FRAENKEL 1314; POKORNY I 391; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 278-279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218-219; OREL *Koll. Ig. Ges.* 351 (**-r̥H- > *-r̥̄- > -ru-* after labials and labiovelars); JANSON *Unt.* 83-84.

grusht m, pl. *grushte, grushta* 'fist'. Early borrowing from (South-Eastern) Slav **gъrstь* 'handful, hand' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 133). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 32-33 (related to Slav **gъrstь*); JOKL *LKUBA* 33; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 13; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

grykë f, pl. *gryka* 'throat' From PAlb **grīwīkā* related to IE **gᵘrīu̯ā* 'neck': Skt *grīvā́*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grĩva* 'river mouth', Slav **griva* 'mane' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438). ◊ CAMARDA 65 (correctly links *grykë* to IE **gᵘer-* 'to swallow, to eat'); MEYER *Wb.* 133 (compares, without certainty, with Slav **kъrkъ* 'neck', ON *kverk* 'throat' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XVII 15-16; MAYRHOFER I 353-354; POKORNY I 475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-kë*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 129-130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

grrykë f, pl. *grryqe* 'cool wind'. A derivative of *gërryej*: a cool wind described as a scratching one.

guall m, pl. *guaj* 'shell, skull'. From PAlb **gāla*, a long-grade derivative related to the dialectal Indo-European word for 'head' (and, originally, also 'tumor'): Arm *glux* < **ghōlu-*, Lith *galvà*, Slav **golva*. ◊ AČAREAN *HAB* I 565-566; FRAENKEL 131-132; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 221-222; POKORNY I 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

gugë f, pl. *guga* 'baby shirt'. An expressive word.

gul adj. 'hornless'. Attested only in Italo-Albanian. From PAlb **gula* further related to OHG *kalo* 'naked, bald', Slav **golъ* 'naked',**guliti* 'to skin'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (to ON *kolla* 'hornless animal'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gulçoj aor. *gulçova* 'to worry, to disturb'. Another form is *kulçoj*. Borrowed from Rom **colluctiāre*, cf. Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (uncertain comparison with NGk κοτῶ 'to risk').

gulm m, pl. *gulma* 'worry'. A derivative of *gulçoj* continuing **gulçm*.

gultoj aor. *gultova* 'to get rid off'. Borrowed from Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. Cf. *gulçoj*.

gunë f, pl. *guna* 'goatskin coat with hood'. Borrowed from MGk γούνα 'fur' (MEYER *Wb.* 134-135). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from MLat *gunna*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from Rom **gunna*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 39; HAARMANN 129; ZOJZI *St. albanica* III 319-337; LANDI *Lat.* 101.

gungë f, pl. *gunga* 'bump, swelling'. From PAlb **gunga* etymologically connected with Lith *gugà* 'hump, hillock', *gungà* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 34). ◊ FRAENKEL 174-175; ÇABEJ *St.* I 219-220.

gur m, pl. *gurë* 'stone, rock'. From PAlb **gura* continuing the zero-grade of IE **g^uer-* 'mountain': Skt *girí-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* 'wood', Latv *dziria* id., Slav **gora* 'mountain, wood' (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 135 with much uncertainty). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 318-319 (follows MEYER and reconstructs **g^uer-*); ; BARTHOLOMAE 514; JOKL *IF* XLIV 50, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127; MANN *Language* XVII 13; PORZIG *Gliederung* 198; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 153; MAYRHOFER I 335; POKORNY I 477-478; HAMP *BSL* L 45; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 29-31; HULD 66-67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; WATKINS *Dragon* 164 (from IE **g^ur̥H-u-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

gurmac m, pl. *gurmacë* 'small round stone'. Derived from **gurm* based on *gur*.

gurmaz m 'gullet'. A derivative of *kurm* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut *k-*. Borrowed to Rum *grumaz*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 63-64; PASCU *RE* 56; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 17-22 (comparison with Gk βάραθρον throat').

gushë f, pl. *gusha* 'throat'. Borrowed from Rum *guşă* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 135-136; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 64; MEYER-LÜBKE *ZfromPhil* XV 242; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 106-107 (from IE **gursi̯ā*, related to *grykë*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* I 64; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

gusht m 'August'. Borrowed from Lat *augustus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 136). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; LANDI *Lat.* 91, 177.

gushtericë f, pl. *gushterica* 'lizard'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *gušterica* id., SCr *gušterica* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 220).

gutë f 'gout'. Borrowed from Rom **gutta* 'drop' used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gută* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 136 (from SCr *guta* id.); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 65; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 220 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 127.

Gj

gjaj aor. *gjava, gjajta* 'to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen'. Dialectal forms *glaj, gëlaj* require the reconstruction of PAlb **ga-lanja* < **ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on **lab-* etymologically identical with Lith *lãbas* 'good', Latv *labs* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). Thus, the original meaning must have been 'to suit, to become'. Note another verbal form *gjas* 'to resemble' also belonging here and continuing **ga-labtja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 336 (to Gk γλαύσσω 'to shine', an obvious derivative of γλαυκός 'shining'); MEYER *Wb.* 137 (related to *qas*), *Alb. Studien* V 79 (to Gk βάλλω 'to launch, to reach', Skt *gálati* '(he) drops, falls down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (compares with Germ *glänzen* 'to shine'); PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 327; ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (reconstructs **ga-laig-* and links it to Goth *galeikan* 'to please' but this ablaut grade is unknown in **leig-* ~ **līg-*); OREL *IF* XLIII 102-104, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43 (from PAlb **janja* related to IE **i̯ā-* 'to go, to walk').

gjak m, pl. *gjaqe, gjakra* ~ *gjakna* 'blood'. From PAlb **saka* related to Gk ὀπός 'juice', Lith *sakaĩ* 'resin', Slav **sokъ* 'juice' and the like continuing an Indo-European word for 'juice' **sok^uo-* (MEYER *Wb.* 136, *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk ἰχώρ 'blood'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128 (reconstructs **ŏ-* in the root), *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; FRAENKEL 756-757; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRISK II 405-406; POKORNY I 1044-1045; VASMER III 708; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *VDI* 1986/1 130-144 (Albanian and ancient Indo-Europeans formulas connected with 'blood'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 254; HULD 67; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181-182.

gjalm m, pl. *gjalma, gjalmitër, gjelmitër* 'rope, lace'. From PAlb **salpna*, connected with Slav **solpiti* 'to stick out', Lith *iš-selpinė́ti* 'to get divided'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 43, 89 (to Gmc **sailaz* 'rope'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 286-287; JOKL *Studien* 47 (agrees with MEYER); FRAENKEL 971-972; VASMER III 714, *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (rejects MEYER's etymology as far as Indo-European diphtongs in *-i* do not yield Alb *-a-*); PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12-14 (to Gk ἅλυσις 'chain'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 58 (agrees with PETERSSON but treats *-mit-* in *gjelmitër* as a separate root); ÇABEJ *St.* I 222 (to Lat *glomus* 'ball' and the like); ANIKIN *Ètimologija 1982* 65-70.

gjalpë m/n 'butter'. Continues PAlb **selpa* identical with Gk ἔλπος· ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), Skt *sarpís-* 'clarified butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment' (CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 503; MAYRHOFER III 446; POKORNY I 901; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105 (to *shtjalp*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HULD *KZ* CVII 169 (*s*-stem); DEMIRAJ *AE* 182.

gjallë adj. 'alive'. Reflects PAlb **salwa* etymologically close to Skt *sárva-* 'complete, whole', Gk ὅλος 'whole', Lat *salvus* 'healthy', Tokh A *salu* 'completely' (MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 43, 75). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, *Kelt. Gr.* I 53; JOKL *Sprache* IX 122; LA PIANA *Studi* I 78 (to Lat *vīvus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 795; MAYRHOFER III 446-447; WALDE-HOFMANN II 472-473; POKORNY I 979-980; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI/1

223, *RRL* XXI 49-51; VAN WINDEKENS 412; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 205, 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 182-183.

gjarkëz pl. 'peritoneum'. A dialectal plural form of *qark.*

gjarpër ~ gjarpën m, pl. *gjarpinj, gjërpinj, gjarpanj, gjarpërinj ~ gjarpninj* 'snake'. From PAlb **serpena* etymologically related to Lat *serpēns* 'snake, serpent', *serpō* 'to crawl' and, further, to IE **serp-* 'to crawl' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43, 72). There is no connection between *gjarpër* and *shtërpinj* 'vermin, reptiles' (see *shtrep*) despite the widely accepted opinion. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 235; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 113-114; ERNOUT-MEILLET 113; MANN *Language* XVII 17, XXVI 383; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129, *Stratificazione* 137; PISANI *Saggi* 129; WALDE-HOFMANN II 524-525; POKORNY I 912; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HULD 67-68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; JANSON *Unt.* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 183-184.

gjashtë num. 'six'. From PAlb **sešti-*, a derivative in **-ti-* close to collectives like Skt *ṣaṣti-* 'six tens' (JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 440) or to Slav **šestь* 'six', and further related to IE **s(u̯)ek̂s-* 'six': Skt *ṣáṣ-*, Gk ἕξ, Lat *sex* (BOPP 459, 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 138, *Alb. St.* II 56-57, III 43). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283, *Kelt. Gr.* I 78; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52 *Numerals* 913; PISANI *Saggi* 106; POKORNY I 1044; MAYRHOFER III 407; WALDE-HOFMANN II 528-529; FRISK I 527-528; HULD 68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSLG* X 219; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXI/4 132-134, *AE* 184.

gjatë adj. 'long'. Dialectal *glatë* reflects the older form of the anlaut. From PAlb **dlata* continuing IE **dl̥ngh-to-* and related to other Indo-European adjectives for 'long' reflecting **(d)longho-*: Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs* and the like (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (compares with Slav **setьnъ* 'extremus'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (reconstructs **dlonghtos*); JOKL *Studien* 96 (follows PEDERSEN), *LKUBA* 315 (rejects the reconstruction of a nasal in the proto-form); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 39 (suggests a syllabic **-n̥-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; PORZIG *Gliederung* 124, 190; WALDE-HOFMANN I 820-821; FEIST *Goth.* 318-319; POKORNY I 197; HULD 68; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 35; DEMIRAJ *AE* 184-185.

gjazë f 'riverside forest'. From PAlb **sedjā*, a derivative of IE **sed-* 'to sit, to be settled', cf. in particular Slav **sadъ* 'garden, grove' derived from the same root. ◊ VASMER III 543-544; POKORNY I 884-887.

gjedh m, pl. *gjedha* 'cattle'. From PAlb **sada* or **seda*, a deverbative based on IE **sed-* 'to go, to walk' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Semantically, cf. other descriptions of cattle as 'walking', i.e. movable: Gk πρόβατα 'cattle, sheep', Hitt *i̯ant-* 'ram' and the like. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 887; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223 (to IE **gʷōu-* 'cattle' and in particular to Slav **govędo*); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 37-45; OREL *IF* XLIII 104-105 (from IE **gʷm̥dhos* connected with IE **gʷem-* 'to go'; however, thr development of the umlauticized **a* to *-je-* is dubious), *Fort.* 79.

gjej ~ gjêj aor. *gjeta* 'to find'. From PAlb **gadnja* < **ghn̥d-* etymologically related to Gk χάνδανω, aor. ἔχαδον 'to seize, to grasp', Lat *pre-hendō* id., ON *geta* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 10). The full grade is represented in refl. *gjëndem, gjindem* 'to be present'. ◊ CAMARDA I 285 (to Gk γί(γ)νομαι 'to be born'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 105-106, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 383; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (from Goth *bigitan*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 12-14, 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129-130; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK II 1071-1072; WALDE-HOFMANN II 359; POKORNY I 437-438; HAMP *Laryngeals* 135; HULD 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223-224 (related to Slav **goditi* 'to satisfy, to correspond, to be fit'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 232 (from **sH-ai̯elo*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 185-186.

gjel m, pl. *gjela* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *gallus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 138). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *IF* XXX 205; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 224; LANDI *Lat.* 28-29, 128, 138.

gjelbër ~ gjelbën adj. 'green'. Borrowed from Lat *galbinus* 'greenish-yellow' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

gjellë f, pl. *gjellë* 'food; life'. A singularized plural of *gjallë* (CAMARDA I 108). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (borrowed from SCr *jelo* 'meal'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 217.

gjellëz f 'salt'. Another variant is *gjillesë* 'salt, taste'. Although the comparison with IE **sali-* 'salt' could be tempting, connection with *gjellë* is much more probable. Thus, 'salt' is treated as a 'taste' of food.

gjem m 'bridle'. From PAlb **jama* identical with Skt *yáma-* id. and forming one of the isoglosses of Albanian with Southern Indo-European dialects, particularly, in horse breeding (OREL *IF* XCIII 105-106). Note *gj-* as a regular reflex of the initial IE **i̯-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ POKORNY I 505; MAYRHOFER III 2-3; OREL *Ètnogenez* 34-36; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

gjemb m, pl. *gjemba* 'thorn'. A Greek-Albanian form *glëmb* preserves the original anlaut *gl-*. Goes back to PAlb **glamba*, comparable with Slav **glǫb-okъ* 'deep' < *'hollowed', **glǫbъ* 'trunk, stump, cabbage-stump', cf. also Gk γλάφω 'to scrape up' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Rum *ghimpe* 'thorn' was borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to Lith *gémbė* 'nail used to hang clothes' - impossible in view of the initial *gl-*), *Alb. St.* III 8, 36, 64; JOKL *Studien* 26-28 (to Lith *geliù, gélti* 'to stick'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (against MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 367; FRISK I 311; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 141-143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 186-187.

gjep m, pl. *gjepa* 'spool'. A phonetic variant of *djep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (to *gjemb* and *qep*).

gjer prep. 'till'. Other variants are *deri, ndjer, ngjer*. From PAlb **(a)jeri* identical with Gk ἦρι < *ἦερι 'early' further related to Gmc **airiz* 'before, ere' (Goth *air*, ON *ár*) and Av *ayar* 'day' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (to *ndër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *ferē* 'near'); FRISK I 643; FEIST *Goth.* 24-25; BARTHOLOMAE 157; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 175; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288-289 (to Gk μέχρι 'till').

gjer m, pl. *gjera* 'dormouse'. Borrowed from Lat *glīrem* id., with the long *-ī-* treated as a short one (MEYER *Wb.* 138-139). ◊ TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz. XI* 11 (related to Lat *glīs* and the like); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 104.

gjerb aor. *gjerba* 'to gulp, to drink'. From PAlb **serba* connected with Lat *sorbeō* 'to sup up, to suck in', Gk ῥοφέω id., Lith *surbiù, surbti* id., Slav **sьrbati* 'to gulp, to sup up' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 36,

43, 72). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 237, 299; ERNOUT-MEILLET 636; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (reconstructs **ō* in the root); PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRAENKEL 945; FRISK II 663; CHANTRAINE 978; WALDE-HOFMANN II 561; POKORNY I 1001; VASMER III 604; HULD 143 (suggests IE **sorbh-ei̯-ō*), *KZ* CVII 169; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 273; ANTTILA *Schw.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187.

gjerë ~ gjanë adj. 'broad, wide'. There also exists Tosk *gjërë*. From PAlb **saina*, a zero-grade derivative in **-no-* based on IE **sēi-* 'long, late', cf. OE *síd* 'long, wide', Goth *seiþus* 'late', OIr *síth* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 28). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 292; FEIST *Goth.* 415-416; VENDRYES [S] 120-121; WALDE-HOFMANN II 526-527; POKORNY I 890-891; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 68-69; JANSON *Unt.* 28.

gjesh aor. *gjesha* 'to knead'. From PAlb **jesja* identical with Skt *yásyati* 'to boil', Gk ζέω 'to boil, to cook' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 292; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327, *Kelt. Gr.* I 65; PISANI *REIE* IV 10, *Saggi* 102, 123; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; FRISK I 612; MAYRHOFER III 13; POKORNY I 506; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 152; HULD 99; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Germ *kneten* 'to knead'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300.

gjeshtër f, pl. *gjeshtra* 'broom'. Borrowed from Rom **genistra* (cf. Ital *ginestra* id.) based on Lat *genista, genesta* 'broom-plant, broom'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

gjeti adv. 'elsewhere'. A number of parallel forms exist, e.g. *gjetiu, gjetkë, ngjeti, njeti* and the like. A fossilized form of aorist of *gjej* with various other elements including *kë*, acc. of *kush*, and *u*, reflective pronoun. ◊ CAMARDA I 307 (to *tjetër*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 225-226 (treats *njeti* as an older form and links it to Skt *anyá-* 'other').

gjetkëz f, pl. *gjetkëza* 'goose-coop'. Identical with OAlb *gjethkë* 'stall, pen' (BARDHI) continuing **gjerdhkë*, a deminutive of *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 226).

gjeth m, pl. *gjeth* 'foliage, green leaves'. From PAlb **gadza* with an irregular unvoicing of the auslaut or, rather, with a secondary *th*-suffix. The

variant with a voiced *-dh-* is registered by some scholars but it may well be an artifact. Etymologically connected with OHG *questa* 'tuft', ON *kvistr* 'branch', Slav **gvozdь* 'wood, forest' (JOKL *IF* XXX 199-204, *LKUBA* 130, 221). Note the development of the initial cluster **gu̯o-* > **ga-* in Albanian. The form *gjeshk* 'dry leaves' is derived from *gjeth*. ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (compares with Gk κλάδος 'branch'); MEYER *Wb.* 138 (develops CAMARDA's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130; LA PIANA *Varia* 103-104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 125; XHUVANI *BUShT* III/3 93 (connected with *gath*); VASMER I 263; POKORNY I 480; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 185-186; ÖLBERG *St. Bonfante* 562; ÇABEJ *St.* I 226-227 (to Lat *hasta* 'spear' and its cognates); HULD 69; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187-188.

gjezdis aor. *gjezdisa* 'to go for a walk, to roam'. An early borrowing from Slav **jězditi* 'to ride' with the initial *j-* substituted by Alb *gj-*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jazd'a*, SCr *jezditi* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262).

gjë ~ gjâ f, pl. *gjëra ~ gjana* 'thing'. From PAlb **san(s)* going back to the participle of IE **es-* 'to be', **sont-s*: Skt *sant-*, Gk ὤν and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 139). ◊ MAYRHOFER III 425-426; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 341; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 212; HULD 69; JANSON *Unt.* 27-28; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188.

gjëlpërë ~ gjylpanë f, pl. *gjëlpëra ~ gjylpana* 'needle'. Goes back to **salpanā* further connected with *gjalm* and its cognates. The Geg vocalism in *gjylpanë* is secondary. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 143 (borrowed from Rom **acūcula pani*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 34 (to IE **gʷel-* 'to stick, to prick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131-132; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from **sau̯il-pətno-* 'eye-thread').

gjëmoj aor. *gjëmova* 'to resound, to rumble, to thunder, to shout'. As the variant *glëmoj* shows, there was *gl-* in the anlaut. Borrowed from Lat *clāmāre* 'to cry, to shout', with the voicing of the initial group *cl-*. The noun *gjëmë* 'thunder, shout, illness' is a deverbative. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gemere* 'to cry, to shout'); MEYER *Wb.* 139-140 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128.

gjëmoj aor. *gjëmova* 'to run after, to hurry after'. A dialectal form of

gjurmoj, derivative of *gjurmë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to *gjuaj*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048, 1052.

gjëmtoj aor. *gjëmtova* 'to collect bit by bit, to gather'. Borrowed from Lat *collīmitāre* 'to draw boundaries', *'to unite'.

gjëndër ~ gjandër f, pl. *gjëndra ~ gjandra* 'gland'. Borrowed from Lat *glandula* 'gland of the throat' with the dissimilation of *liquida* (HELBIG 120; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22). Tosk variants *glëndër* and *grëndël* reflect the anlaut *gl-* and thus exclude the Italian etymology. Rum *ghindură* id. continues the same Lat *glandula*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (from Ital *ghiandola* 'gland'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042, 1050, 1054 (follows MEYER); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 62; SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rum *ghindură*, Arum *glindură* id.); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 605 (from Rom **glandura*); MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227 (follows JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 47, 145-146.

(T) **gjër** m 'soup'. Corresponds to Geg *gjanë* 'mudbed, alluvium'. Goes back to PAlb **jausna* related to Skt neut. *yūṣ* 'soup' (cf. in particular gen. sg. *yūṣṇáḥ*), Lat *jūs* id., Lith *jū́šė* 'fish soup' (if not from Prussian, cf. BIGA I 478-479), OPrus *iuse* 'soup' and the like (CAMARDA I 80). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Lat *jentāre* 'to breakfast'), *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; PISANI *Saggi* 248; FRAENKEL 191, 199; MAYRHOFER I 26; WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; POKORNY I 507; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KARALIŪNAS *Baltistica* I 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227-228 (derivative of *gjë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 183 (borrowed from Slav **glěnъ* 'silt').

gji ~ gjî m, pl. *gji ~ gjî* 'breast, chest'. From PAlb **sina* identical with Lat *sinus* 'curve, fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 67). ◊ JOKL *IF* L 45; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130, *Stratificazione* 89; WALDE-HOFMANN II 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

gjije f 'stable, house'. A singularized plural of a form attested in Geg as *gjê* 'stable, pen'. Goes back to **saina* identical with the Baltic word for 'wall': Lith *síena*, Latv *siêna* further derived from IE **sēi-* 'to bind' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRAENKEL 782-783; POKORNY I 891-892; ÇABEJ *St.* I 228 (important lexical material but no etymology).

gjinde pl. 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *gentem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30; CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 141). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 116, 146.

gjithë adj. 'all'. The dialectal variant *gjidhë* (cf. also *gjillë* < *gjidhë*) seems to be a direct continuation of PAlb **semdza*, with the cluster **-em-* reflected as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-Albanian form goes back to IE **sem-ĝho-*, a suffix derivative of IE **sem-* 'one' attested in Arm *ez* < **sem-ĝho-* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 414). IE **sem-* is also attested alone in the same meaning, in Dalmatian Alb *gji* [dži] 'all' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130), with *-i* as in *një* ~ *nji*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (comparison with Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi, giš* id.); FAY *IF* XXXII 330-332 (to Germ *ganz*); AČAREAN *HAB* II 4-5; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk ἰσχύς 'strength'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (from **g-li-sht*); POKORNY I 902-903; ÖLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188-189 (from **siH-k̂o-*, to Gk ἰός).

gjizë ~ **gjîzë** f 'goat cheese'. A derivative of an unattested **gjin-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 228-229). Taking into account the cheese-making technology in the Balkans (putting cheese into an animal stomach and tying the latter), **gjin-* may be derived from PAlb **sina* identical with OIr *sin* 'chain', ON *sin* 'sinew', OHG *senawa*, Av *hinu-* 'band' and further related to IE **sē(i)-* 'to bind'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 28, *LKUBA* 89 (to Lat *serum* 'watery part of curdled milk'), *Sprache* IX 153; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 158 (comparison with *urdhë*); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 1 -4 (to Lith *gaižùs* 'rancid, bitter'), *AASF* XXVII 115-117; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 102 (to Gk ζύμη 'leaven'); VASMER *KZ* L 247 (to Ir *seig* 'milk'); MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124 (suffix *-zë*); POKORNY I 891-892; VENDRYES [S] 112-113; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 137 (borrowed from Slav **gliza* 'swelling', cf. SCr *gliza* 'calf's stomach used for cheese making'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 189-190 (to W *hufen* 'cream' and the like).

gjobë f, pl. *gjoba* 'fine, penalty'. Borrowed from Slav **globa* having the same meaning in its South Slavic forms, Bulg *globa* and SCr *globa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 181; SVANE 207, 234.

gjoc m, pl. *gjoca* 'aphid, greenfly, pine-weevil'. As another variant of

this word, *gjonth*, shows, it is a deminutive of *gjon* historically identical with *gjon* 'night-owl' and going back to the Latin proper name *Jōannes* > *Gjon*. ◊ Meyer *Wb.* 141 (on *gjon* < *Jōannes*).

gjollë f, pl. *gjollë* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing'. From PAlb **sālā* based on IE **sal-* 'salt': Gk ἅλς id., Lat *sāl* and the like (Hamp *GjA* VI 45). The Albanian *ā*-stem may well replace the Indo-European athematic stem with a long vowel in nom. sg. (Orel *IF* XCIII 106, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144). ◊ Jokl *Studien* 29 (to OE *selma* 'bed', Lith *súolas* 'bench'); Tagliavini *Stratificazione* 148; Mann *Language* XXVI 383 (to Ir *síol*, Lith *sě̃kla*); Frisk I 78-79; Walde-Hofmann II 465-466; Pokorny I 878-879; Demiraj *AE* 190.

gjorë adj. 'poor, miserable, wretched'. A suffixal derivative of *gjuaj*. Thus, the original meaning of the adjective is 'chased, persecuted'. ◊ Hahn 30 (to *djeg*); Meyer *Wb.* 141 (from Turk *kör* 'blind'); Jokl *Studien* 109, *IF* XXXVII 113 (borrowed from Slav **gor'e* 'grief'); Seliščev *Slav. naselenie* 193, 324; Xhuvani *KLetr* I/6 6 (related to *djerr*); Çabej *St.* I 229 (agrees with Xhuvani).

gju ~ **gjû** m, pl. *gjunjë*, *gjunj* 'knee'. Dialectal forms preserve the initial cluster *gl-*. Goes back to PAlb **gluna* dissimilated from **g(a)nuna*. The latter is a secondary *n*-derivative based on IE **ĝenu-* 'knee': Hitt *genu*, Skt *jā́nu-*, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genū* and the like (Camarda I 39). As to the phonetics of *gju*, it is close to OIr *glúin* id. < **glūno-*with a similar dissimilation of sonants (Meyer *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 9, 67). ◊ Pedersen *Kelt. Gr.* I 156; Jokl *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 237 (on the inaccuracy of the Albanian - Celtic parallel), *Sprache* IX 156; Petersson apud Demiraj (to Gk γίγγλυμος 'joint'); Tagliavini *Dalmazia* 127, *Stratificazione* 89; Mann *Language* XXVIII 34; Pisani *Saggi* 131; Hamp *KZ* LXXVI 275-276; Lewis-Pedersen 159; Mayrhofer I 429; Walde-Hofmann I 592-593; Pokorny I 380-381; Frisk I 321; Camaj *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (follows Meyer); Çabej *St.* VII 229, 231; Huld 70; Ölberg *Studi Pisani* II 685; Borgeaud *RRL* XX 4; Janson *Unt.* 28-29; Rasmussen *Morph.* 263; Ködderitzsch *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62; Demiraj *AE* 190-191.

gjuaj ~ **gjuej** aor. *gjova*, *gjuajta* ~ *gjujta*, *gjojta* 'to hunt'. Goes back to PAlb **jāgnja* based on the noun **jaga* > *gjah* 'hunt, hunting'. Further

etymological connection is OHG *jagōn* 'to hunt' (HAMP *Laryngeals* 134). ◊ CAMARDA I 122 (to Gk δίζημαι 'to seek'); MEYER *Wb.* 136 (to Slav **ženǫ, *gъnati* 'to drive away', Lith *genù, giñti* id.), *Alb. Studien* III 7; THUMB *IF* XXVI 18; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330-331; KLUGE 329; VASMER I 419 (follows MEYER); HULD 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 191-192 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel, to suspect', OIr *saigim* 'to go towards, to seek').

gjuhë f, pl. *gjuhë* 'tongue, language'. Dialectal forms reflect the initial *gl-*: Cham *gluhë*, Calabr *gl'uγε*. From PAlb **glusā*, further connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for 'sound' **golso-*: ON *kall* 'shout', Lith *gal̃sas* 'echo', Slav **golsъ* 'voice'. PAlb **-ul-* (> Alb *-ul-,-lu-*) seems to go back to **-l̥-* so that the source of the Albanian form should be reconstructed as IE **gl̥so-*, a zero-grade opposed to the full grade of Balto-Slavic and Germanic. ◊ CAMARDA 26 (connection with Gk γλῶσσα 'tongue, language'); MEYER *Wb.* 142 (to *gjuaj* 'to call, a secondary variant of *quaj* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 35 (to the Indo-European word for 'tongue', with *gjuhë* < **gl'undh(u̯ā)* < **dlonĝhu̯ā*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89-90; LA PIANA 94 (compares with Gk γλῶσσα); PISANI *Saggi* 102, *IF* LXI 146 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα); POKORNY I 350; FRAENKEL 131; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 34 (reconstructs **dln̥ĝhu̯ā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (borrowed from Gk γλῶσσα), *Stratificazione* 89-90; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 219-220; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 268; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427-429 (to IE **gelə-* ~ **gʷelə-* 'to swallow'); HULD 71 (from **ĝhnud-sk̂-*!).

gjumë m 'sleep'. From PAlb **supna* identical with a nominal derivative of IE **su̯ep-* 'to sleep' - **sup-no-*: Gk ὕπνος 'sleep', Slav **sъnъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 32). In other Indo-European languages another ablaut variant **su̯ep-no-* is represented. ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (to Gk κῶμα 'deep sleep'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVI 387; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 127; VASMER III 716-717; FRISK II 970-971; CHANTRAINE 1160; POKORNY I 1048-1049; HULD 71-72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 192.

gjurmë f, pl. *gjurmë, gjurma* 'trace'. From PAlb **surma*, a zero-grade variant of IE **sor-mo-* reflected in Skt *sárma-* 'flow', Gk ὁρμή 'assault, attack', further connected with IE **ser-* 'to flow' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 59 (borrowed from Romance

via NGk γοῦρμα id.), _Wb._ 142 (uncertain link to Ital _orma_ 'footmark', Rum _urmă_ id.); BARIĆ _ARSt_ 103 (to Lat _serpō_ 'to crawl'); MAYRHOFER III 471; FRISK II 419; POKORNY I 909-910; ÇABEJ _St._ VII 216, 227.

gjuvengë f 'harlot'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. _juvenca_ 'young', also 'young cow' (MIHĂESCU _RESEE_ IV/1-2 16). ◊ HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ _St._ I 229.

gjykoj aor. _gjykova_ 'to judge, to try'. Borrowed from Lat _jūdicāre_ id. (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH _Rom. Elemente_ 33; MEYER _Wb._ 142-143). As to _gjyq_ 'trial, court', it continues Lat _jūdicium_ id. (ÇABEJ _St._ I 229-230). ◊ MEYER _Alb. St._ IV 74; MEYER-LÜBKE _Gr. Grundriß_ ^{2} I 1046-1048; MIHĂESCU _RESEE_ IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131; LANDI _Lat._ 101, 109, 112.

gjymtë adj. 'defective, incomplete, cripple, stunted'. Borrowed from Rom *_junctus_ 'joined' or secondarily derived from _gjymtyrë_. ◊ OREL _RRL_ XXXI/1 3 (comparison with _gjysmë_).

gjymtyrë f, pl. _gjymtyrë_ 'joint, limb'. Borrowed from Lat _junctūra_ 'juncture, joint' (MIKLOSICH _Rom. Elemente_ 33; MEYER _Wb._ 143). Note the East Romance treatment of Lat _-nkt-_ > *_-npt-_ > _-mt-_. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE _Gr. Grundriß_ ^{2} I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU _RESEE_ IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ _St._ VII 267; HAARMANN 131; DI GIOVINE _Gruppo -ct-_ 49-50; LANDI _Lat._ 69, 89, 101, 121.

gjysmë f, pl. _gjysma_ 'half'. A metathesis from a widespread dialectal form _gjym(ë)së_. The latter represents a formation in _-ësë_ < *_-atja_ derived from *_gjym_ < PAlb *_jūmi-_ or *_jūma_, to be further compared with Latv _jumis_ 'double fruit' (with an unexpected _-u-_ reminiscent of the unclear Alb _-y-_ < *_-ū-_) and other continuants of IE *_i̯emo-_: Skt _yamá-_ 'duplicate; twin', MIr _emon_ 'twins', Lat _im-āgō_ 'imitation, copy' (HAMP _Numerals_ 920; OREL _RRL_ XXXI/1 3-4, _FLH_ VIII/1-2 43). Rum _jumătate_ was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk ἥμισυς 'half' with unsurmountable phonetic difficulties); MEYER _BB_ VIII 192 (to Lat _semi-_ 'half'), _Wb._ 143 (follows CAMARDA but treats _gjysmë_ as a Greek loanword with _gj-_ filling hiatus in ὁ ἥμισυς); SPITZER _MRIW_ I 322 (from *_i̯umos_ 'bound together'); BARIĆ _ARSt._ 35-36 (supports MEYER _BB_); POGHIRC _Ist. limb. rom._ II 3244; ROSETTI _ILR_ I 278;

MAYRHOFER III 8; WALDE-HOFMANN I 680; POKORNY I 505; IVANOV *Bsl. Etnojaz.* 81.

gjysh m. pl. *gjyshë, gjyshër ~ gjyshën* 'grandfather'. From PAlb **sūsa* identical with Skt *sūṣā́* 'progenitor' further derived from IE **seu-* 'to give birth' (WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 243). Borrowed to Rum *ghiuj* 'old man'. ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (from **gëlysh*, related to Gk γάλως 'sister-in-law'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Rom **avūsius*); MEYER *Wb.* 143; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 176 (from Rom **aviūsius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 28-37 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Sprache* IX 152; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; MAYRHOFER III 492; POKORNY I 913-914; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330 (to γυγαί· πάπποι, Hes.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (to Hitt *ḫuḫḫas*, Lyc *χuga* 'grandfather'); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD *KZ* CVII 168; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (from **sau̯isi̯a-* related to Lith *sãvas* 'own'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 192-193.

H

ha aor *hëngra ~ hangra* 'to eat'. Reflects PAlb **eda* derived from IE **ed-* id. (HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-154). In Albanian, it is an accentual archaism with a stressed thematic vowel in 1 sg. pres. **edá* < IE **edóm* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). Pretonic **-d-* > *-h-, -ø-* is regular (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 22-23), as well as the apheresis. The *nti*-participle *ngrënë ~ ngranë* is derived from IE **gʷer(ə)-* 'to swallow' (BOPP *Alb.* 82). The aorist *hëngra ~ hangra* is a secondary formation based on the original **ngra* and contaminated with the paradigm of *ha* (OREL *Ètimologija 1982* 154), cf., typologically, ME *geode* contaminated from *gān* 'to go' and *ēode* 'went' (KONECKAJA *Suppl.* 421-423). ◊ CAMARDA 132 (compares with Gk χαίνω 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wb.* 144 (from IE **(s)khed-*, Skt *khā́dati* 'to eat, to devour'), *Alb. St.* III 59; BRUGMANN *Grundriß* I 759 (from **ghz-*, cf. Skt *ghas-* 'to eat'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341 (compares *hëngra ~ hangra* with Arm 1 sg. aor. *eker* '(I) ate' and analyzes *hë-* as a continuation of the augment **e-*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-142; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26, 73 (agrees with MEYER), *Hymje* 43 (follows PEDERSEN in his etymology of *ha*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; LA PIANA *Studi* I 34, 96; PISANI *Saggi* 110, *Paideia* XXVIII 183 (repeats BRUGMANN's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 196-198; POKORNY I 287-289, 474-475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 47; KLINGEN-

SCHMITT *Verbum* 279-280; ÇABEJ *St.* I 306; BADER *BSL* LXXI/1 97 (archaic thematic formations of **ed-*); OREL *Ètimologija 1982* 151-156, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359; IVANOV *Slav.* 92-93, 185 (to Tokh A, B *św̄ā-* 'to eat'); HULD 72 (to Lat *avere* 'to enjoy, to be well'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (*ngrënë* - to OE *grindan* 'to grind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 297-298.

habit aor. *habita* 'to surprise, to astonish'.Borrowed from Slav **xabiti* 'to destroy', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xab'a*, SCr *habiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 144). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 133; SVANE 234.

hajmë adj. 'thin, lean'. Another derivative of the same root is *hajthëm* id. Both forms are based on *halë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231).

hakël f 'fish bone'. Metathesis from **halkë*, a deminutive of *halë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 231 (to *hokoç*).

hakrri f 'readiness for copulation (of pigs)'. From **harkrri*, derived from **hark*, see *hokoç*. From *hakrri* the verb *hakërrohem* 'to threaten, to frighten' is derived (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231-232).

halë f, pl. *hala* 'fish bone, splinter; pine'. From PAlb **skalā* etymologically related to Lith *skalà* 'stick of firewood', Latv *skala* 'splinter (used to furnish light)'. This word is further connected with IE **skel-* 'to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 144, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 192, XXXVII 99,*WuS* XII 70 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; PISANI *Saggi* 122; FRAENKEL 792-793; POKORNY I 923-926; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἀλέω 'to grind'); HULD 151 (to Lat *alnus* 'alder'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148 (same as HULD, to Lith *al̃ksnis* 'alder'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (reconstructs **skolnā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 193-194 (to *elb*).

halbë f 'scab on the bark'. From PAlb **skalbā* close to Latv *skalbs* 'sharp, shrill' with a further link to IE **skel-* 'to split', see *halë*. ◊ POKORNY I 923-926; ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (to *halë* and *helm*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hall m, pl. *halle* 'trouble, misery, plight, sorrow'. From PAlb **skalna* connected with Gmc **skallaz* 'thin, dry, shallow' (E *shallow* and the like) ~ **xallaz* 'weak, tired' (MHG *hel, hellec*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 145 (from

Turk *hal* 'state, situation'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 26 (to Skt *khilá-*); ONIONS 816; OREL *IF* XLIII 107-108 (from **edolos* based on IE **ed-* 'to eat').

hamull f, pl. *hamulla* 'stubble-field'. A derivative in *-ull* based on *ha*. Thus, the stubble-field is described as 'eaten up'.

hap aor. *hapa* 'to open'. From PAlb **skapa* connected with IE **skep-* 'to cut, to split, to dig' (MEYER *Wb.* 146, *Alb. St.* III 31, 59). Note *hapë* 'step' derived from *hap.* ◊ POKORNY I 366-368; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to Hitt *apa* 'afterwards').

harabel m, pl. *harabela* 'sparrow'. Borrowed from Slav **vorbьlь* id., a form unattested in South Slavic where we only find **vorbьсь* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◊ SVANE 144.

harc m, pl. *harca* 'rocky landscape'. A nominal derivative of *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 233).

hardhël f, pl. *hardhla* 'lizard'. Other variants are *hardhje, hardhicë, hardhucë, hardhushkë.* The source of all these derivatives must have been **hardhë.* Since other words for 'lizard' are safely etymologized as 'diggers' (cf. Slav **aščerъ* id., **guščerъ* id.), *hardhë* continues PAlb **skardā* to be further compared with Lith *skerdžiù, skeȓsti* 'to slaughter, to prick', Latv *šķęrzu, šķęrst* 'to split', and with the *o*-vocalism - Lith *skardùs* 'steep', Latv *skārdît* 'to divide'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (to Gk χαρδοῦν· ζῷον ὅμοιον κροκοδείλῳ); MEYER *Wb.* 147 (a transformation of Lat *lacerta* id.); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 110 n. 1 (related to Slav **aščerъ* id.); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XLI 700-701 (to Arag *fardacho*); SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 105-106; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 26 (to Gk ἐσχαρός 'kind of fish'), *AArbSt.* III 217; MLADENOV *RFV* LXXI 454-458; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XVI/3 40-41 (to Gk κορδύλος 'triton'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239, *Stratificazione* 137; FRAENKEL 797, 803; VASMER IV 572 (follows JOKL); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* I 88; DEMIRAJ *AE* 194-195.

hark m, pl. *harqe, herq, herqe* 'bow'. Variant of *ark* id., borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 15).

harlis aor. *harlisa* 'to bring into high spirits (of a horse)'. Borrowed from NGk **χαραλίζω*, a derivative of χαρίζω 'to do something agreable'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (derivative of *harlë*, variant of *harrje*).

harmëshor m, pl. *harmëshorë* 'stallion, stud-horse'. Borrowed from Rom **armessārius*, also preserved in Rum *armăsar*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissārius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 148). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 11; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111.

harmoj aor. *harmova* 'to destroy, to exhaust'. Together with another derivative, *harmi* 'broken wind, pursiness (in horses), goes back to **harm* continuing PAlb **skarima*. The latter is based on IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 234-235). Note *harmoç* 'crumbled plaster; stone-pine' and Geg *hartinë* 'kind of pine' also belonging to this root (ÇABEJ *St.* I 235). ◊ POKORNY I 938-947.

harr aor. *harra* 'to weed, to cut down'. From PAlb **skarna*, a denominative related to IE **sker-* 'to cut', cf. Goth *us-skarjan* 'to tear out', Lith *skiriù, skìrti* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 148, *Alb. St.* III 59, 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 36-37 (to Gk χαράσσω 'to sharpen'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Lat *sariō* 'to hoe'); LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (the same); JOKL *LKUBA* 156; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (from IE **sker-*); FEIST *Goth.* 534; FRAENKEL 808; POKORNY I 938-947; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129-130 (to Hitt *arnumi* 'to bring'); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 196-197.

harrje f, pl. *harrje* 'midge'. Historically identical with *harlë* 'kind of mite'. A deminutive of **harr, herr* 'small creature'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (to *harr*).

harroj aor. *harrova* 'to forget'. Borrowed from Lat *aberrāre* 'to forget (for a time)'. Note prothetic *h-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

harrok m, pl. *harrokë* 'he-goat'. A suffixal derivative of unattested **harr* related to Lith *skerȳs* 'ram', Latv *šķēris* id., further connected with Gk σκαίρω 'to spring, to dance'. ◊ FRAENKEL 801-802; FRISK II 714-715; POKORNY I 934.

hedh aor. *hodha* 'to throw, to shoot'. Another variant is *hjedh*. From PAlb **skeuda* connected with ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan* and other continuants of Gmc **skiutan* 'to shoot' < IE **skeud-* 'to throw, to shoot' (MEYER *Wb.* 150, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◊ LIDÉN *Studien* 43; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 111; BŪGA II 200; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (to Lith *šáuju* 'to shoot');

PISANI *Saggi* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; POKORNY I 955-956; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (to Gk ἄγω), *St. Whatmough* 88, *Ètimologija 1971* 268-269 (reconstructs **sk̂eud-*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-88; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP *Laryngeals*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 250; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAlb **ks-*); HULD 72-73; DEMIRAJ *AE* 197-198 (reconstructs **skedho-*).

hedhe f, pl. *hedhe* 'dandruff'. Singularized plural of **hedh(ë)*, derivative of *hedh*. For the semantics cf. Russ *syp'* 'rash' related to *sypat'* 'to throw, to drop'.

hejë f 'food supply (for a year)'. From PAlb **skaljā* identical with Lith *àt-skala* 'supply, stock' etymologized as a derivative of *skalà* 'stick of firewood', see *halë*. ◊ FRAENKEL 792.

hejzë f, pl. *hejza* 'water-shed'. Derived from *hejë* 'spear', see *hell* (GAZULLI 173-174). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 237.

hekë f 'agony'. From PAlb **skakā* etymologically connected with Lith *šókti* 'to jump, to dance', Slav **skokъ* 'jump', OIr *scén* 'horror' < **skek-no-*. ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 125; FRAENKEL 1021-1022; VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; VENDRYES [S] 40-41.

hekur m, pl. *hekura* 'iron'. Plausibly borrowed from Gk ἄγκυρα 'anchor' (JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 236), cf. *hekur i anijes* 'anchor', lit. 'iron of the ship'. However, some phonetic details remain obscure. Initial *h-* may be secondary. As for *-e-*, it could well appear as a result of umlaut in plural and then in singular - a process widely spread in Albanian. This leads to the reconstruction of PAlb **akura*. However, *-nk-* should yield Alb *-ng-*. ◊ CAMARDA 90 (comparison with Gk χαλκός 'copper'); MEYER *Wb.* 150 (compares with Skt *siñcati* 'to pour out, to sprinkle'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 43; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Arm *erkat'*); IVANOV *SBJa Antič.* 21 (a farfetched hypothesis close to that of CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Goth *aiz* 'ore'), *StF* XXII (V) 121-122; IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

helm m, pl. *helme* 'poison; grief, sorrow'. From **skal(i)ma* connected with *hall*. (OREL *IF* XC 107-108) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (compares with OHG *scalmo* 'pestilence, epidemic', *scelmo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 59, 64; JOKL

Erf. Idg. 142 (to Thr σκάλμη 'sword'); ; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk χάλιμος· φαρμάκος, Hes.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 236-237 (to *hell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 198 (compared with Skt *āla-* 'poison'; borrowed to Greek as χάλιμος).

hell m, pl. *helle, heje, hej* 'spear, spit'. Another form of the same word, *hejë*, is derived from plural. From PAlb **skōla* identical with Gk σκῶλος 'pointed stake, thorn' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124). Further related to IE **skel-* 'to cut, to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386; HAMP *St. albanica* VI/1 125-126 (to OPr *aycolo* 'needle'), *StF* XXII (V) 119-120; FRISK II 745-746; POKORNY I 923-927; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

hep m, pl. *hepa* 'furrow, scratch'. From PAlb **skapa* etymologically connected with *hap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 237-238; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72).

heq ~ hek aor. *hoqa ~ hoka* 'to draw, to pull'. In dialects, a more conservative form *helq* is attested. It goes back to PAlb **skalkja*, a causative identical with Gk *ὁλκέω < **solkejō* based on ἕλκω 'to draw' (CAMARDA I 81; MEYER *Wb.* 150-151). The initial *h-* in Albanian is irregular (HULD 73) so that an assimilative development **salkja* > **skalkja* must be reconstructed. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 278; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; ERNOUT-MEILLET 664; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (*heq* as a borrowing from Gk ἕλκω); PISANI *Saggi* 120; PORZIG *Namen* 236 f. (Greek data for the reconstruction of *ὁλκέω), *Gliederung* 172; FRISK I 497-498; CHANTRAINE 340; POKORNY I 901; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132 (suggests **Hu̯olkei̯ō*); HULD 73 (groundless comparison with OE *ealh* 'temple, sanctuary').

herdhe pl. 'testicles'. From PAlb **ardzai* related to IE **orĝhi- ~ *r̥ĝhi-* id.: Av dual. *ərəzī*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik'*, MIr *uirgge* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 18, 72, 86). The initial *h-* is a secondary prothetic consonant. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 67, 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK I 433-434; CHANTRAINE 831; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (*h-* as a continuant of the Indo-European laryngeal); POKORNY I 782; VENDRYES [V] 20-21; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129; RIX *Münch. St. Spr.* XXVII 93 (reconstructs **Hr̥ĝhii̯ā*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; HULD 73-74; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

herdhe f, pl. *herdhe* 'nest'. A singularized plural of an unattested **hardh* < **sk̂ordhos* related to Skt *śárdhas-* 'herd, crowd', W *cordd* 'crowd' < **k̂ordho-*, Goth *hairda* 'herd', Slav **čerda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 151). These forms reflect a root with the alternation of **k-* ~ **k̂-* in the anlaut. In Albanian, the initial **sk-* must be reconstructed. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; JOKL *AArbSt* I 38-40 (specially on W *cordd*); KLUGE 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113, *Stratificazione* 144; MAYRHOFER III 310; POKORNY I 579; FEIST *Goth.* 234; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 60-63.

herë f, pl. *herë* 'time, moment of time, hour'. Borrowed from Lat *hōra* 'hour' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 280; HAARMANN 129.

hermoj aor. *hermova* 'to dig'. Initial *h-* is due to prothesis. Borrowed from Rom **exrīmārī* 'to hoe, to dig out', cf. Lat *rīmārī* 'to hoe'.

herr m, pl. *herra* 'dwarf'. From PAlb **skarna* derived from IE **sker-* 'to cut', see *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 238).

hesht aor. *heshta* 'to stay silent'. Derived from the interjection *hesht* 'hush' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

heshtë f, pl. *heshta* 'spear'. A derivative in *-shtë* based on *hell* (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *LKUBA* 214, 330). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 151 (from Lat *hasta* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 238 (follows JOKL).

hetoj aor. *hetova* 'to search, to inquire, to discover'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. Borrowed from Lat *ēdictāre* 'to announce'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lith *skaitýti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

hë ~ **hê** adv. 'now', interj. 'well'. From PAlb **skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skīnan* 'to shine', with a semantic development similar to that of E *in a twinkling.* ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 431; KLUGE 640.

hëpërhë ~ **hêpërhê** adv. 'just, actually, in fact'. A univerbation of *hë për hë*, a sequence including the advedrb *hë*.

hënë ~ **hanë** f *hëna* ~ *hana* 'moon'. From PAlb **ksandā* further com-

pared with Skt *cándati* '(he) shines, is bright', *candrá-* 'shining; moon' (MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 59). From the point of view of word-formation, the Albanian word is particularly close to Celt **kando-*: W *cann* 'white', MBret *cann* 'full moon'. ◊ SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208 (to Av *sand-* 'to be visible'); GÜNTERT *Ablaut* 91-92; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (to Skt *chandati*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69-70 (reconstructs **skand-nā*); HASDEU *EMR* II 37; ERNOUT-MEILLET 92; MAYRHOFER I 372-373; POKORNY I 526; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 57 (on the development of *-nd-* > *-n-*); HULD 74; SCHRIJVER *Latin* 428; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAlb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 199-200 (to *hie* or to Lat *annus* 'year').

hi ~ hî m 'ash'. From PAlb **skina*, a form with *s mobile* related to Lat *cinis* 'dust, ash' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 67). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (reconstructs **ŝkino-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 217-218; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Skt *edhas-* 'fire-wood'); HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (groundless reconstruction of **Hidh-no-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124; HULD 74.

hidhët adj. 'bitter, sad'. Derived from *hidhem* 'to jump, to overflow, to walk over', reflexive of *hedh*. The verb *hidhëroj ~ hidhënonj* 'to sadden' has the same source. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 157 (to Pol *jędza* 'fury' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 16; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἴθω 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 28; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60 (to αἴξ 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127 (to *hi*); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *scindō* 'to split'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 200-201.

hidhës m, pl. *hidhës* 'stinging nettle'. Related to *hidhët* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 238). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (uncertain connection with Gk κνίδη id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἴθω 'to burn').

hije f, pl. *hije* 'shadow'. Singularized plural of an archaic *hē* going back to PAlb **skijā*. This form is connected with IE **ŝkāi- ~ *ŝkī-*: Skt *chāyā́* id., Gk σκιά id. (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 149-150, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 60-63; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (separates *hije* from *he*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 439; HAMP *Laryn-geals* 131; FRISK II 730-731; CHANTRAINE 1017; MAYRHOFER I 407; POKORNY I 917-918; ÇABEJ *St.* III 139, VII 277; HULD 74-75; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 33, 61; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathe-sis of IE **sk-* > PAlb **ks-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201.

hikërr f, pl. *hikrra* 'sour milk; buckwheat'. This form, with a secondary prothetic *h-*, goes back to PAlb **eikrā*, an *r*-derivative of *ik, ikëj*. For the semantic development of the Albanian word cf. Germ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate' < *rinnen* 'to run'.

hime pl. 'bran'. From PAlb **skeidma*, a morphological innovation based on IE **skeid-men-*, further connected with Goth *skaidan* 'to divide', Lith *skíedžu, skíesti* 'to make thin' and, in particular, with Lith *skiemuõ* 'opening used to insert the shuttle' < **skeid-men-*. ◊ KLUGE 641; FRAENKEL 805-806; POKORNY I 921; FEIST *Goth.* 427; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (identical with *imtë*).

himtë adj. 'grey'. Derived from *hi*.

hingël f, pl. *hingla* 'girth'. Borrowed from Rom **hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* 'mule'.

hingëlloj aor. *hingëllova* 'to whinny, to neigh'. Borrowed from Rom **hinniculāre*, an expressive form based on Lat *hinnīre*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 151-152 (connected with Lat *hinnīre* 'to whinny, to neigh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

hinje interj. 'behold, now, there'. A sequence of two interjections: *hi* identical with *hë* and *nje*, a form of *njoh* (CAMARDA II 156; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (follows CAMARDA but also compares *hinje* with *inj*).

hip(ëj) ~ hypi aor. *hipa ~ hypa* 'to go up'. From PAlb **skūpa*. If *s* mobile can be suggested here, the verb with its unusual long grade could be compared with Lith *kùpti* 'to rise', Latv *kupt* 'to gather, to build up'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 17 (to IE **upo* 'over, up'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 591; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127-128 (to Skt *úpa* 'up, hither'), *St. Whatmough* 88, *SCL* XXVIII/1 74.

hir m, pl. *hire* 'grace, favor, mercy'. From PAlb **skīra* etymologically connected with Goth *skeirs* 'clear', Slav **ščirъ* 'clean' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 71). ◊ CAMARDA I 70 (identifies *hir* with χάρις 'favor, grace'); MIKLOSICH *Bulg. Siebenb.* 123 (from Gk χάρις); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Gk σκίρον 'white parasol born by a priestess'); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (follows BUGGE); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66-67 (similar

to CAMARDA); KLUGE 647-645; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 432; POKORNY I 917-918; VASMER IV 507-508; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk χάρις); ÇABEJ *St.* I 239-240 (singularized plural of **her* which, in its turn, is an umlauticized form of **har*; the latter comes from Gk χάρις); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201-202 (possibility of *hir* borrowed from Gk ἱερός 'holy').

hirrë f 'whey'. From PAlb **ksirā* to be compared with Skt *kṣīrá-* 'milk', Osset *æxšir* id. (PEDERSEN *IF* V 45; *KZ* XXXVI 277). Note that Alb *-rr-* seems to reflect an intervocalic **-r-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Gk ὀρός id., Skt *sará-* 'flowing'); MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Slav **syrъ* 'cheese' - phonetically impossible), *Alb. St.* III 43 (to Lat *serum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28 (to Lith *kartùs* 'bitter'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 145-146; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows PEDERSEN); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 9-10 (to ON *skyr* 'sour milk' < Gmc **skurjan*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 132; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (follows LIDÉN); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148-149; MAYRHOFER I 290; MILLER *Osset.* 15; HUBSCHMID *XII LFR* II 978 (connected with Mantuan *scaron* id. borrowed from Messap **skar-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *LB* XXIV/4 49 (links *hirrë* to *urdhë* and reconstructs **sk̑erHinā*); HULD 75; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; DEMIRAJ *AE* 202-203.

hisëll ~ hîsëll m, pl. *hisëlla ~ hîsëlla* 'burning nettle'. Goes back to **hithëll*, a derivative of *hith*. Another form belonging here is *hiskull* id. influenced by *hisk* 'sharp and long (of bull's horns)'. Nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (connection between *hisk* and *hiskull*).

(G) hitas aor. *hiteta* 'to hurry'. Borrowed from Slav **xytati*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xitam* id., SCr *hitati* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◊ SVANE 256.

hith m, pl. *hitha* 'blight, burning nettle'. Apparently, from **hidh* with an irregular auslaut unvoicing (but cf. *gjeth*!), further connected with *hedh*, see JOKL *Stud.* 29-30. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Gk κνίδη id.).

hjedhët adj. 'slim, long and thin'. Derived from *hjedh*, a phonetic variant of *hedh*. Note also *hjedhë* 'chaff' coming from the same source.

hjekës m, pl. *hjekës* 'mediator, accessory, receiver of stolen goods'. Derivative of *hjek*, a dialectal variant of *heq* (MANN *HAED* 160).

hobe f, pl. *hobe* 'catapult, sling'. A dialectal form of *bahe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240).

hoje f, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. A singularized plural of *huall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 146 (to *halë*).

hokë f 'joke, jest'. An onomatopoeia imitating laughter. ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 95 (borrowed from Lat *jocus* 'jest, joke'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (identifies *hokë* with *okë* 'measure of weight', from Turkish).

hokoç m 'uncastrated boar'. Other variants are *hakoç, harkoç*. A suffixal derivative of **hark* ~ **hork* imitating pig's grunting. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 153 (to Pers *xuk* 'pig'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 232 (related to *harr*).

hollë adj. 'thin, fine, slender, slim'. From PAlb **skāla* further compared with IE **skel-* 'to cut': Lith *skeliù, skélti* 'to split, to divide', MIr *scáilim* 'to let go' and the like (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 99). ◊ LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (to Slav **xoliti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt* 72 (to Gk σκῶλος 'picket, stake'), *Hymje* 34; FRAENKEL 800; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἀλέω 'to grind'); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP); VENDRYES [S] 28-29; POKORNY I 924-925; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 227; HULD 75-76; CLACKSON *LR* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203 (to Gk αὐλός 'reed flute').

hop m, pl. *hope* 'instant, moment; jump'. A descriptive stem, cf. E *to hop* (MEYER *Wb.* 153).

horr m, pl. *horra* 'villain, scoundrel, rogue, pauper, miser'. Together with fem. *horre* 'shameless woman, whore', it represents a pair of Germanic loanwords, cf. Goth *hors* 'adulterer' - ON *hóra* 'whore', OHG *huora* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 153 (borrowed from Turk *hor* 'bad, small'); KLUGE 321; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

hu ~ hû m, pl. *hunj* 'picket, stake, pole, penis'. Continues PAlb **skuna* with a secondary nasal suffix, going back to the earlier **skuja* identical with Slav **xujь* 'penis'. Further parallels are represented by OIr *scé* 'hawthorn', Lith *skujà* 'pine-needle', Latv *skuja* id., Slav **xvoja* id. (PEDERSEN *Zb. Jagić* 218). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 83-84 (to Gk ξύλον); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15; VENDRYES [S] 37; FRAENKEL 821; POKORNY I 958;

TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE **sk-* > PAlb **ks-*).

huaj ~ huej adj. 'foreign, strange'. From PAlb **ksānja* further connected with an isolated Gk ξένος, Dor ξένϛος 'stranger, guest' (MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 59-60). ◊ CAMARDA II 204 (to Lat *hostis* 'stranger, foreigner, guest'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 124; PEDERSEN *IF* V 59; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29 (based on *ha*, cf. Lat *hostis* - Skt *ghásati* 'to eat'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 106; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 93 (follows MEYER), L 55; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 333-334; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131, *Anc. IE* 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 240-241 (adduces OAlb *uoj* as an argument against MEYER's etymology); HULD 76; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203-204 (semantically unacceptable hypothesis: from **o̯uos* 'that' →'other' → 'strange').

huall ~ huell m, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. Goes back to PAlb **skāla* further related to *hollë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 241).

hudhër f, pl. *hudhra* 'garlic'. A more archaic phonetic form is represented by the variant *hurdhë* continuing PAlb **skurdā*, etymologically connected with Gk σκόροδον id. (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59, 72). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 160, 331; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78-80, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 121; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; FRISK II 738; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 121; CHANTRAINE 1021; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; HAMP *LB* XX 116-117 (reconstructs *o*-grade); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 204-205.

hudhëroj aor. *hudhërova* 'to throw, to fling'. Derived from *hudh-*, a morphonological variant of *hedh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

hukas aor. *hukata* 'to shout'. Borrowed from Slav **xukati* id. (SVANE 257).

hulumtoj aor. *hulumtova* 'to follow up, to track out, to investigate'. A parallel form *hulmëtoj* is phonetically closer to the source which is Rom **inventāre* based on Lat *invenīre* 'to find out'. The complicated phonetic history of this word includes the assimilation of *-v-* to the preceding *-n-* and then the dissimilation of two nasals and the loss of the second one. Finally, a prothetic *h-* was added. The irregularities may reflect an unusual way of the word acquisition (via hunters' slang?).

hulli f, pl. *hulli* 'furrow'. Another variant is *holli*. A derivative of *hollë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 241). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lith *skil̃vis*).

humb aor. *humba* 'to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss', to drown. From a nasal present *skumba compared with IE *skeubh-: Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push away, to reject', Lith *skumbù, skùbti* 'to hurry, to hasten' (PISANI *Saggi* 109). As to *hup* 'to lose, to spoil, to miss', it may be a back formation based on *humb*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (connects *humb* with *hup*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 36-37 (*hup* to Lat *sūpō* 'to upset, to overturn'); PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRAENKEL 820; POKORNY I 955; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128 (to *hipëj*), *SCL* XXVIII/1 75; FEIST *Goth.* 9; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 232; OREL *IF* XCIII 109 (compares with *hup* and reconstructs *skupa ~ *skumpa further connected with Slav *čupati to pinch, to tear, to break'), *TBK* 192.

hundë f, pl. *hundë* 'nose'. Goes back to PAlb *skun-tā derived from *skuna > *hu* (MEYER *Wb.* 152-153). The verb *hundohem* 'to sneer, to turn up nose' is derived from *hundë* (CAMARDA II 143-144). ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 16; BARIĆ *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *sentiō* 'to feel'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276, *Stratificazione* 90; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 127 (accepts MEYER's etymology); HULD 76 (fantastic comparison with IE *nas- 'nose'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (on *hundohem*); OREL *Ètimologija 1985* 180 (against HULD).

huptë aor. 'stale (of bread); forming a hard crust (of snow)'. Derivative of *hup*, see *humb*.

hurbë f, pl. *hurba* 'swallow, mouthful'. Another variant is *hurp* which also functions as a verb 'to swallow'.From PAlb *skurbā etymologically linked to Lith *skerbiù, skerbti* 'to cut deep', Latv *šķir̃ba* 'fissure, slot', Slav *ščьrba id. ◊ FRAENKEL 801, 807; VASMER IV 503-504; ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (onomatopoeia).

hurdhe f, pl. *hurdhe* 'ivy'. The parallel form is *urdhe*. A singularized plural going back to PAlb *wurdā connected with other reflexes of IE *u̯r̥dho-: OE *word* 'thorn-bush', Lat *rubus* 'bramble-bush'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (to Skt *pŕ̥śni-* 'spotted'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 445-446; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 405; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

hurdhë f, pl. *hurdha* 'pond, pool'. Another variant is *urdhë*. Continues PAlb *wurdā, a derivative in *-dh- further related to Slav *virъ 'whirlpool', *variti 'to cook', Lith *vérdu, vìrti* id. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 30-

31 (to Skt *vā́r-* 'water'); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 1263; VASMER I 275; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236-237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

(G) hut adj. 'vain, empty'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. From PAlb **uta*, an adjective in **-to-* based on IE **euə- : *u̯ā-* 'empty', cf. similar formations in **-no-*: Skt *ūná-* 'missing', Lat *vānus* 'empty' and the like. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 31 (to Gk αὔτως 'vain, empty'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 731-732; CHANTRAINE 382; POKORNY I 345; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 262; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124 (onomatopoeia); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hutë f, pl. 'vulture, owl'. Another variant is *utë*. Borrowed from MGk ὦτος 'horned owl'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' < Gk ὦτος); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Lat *ōtus*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

hutloj aor. *hutlova* 'to deceive'. Together *hutrrohem* 'to be astonished', derived from unattested nouns **hutël* and **hutërr* (cf. *hutrrojë* 'silly old woman'), both of them based on *hutoj*.

hutoj aor. *hutova* 'to astonish, to daze'. Derived from *hutë* figuratively denoting 'fool, dolt' (MANN *HAEW* 164). ◊ HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Geg *hut*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 227.

hyj m, pl. *hyja, hyj* 'god'. Singularized plural of *yll*, *hyll* 'star' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438) coined by BOGDANI (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 150 (connects *hyj* with *hije*); KRISTOFORIDHI 135, 139 (same as MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 64-65 (reconstructs **hye* continuing IE **sk̂ēini-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to ON *skuggi* < IE **skuu̯i̯-*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 88.; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

hyj ~ hŷj aor. *hyra ~ hyna* 'to enter'. The anlaut *h-* is prothetic. Goes back to a denominative PAlb **eiwinja* or **eiwanja* based on **eiwi- ~ *eiwa*, related to IE **ei-* 'to go, to walk' and etymologically close to Skt *éva-* 'speedy', Lith *at-eĩvis, at-éiva* 'newcomer, stranger', *pér-eiva* 'tramp, vagrant'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18 (reconstructs **sūpni̯ō*, further to Lat *sub* 'under' and the like); FRAENKEL 119; MAYRHOFER I 129; POKORNY I 293-297; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125-126 (to Skt *ava-* 'off'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (connects *hyj* with *-y-*, reflecting a contraction of **-oi- < *-odi-*, to IE **sed-* 'to go').

I

ijë f, pl. *ijë* 'hip, side'. Borrowed from Lat pl. *īlia* 'groin, flank' (CAMARDA I 70-71; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 243; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

ikëj aor. *ikëna* 'to go away, to run away'. A more archaic form of present is *ik*; there exists also a form with a secondary initial *h-*. Continues PAlb **eika* further belonging to IE **ei-* 'to go' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 243). Similarly to Slav **jьdǫ* '(I) go' based on **idhi*, an old imperative of **ei-* (POLIVANOV *IORJaS* XXIV/2 349-350), Albanian present forms *ik, ikëj* are derived from the imperative *ik* which can be compared with Lith *eĩk, eĩki* 'go!' (OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 35-36, *Baltistica* XXI/2 156-157), with the suffix of imperative *-k-* of dubious origin (STANG *Norw.JLing.* XXX 127-131). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 158; BRUGMANN *IF* XXIX 404-412; LA PIANA *Studi alb.* I 193 (compares *ik* with Gk ἴκω 'to come'); BUGA *RFV* LVII 240 (on Lith *eĩki*); POKORNY I 293-294; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 227; OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

ikra pl. 'spawn, caviar'. Borrowed from Slav **ikra* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ikra*, SCr *ikra* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 149.

ilqe f, pl. *ilqe* 'holm-oak'. A singularized plural of **ilqë* borrowed from Lat *īlicem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1048; HAARMANN 130.

im pron. 'my'. A univerbated sequence consisting of the demonstrative pronoun **is* (see *ay*) and unstressed 1 sg. pronoun **me*.

imshtë f, pl. *imshta* 'oak grove'. Another variant is *ipshtë*. Derived from *imë, imtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244).

imtë adj. 'tiny, small'. Another variant is *imë*. Reflects PAlb **īma* continuing **īs-mos*, cf. Skt *īṣát* 'little, a little, slightly', Lith *ýsas* 'short', Latv *îss* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 158 (to IE **em-* 'to seize'); FRAENKEL 187; MAYRHOFER I 96; POKORNY I 299-300; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (derived from *hi*), 244 (to *hime*).

inj prep. 'up to'. A ghost word registered only by MITKO and being, in fact, a phonetic variant of *hinje* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 159 (to IE **eni* 'in'), *Alb. St.* III 66; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207.

irë adj. 'dun'. Related to *err*, with *i-* resulting from the paradigmatic alternation *e* ~ *i* in nouns. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 244-245 (links *irë* to *irëmadh* 'heroic' but the latter is a compound of *irë* 'heroism' and *madh*).

irë f. 'wrath, heroism'. Borrowed from Lat *īra* 'wrath'.

iriq m, pl. *iriqë, iriqa* 'hedgehog'. Borrowed from Lat *ēricius* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 112, 139.

iskër f, pl. *iskra* 'spark'. Borrowed from Slav **jьskra* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *iskra*, SCr *iskra* (MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SVANE 57.

ishull m, pl. *ishuj* 'island'. Borrowed from Lat *insula* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 245). As to *ishull* 'sunny place', it is the same word influenced by the analogy with *shullë*. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (etymological connection between *ishull* 'sunny place' and *shullë*).

ith prep. 'behind'. From PAlb **its*, a form of IE **eĝhs* 'from, out of' (MEYER *Wb.* 158, *Alb. St.* III 16). The change of meaning is a part of a wider semantic shift in the system of prepositions (see *nga*); the old meaning is preserved in the prefix *sh-* < **is-* < **its-* (partly influenced by a homonymous prefix of Latin origin continuing Lat *dis-*). The vowel of *ith* makes it extremely close to Slavic (**jьz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *ìš*, dial. Latv *iz*). Cf. normal vocalism of the same root in *jashtë*. ◊ MEYER *BB* XIV 53; PISANI *Saggi* 125; I 98 f.; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 421 (**i-* as the original vowel in this root); KARSTIEN *Festschr. Vasmer* 213; ENDZELIN *Latyš. predl.* I 98; FRAENKEL 188; WALDE - HOFMANN I 423 (reject the connection between *ith* and **eĝhs*); PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 292-293; POLÁK apud KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

ivë f, pl. *iva* 'embroidery pattern'. Borrowed from Slav **iva* in the same meaning as represented by Bulg *iva* and SCr *iva* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 245-246; SVANE 99.

izbë f. 'cellar'. Borrowed from Slav **istъba* 'house, cellar' attested in South Slavic in Bulg *izba* and SCr *izba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149). ◊ SVANE 54.

J

ja interj. 'behold, here, now'. A shortened form of *javo, javua* id., an early borrowing from Slav **avьnъ* 'manifest, obvious' in its adverbial function, with *-o, -ua* continuing **-ьnъ*. For South Slavic continuants of **avьnъ* cf. Bulg *javen*, SCr *javan.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 160 (uncertain connection with Slav **aviti sę* 'to appear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 246 (from NGk γιά in γιά δές id.); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jakë interj. 'come'. An isolated imperative form in *-k* (cf. *ik*) based on IE **i̯ā-* 'to go'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (compound consisting of *ja* and pronominal *kë-*); POKORNY I 296; ÇABEJ *St.* I 247 (transformation of the phrase *eja këtu* 'come here').

jam aor. *qeshë* 'to be'. From PAlb **es-mi* further connected with IE **es-* id. and identical with Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἰμί (BOPP 460, 472, 526; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 160-161). The aorist may be tentatively explained as a sigmatic formation based on IE **kʷel-* 'to turn, to revolve' (CAMARDA I 45), cf. Gmc **werdan* 'to become' in its connection with IE **u̯ert-* 'to turn, to revolve'. ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 9; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63, 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 83; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 64 (aorist compared with Latv *kļūt* 'to become'), *Saggi* 103; MAYRHOFER I 67; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 340-342; HAMP *Festschr. Beeler* 337-346 (derives 3 sg. *është* ~ *âsht* from **en esti* to be compared with Gk ἔνεστι); ÇABEJ *St.* I 247-248; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 113; OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 31-33 (nasalization in 3 sg. *është* ~ *âsht* < PAlb **ensti* explained by the influence of 3 pl. *janë* < **enti* < **es(o)nti*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (accentual opposition between 1 sg. *jam* and 1 pl. *jemi* in Proto-Albanian); HULD 76-77; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207-208.

jap aor. *dhashë* 'to give'. A parallel form is *ap*. Geg *nap* results from PAlb **en-apa* while *j-* in *jap* is explained as filling hiatus (PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 247) or resulting from the analogical influence of *jam* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 79). Thus, for Proto-Albanian, **apa* should be reconstructed as a parallel for IE **ap-* ~ **ēp-* 'to seize, to take': Skt *āpnóti* '(he) reaches, overtakes', Gk ἅπτω 'to fasten, to bind', Lat *apīscor* 'to grasp' and the like (BOPP 469; MEYER *Wb.* 13, *Alb. St.* III 31). Semantically, the Albanian word is particularly close to Hitt *epzi* '(he) gives' (HULD 77). For the paradoxical semantic development replacing one conversive with another cf. Hitt *da-* 'take' < IE **dō-* 'to give'. The aorist *dhashë* < PAlb **e-das-a* is based on the zero grade of IE **dō-* 'to give' (CAMARDA I 73, 127; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14). ◊ CAMARDA I 73, 127 (*jap* compared with Gk ἰάπτω 'to send, to drive on'; *dhashë* derived from **dō-*); JOKL *Studien* 32, *LKUBA* 26, *IF* XLIII 51-52, *Sprache* IX 118 (augment in *dhashë*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; LA PIANA *Vocale* 25, *Studi* I 23; MAYRHOFER I 76; FRISK I 126-127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 57-58; POKORNY I 50-51, 223-226; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 4 (< IE **epi-d(o)H-i̯ō*, cf. Gk ἐπιδίδωμι 'to give freely'); HULD 150; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 42 (reconstructs **dodHs-* as the source of *dhashë*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (reconstruction of the aoristic paradigm); OREL *Ètimologija 1982* 154 (parallelism of *dhashë* < **e-dǝs-m̥* and Slav **daxъ*; traces of the augment), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349, 352; HAMP *KZ* CIII 291 (repeats JOKL and OREL in reconstructing the anlaut augment); DEMIRAJ *AE* 154-155.

jargë f, pl. *jarga* 'spit, phlegm'. From PAlb **ergā* related to Av *ǝrǝzant-* 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *aržùs* 'lusty'. ◊ POKORNY I 338; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 243.

jariçkë f, pl. *jariçka* 'pullet, chick'. Another variant is *jarickë*. Borrowed from Bulg *jarička*. ◊ POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (derived from Slav **jarica* 'one year old creature'); SVANE 140.

jarinë f 'ripe fruit'. Borrowed from Slav **jarina* 'harvest', cf. in South Slavic continuants: SCr *jarina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160.

jarm m 'yoke'. Borrowed from Slav **arьmъ* id., cf. South Slavic continunants: OCS *jarьmъ*, Bulg *jarem*, SCr *jaram* (MEYER *Wb.* 161). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 156; SVANE 28.

jashtë adv. 'outside'. From PAlb **e(k)šta* derived from IE **eĝh-s* 'out': Gk ἕξ, Lat *ex* and the like (CAMARDA I 36, 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 248-249). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24 (from Lat *extra*); MEYER *Wb.* 161 (from Rom **extus* parallel to Lat *intus*), *Alb. St.* IV 49; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85 (reconstructs **eĝhs-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 527; WALDE-HOFMANN I 423; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 257; HULD 77.

javë f, pl. *javë* 'week'. Borrowed from Lat *hebdomas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 162) treated as a nominative in *-a*. The group *-bdm-* yields Alb *-v-*. ◊ SKOK *AArbSt.* II 343 n. 3; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; HAMP *GjA* XVII (8) 121-129.

jaz m, pl. *jaza* 'mill-stream'. Borrowed from Slav **ězъ* 'dam, weir', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jaz*, SCr *jaz* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 11). ◊ SVANE 44.

je f. 'permission'. A phonetic variant of *leje*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 162 (to Skt *yós-* 'welfare, happiness' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 40, 63; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 253 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 32 (to Skt *ávi-* 'favorable'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (*je* as a variant of the particle *le* semantically misinterpreted by MEYER).

jeh m. 'echo'. A scholarly borrowing from Lat *ēcho* id. Used as a basis for the formation of *jehoj* 'to echo' and *jehonë* 'echo'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (Greecisized Ital *eco* id.).

jerm m 'delirium, absent-mindedness'. Goes back to PAlb **erma* etymologically identical with Lith *er̃mas* 'monster', Latv *ę̄rms* 'wonderful apparition', *ę̄rmi* 'wonders, miracles'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 32; FRAENKEL 122; POKORNY I 58; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 56, 75 (to Thr **ermas*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 250, VII 205, 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

jes aor. *jeta* 'to remain'. From PAlb **etja*, a denominative of *jetë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (suggests IE **et-* or **ed-* but without any meaning); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76 (to IE **sed-* 'to sit); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134, 186; XHUVANI *KLetr* I 5; ÇABEJ *St.* I 250-251 (to Phryg ειτου, 3 sg. opt. 'let him be').

jetë f, pl. *jetë* 'life'. Goes back to PAlb **eta*, related to the isolated group of Gk ἐτεός 'true, real', ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτάζω 'to test'. ◊ CAMARDA I 122 (to *jes*); MEYER *Wb.* 163 (from Rom **aeta* > Arum *eta* 'world, life', a back-formation of Lat *aetās* 'age'), *Alb. St.* IV 12; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1056; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 156 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 216; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 23 (reconstructs IE **ai̯u̯otā* > MW *oed* 'world'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133-134; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 9; ÇABEJ *St.* I 251-252; FRISK I 578-581; HAMP *ERPh.* 41-43 (supports MEYER); HULD 78; LANDI *Lat.* 71; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

jezull m 'cloud of dust or smoke; ashes'. A secondary formation based on *jezer* id. - a metaphoric usage of Slav **ezerъ* 'lake' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 252). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 7 (to Gk αἴθαλος 'soot').

jo part. 'no'. Borrowed from Germ *ja* via Slavic languages of Austro-Hungary (FRIEDRICH *IF* LX 164). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 37 (from IE **eneu*: Goth *inu* 'without', Skt *ano* 'not'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

jonë f, pl. *jona* 'echo'. Phonetic transformation of *jehonë*, see *jeh.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (secondary attraction of *jonë* and *jehonë*).

josh aor. *josha* 'to curl, to fondle, to caress'. From PAlb **jāudsja* etymologically connected with IE **i̯eudh-*: Skt *yúdhyate* 'to fight, to struggle', Tokh A *yutk-* 'to take care of, to trouble about', Lith *jáudinti* 'to excite, to arouse' (OREL *FLH* VIII 44). ◊ FRAENKEL 195-196; POKORNY I 511; MAYRHOFER III 19-20; VAN WINDEKENS I 612; ÇABEJ *St.* I 252-253 (identifies *josh* with *osh* 'skimming', from Turkish *hoş* 'pleasant'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

joshë f, pl. *josha* 'grandmother'. Originally an element of the nursery vocabulary, this word is based on *josh* and identical with *joshë* 'caress' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 209). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (to *gjysh*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 37-38 (same etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 37-39 (to **āt-si̯ā* derived from *atë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 253; DEMIRAJ *AE* 209.

ju pron. 'you'. From PAlb **ju* identical with Lith *jū̃s* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk ὑμεῖς id., Skt acc. *yuṣmán* id. (BOPP 464; CAMARDA I 95; MEYER *Wb.* 163, *Alb. St.* III 40), with the short vowel generalized from the oblique stem. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 291; PEDERSEN

Festskr. Thomsen 252-253 (eliminates the hiatus *j-* and reconstructs **u* < **u̯es*), *KZ* XXXVI 103; JOKL *IF* XLIX 275; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135 (follows PEDERSEN); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (reconstructs **jūs*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (agrees with MEYER); MINSHALL *Language* XXII 627; MAYRHOFER III 24; FEIST *Goth.* 305; FRAENKEL 199; FRISK II 963-964; POKORNY I 513-514; HULD 78-79, *JIES* VII 203-207 (rejects MEYER's etymology because of the short vocalism reflected in Albanian, and reconstructs *ju* < **u̯es*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (cliticized form of IE **i̯uH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 209 (from **usm-* present in oblique cases based on **u̯es*).

jud m 'mythological monster'. Borrowed from Slav **judъ* ~ **juda* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *juda*. ◊ LAMBERTZ *Alb. Märchen* 26 n. 8 (links *jud* with the name of Judas); ÇABEJ *St.* I 253 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

jug m 'South, Southern wind'. Borrowed from Slav **jugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *jug*, SCr *jug* (MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 175.

K

ka m, pl. *qe* 'ox'. From PAlb **kaxa* going back to **koso-*, a nominal derivative of IE **kes-* 'to scratch, to cut'; cf. Slav **volъ* 'ox' ~ **valiti* 'to throw down' > 'to castrate' (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 52-53). ◊ BOPP 491 (from IE **g^u̯ōu-*); STIER *KZ* XI 150 (same as BOPP, adduces Venet *ceva* 'cow'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (same as STIER); MEYER *Wb.* 164 (compares *ka* with Lith *kárvė* 'cow', Slav **korva* id. and the like); JOKL *WuS* XII 68-69, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137; MANN *Language* XVII 22 (to Goth *auhsa*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 175; POKORNY I 585; *SGGJa* I 58; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 86, *Münch. St. Spr.* 59; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; OREL *Balcanica* 114 (a substratum loanword reflecting IE **g^u̯ōu-* 'bull'), *LB* XXVIII/4 52-53, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360; TRUBAČEV *Živ.* 43-44, *ÈSSJa* XI 108; TOPOROV *PJa* IV 47 (repeats MEYER's etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 210 (to Gk κεμάς 'deer's calf').

kabisht m, pl. *kabishta* 'earwig'. A derivative in *-shtë* based on an unattested **kab* continuing PAlb **kaba*. The latter is related to Lith *kabė́ti*

'to hang', *kabà* 'crooked tree' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 200-201; POKORNY I 918.

kacabu ~ kacabû pl. *kacabunj* 'beetle, stagfly'. A compound consisting of *kaca* and *bu* < PAlb **buna*, a word of descriptive nature for 'beetle'. As to *kaca*, it is a form of *kac* 'goat' (see *kec*). In several words, it appears as an expressive prefix (cf., for example, *kacafik* 'hut', *kacafytem* 'to fight'), occasionally meaning 'up, over'.

kacadre ~ kacadrê m 'stagbeetle, grasshopper'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *dre* 'deer'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (a variant of *karkalec*).

kacagjel adv. A part of an idiom *rri kacagjel* 'to brag'. Represents a compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *gjel*.

kacamit m 'stag'. The word *kacamic* 'roebuck' is obviously a phonetic variant of *kacamit*. A compound of *kaca-* (see *kacabu*) and *mitë*. For the meaning of the latter cf. dialectal *mitëz* 'roe' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 182 (*kacamitë* 'deer, roe' borrowed from Ital **camozzetta* 'chamois', cf. *camozza* id.).

kacarroj aor. *kacarrova* 'to climb, to clamber'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rroj*.

kacarrum aor. *kacarruma* 'core of corn-cob, corn-cob'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rrum*.

kacek m, pl. *kacekë* 'wineskin'. Back-formation based on *kaciq* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254).

kacë f, pl. *kacë* 'butt, barrel, bin'. Borrowed from Slav **kadьca* 'barrel', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kaca*, SCr *kaca* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154). ◊ SVANE 68.

kaciq m, pl. *kaciq* 'kid, wineskin'. Borrowed from NGk κατσίκι id. (MEYER *Wb.* 185). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 254 (related to *kec*).

kaç m, pl. *keç, keçër ~ keçën* 'weaver'. Borrowed from Slav **tъkačь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants in Bulg *tъkač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 182). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171.

kaçel adj. 'lame'. A prefixal derivative based on *çal*. The prefix *ka-* has also a variant *kë-* (see below).

kaçile f, pl. 'basket, hand-basket'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *kashile*. Borrowed from Lat *quasillum* 'small basket' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254-255). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 202 (borrowed from Slav **košul'a* 'basket'); KRISTOFORIDHI 147 (to Gk κύστις 'bag, pouch'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 104, 110.

kaçorr m 'leveret'. A phonetic variant of *kafshor* ~ *kafshuar*, derivative of *kafshë*. For the source of *-ç-* cf. *kaçile*.

kaçorre f, pl. *kaçorre* 'hut, hovel'. A phonetic variant of *kashtore* 'straw hut', derivative of *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254).

kaçubë f, pl. *kaçuba* 'bush'. An early Slavic loanword, from **kočubъ/*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 138-139). See *kaçubël*. ◊ HAAS *LB* I 37, 46 (to Skt *kakubh-* 'peak, summit'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk κόσυμβος); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *ka-*); VARBOT *Ètimologija 1968* 68; ÇABEJ *St.* I 256-257; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kaçubël m 'kind of a small bird'. An early Slavic loanword from **kočubejь/*kočubelь* 'lark' attested only in Ukr *kočubej* and derived from **kočubъ/*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (VARBOT *Ètimologija 1968* 68). Cf. also such Albanian derivatives as *kaçybet* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 183: erroneously compares with Slav **kobьсь* 'kind of bird'). ◊ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kaçul m 'shock (of hair or feather), crest; penis (of infants)'. Borrowed from Slav **kočulъ/*kačulъ*, a prefixal derivative of **čulъ* 'hornless; piece of wood; penis', cf. Bulg *kačul* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 183 (*kaçul* 'penis' borrowed from Ital *cazzo* id.); SVANE 147.

kaçule f, pl. *kaçule* 'hood'. Phonetically developped from **kashulë*. Borrowed from Lat *casula* 'hut', later 'hooded coat'. ◊ MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κατσοῦλα 'hood, cap').

kaçup m, pl. *kaçupe* 'skin (for wine or oil)'. A masculine form of *kaçubë* with the unvoicing of the auslaut *-b*.

kaçurrel adj. 'frizzy, curly'. A derivative of **kaçurrë*, an early borrowing from Slav **kočura* 'hummock', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

kade f, pl. *kade* 'barrel'. A singularized plural of **kadë* borrowed from Slav **kada* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kada*, SCr *kada* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cadus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 276; SVANE 68; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kadis aor *kadita* 'to burn incense'. Borrowed from Slav **kaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kad'a*, SCr *kaditi* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186). ◊ SVANE 209, 234.

kadoriqe f, pl. *kadoriqe* (bot.) 'layer, runner'. A singularized plural of **kadorik* borrowed from MGk κατῶρυξ id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 256).

kadh m 'sty'. Another variant is *kath*. From PAlb **kadza* related to Lith *kėštù, kė̃žti* 'to swell' *kėžė́ti* 'to widen, to spread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 165; FRAENKEL 248-249; ÇABEJ *St.* I 271 (deminutive of *ka*).

kadhë f, pl. *kadha* 'pruning-knife, billhook with long handle'. From PAlb **kadā* etymologically connected with IE **(s)ke(n)d-*: Skt *skhadate* 'to split', Gk σκεδάννυμι 'to scatter, to disperse' and their cognates. ◊ FRISK II 721; MAYRHOFER III 507; POKORNY I 919.

kafkë f, pl. *kafka* 'skull'. Borrowed from MGk καῦκος 'kind of dish or bowl, patera' (MEYER *Wb.* 165-166). ◊ CAMARDA I 54 (to MGk καύκαλον 'dish, skull').

kafshë f, pl. *kafshë* 'animal, thing'. A relatively late loanword from West Balkan Romance continuant of Lat *causa* (CAMARDA I 53-54; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 166). A direct borrowing from Latin would have reflected as **kashë* (HULD 79). ◊ MEYER *Neugriech. St.* III 29 (with insurmountable semantic obstacles, from Lat *capsa* 'chest, box'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 (from Lat *capsa*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ

St. I 256-257 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 73, 110.

kafshoj aor. *kafshova* 'to bite'. Another variant is *kapshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *capessere* ~ *capissere* 'to seize, to snatch at' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (from Rom **capsāre* based on Lat *capere* 'to take'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1052 (from Rom **captiāre* 'to grasp'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 n. 1 (to Gk κάπτω 'to snap, to snatch', Slav **xapati* 'to seize, to grasp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257 (agrees with JOKL and also adduces *kap*).

kah prep. 'from, out, out of'. Immediately connected with *nga* id. Both prepositions require nominative. The underlying Proto-Albanian phraze must have been **(en) kaxa* continuing **(en) kʷo(d) so* '(in) which (is) this'. The original meaning, therefore, may be reconstructed as 'in' or 'wherein' but the whole system of prepositions was semantically transformed in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66-67 (to Gk πῃ 'in some way, to some place'); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to Gk κατά 'down'), *Alb. St.* III 4; VON BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 112 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

kakë f 'excrements'. A usual *Kinderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 166). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cacāre* 'to defecate').

kakërdhi f, pl. *kakërdhi* 'dung (of sheep or goat)'. A modified sequence consisting of *kakë* and *dhi*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*kakër-* to Gk κόπρος).

kakërdhiçë f, pl. *kakërdhiça* 'lizard'. Based on *kakërdhi*, a compound consisting of *kakë* and *rdhi* (to *hardhi*), cf. a similar formation in *hardhje*. Other compounds of the same type are *kakëzorrë*, *kakërdhok* 'frog (to *kakë* and *zorrë*) and *kakëzog* 'blindworm' - to *kakë* and *zog*, i.e. a creature excreting its children: the blindworm is viviparous. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 147 (variant of *hardhje*), 166-167 (on *kakëzog* and *kakëzorrë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 242-243 (borrowed from Gk κροκόδειλος 'crocodile').

kakole f, pl. *kakole* 'hip bone'. A phonetic variant of *kokall* 'bone' borrowed from NGk κόκκαλον id.

kakrruk m, pl. 'stone-fruit, hard nut'. A suffixal derivative of *kokërr* with a dialectal change of the unstressed *-o-* > *-a-* (MURATI *Probleme* 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (to Slav **orěxъ* 'nut').

kalakiç adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalaveshi*) and *kiç*.

kalaman ~ kalamâ m, pl. *kalamaj, kalamanë* 'child (till the age of 8-9)'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and **man*, derivative of *maj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (to Slav **kalъ* 'dirt', **kal'avъ* 'dirty'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257-258 (from Bulg *kalimana* 'female witness at a wedding').

kalamend aor. *kalamenda* 'to entangle, to confuse'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *mend*.

kalaqafë adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh)* and *qafë*.

kalavesh m, pl. *kalavesha* 'grape'. A compound consisting of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (cf. *kalamend, kalangërç* 'cramp' ~ *gërç* id.) and *vesh*, cf. *vesh rrush* 'grape' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258). As far as the origin of *kala-* is concerned, with its original meaning 'upside down', 'topsy-turvy', it may continue PAlb **kala* related to IE **k^{w}el-* 'to turn'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (*kala-* to Turk *kara* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 214 (*kala-* to Turk *kalan* 'rest, surplus'); POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (prefixes *ka-la-*).

kalb aor. *kalba* 'to let rot'. A denominative derived from PAlb **kalba*, see the singularized plural *qelb*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 221-222 (to *qelb*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (reconstructs IE **golbh-* and compares *kalb* with Slav **žely* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 137; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 284.

kalecë adv 'gently, quietly'. Other variants are *kalehtazi* and *kaletas*. The original form must have been **ka-leht-az*, consisting of the prefix *ka-* and **leht-az* derived from *lehtë*.

kalesh adj. 'hairy'. A prefixal derivative of *lesh* (MEYER *Wb.* 170). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104.

kalë m, pl. *kual, kuaj* 'horse'. Borrowed from Lat *caballus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 146; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 167). ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to Gk καβάλλης 'working horse'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *khára-* 'donkey'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (back formation of pl. *kuaj* borrowed from Slav **kon'ь*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 97, 137-138.

kalibe f, pl. *kalibe* 'hut'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **kolyba* id. Cf. *kolibe.* ◊ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84.

kalibobë f, pl. *kaliboba* 'lote, nettle-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **kalibobъ*, a compound of **kaliti* 'to make dirty' and **bobъ* 'bean' unattested in South Slavic.

kaliboç adv. 'on one's back'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (a variant of *kala-*, see *kalavesh*) and *boçë.* ◊ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 74 (on *kali-*).

kalihum adv. 'downwards, over and over'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *hum* < *humb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalis aor. *kalita* 'to sharpen, to cleanse (of metal)'. Borrowed from Slav **kaliti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kal'a*, SCr *kaliti* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 155, 386 (from NGk σκαλίζω 'to carve'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 258; SVANE 234.

kalivaç adv. 'in a group of three on a stem (of fruit and the like)'. Derivative in *-ç* of *kalivare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

kalivare adv. 'trickling down'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258-259).

kaloj aor. *kalova* 'to pass, to go past'. Borrowed from Rom **coallāre* < Lat *coambulāre* 'to go with'.

kalptoj aor. *kalptova* 'to fill with tow, to plug, to caulk'. A denominative based on a Turkish loanword *kallp, kallëp* 'form, model'.

(T) kaltër adj. 'blue, sky blue'. From Rom **calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish',

based on Lat *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis', cf. *calthula* 'yellow robe' (MEYER *Wb.* 170-171). ◊ OREL *Balcanica* 113-114 (from a substratum reflex of IE **ĝhel-* 'yellow'); HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

kall aor. *kalla* 'to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire'. From PAlb **kalna*, a denominative based on **kala*. The latter continues IE **k^uolo-* and must be related to *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 266 n. 1). ◊ CAMARDA I 149 (to Gk κέλλω 'to urge, to drive on'); MEYER *Wb.* 168 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (follows JOKL); JANSON *Unt.* 161; HULD 106-107; DEMIRAJ *AE* 210-211.

kalla pl. 'slander, calumny'. Literally, 'incitation'. Derivative of *kall* (CAMARDA II 67; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (to *kalli*).

kallëzoj aor. *kallëzova* 'to slander, to tell stories'. Derived from an unattested **kallëz*, a collective form of *kalla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168 (to *kall*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 260-261 (identifies this verb with *kallëzoj* 'to put ears of corn together', derived from *kallëz* 'ear of corn').

kalli m, pl. *kallinj, kallëza* 'ear of grain'. An archaic variant *kall* 'straw, chaff' is attested in Italo-Albanian. From PAlb **kalsa* related to Slav **kolsъ* 'ear of grain' (MEYER *BB* XIV 53; *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *Sprache* IX 151; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 270; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 152-153; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 211-212 (to Slav **kolъ* 'picket, stake').

kallm m, pl. *kallma* 'reed, straw'. Borrowed from Lat *calamus* 'reed, cane' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 261). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168-169 (together with *kallam* 'reed' borrowed from NGk καλάμι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 138-139.

kam aor. *pata* 'to have'. From PAlb **kapmi*, an athematic verb based on IE **kap-* 'to seize, to grasp', cf. Lat *capiō* id., Goth *haban* 'to have'. The aorist is etymologically related to Lat *potior* 'to take possession of' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 171, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk ἔχω 'to possess, to have'); MEYER *Wb.* 171 (to Goth *haban* and Lat *habeō* 'to have'), *Alb. St.* III 6; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 93, *KZ*

IXXXVI 308 (derives the aorist form *pot-to-); JOKL *LKUBA* 261; JOHANSON *IF* XIX 115; TREIMER *Slavia* III 455; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; ERNOUT-MEILLET 97; PISANI *Saggi* 98, 130; KLUGE 278; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159-160, II 350-351; POKORNY I 408, 842; FEIST *Goth.* 229; CAMAJ *Beitr. SOE* 41-44 (from **kë-am*, to **es-* 'to be'); HULD 167; JANSON *Unt.* 149-151; ÇABEJ *St.* III 130, VII 253; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 230; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212, 313-314 (*pashë* treated as a denominative derived from **poti-*).

kamare f 'cobweb'. A metaphoric usage of *kamare* 'vault' borrowed from NGk καμάρα id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 171-172 (borrowed from Lat *cammarus* 'sea-crab, lobster' or Gk κάμμαρος id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263 (follows MEYER).

kandër f, pl. *kandra* 'jar, vessel'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharus* 'large drinking vessel, tankard, pot' (LANDI *Lat.* 116, 145). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk κάνθαρος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (borrowed directly from Gk κάνθαρος 'drinking cup').

kandërr f, pl. *kandrra* 'insect'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharis* 'beetle, worm'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 173 (to Ital *canterella* 'Spanish fly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Greek); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263-264 (from Gk κάνθαρος 'beetle, scarab').

kanë f 'reed, rush'. Borrowed from Lat *canna* 'reed, cane' (MEYER *Wb.* 173-174), with the geminate preventing rhotacism in Tosk. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1051; HAARMAN 114.

kangjel m 'song'. Borrowed from Rom **canticellum* reflected in Rum *căntecel* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). Cf. *këngë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (Albanian derivative in *-el-* based on *këngë*).

kanushë f, pl. *kanusha* 'stork'. Borrowed from Rom **cānōsus*, derivative of Lat *cānus* 'white' MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *cicogna* 'stork'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24 (to SCr *kanja* 'vulture' and the like); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; HELBIG 90 (follows MEYER); HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 110, 114.

kap aor. *kapa* 'to seize, to grasp'. From PAlb **kapa* connected with IE **kap-* 'to seize': Gk κάπτω to 'snap', Lat *capiō* 'to seize, to take', Goth *haban* 'to hold, to have' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34). See *kam*. ◊ MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 174 (from Turk *kapmak* 'to catch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139-140; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; FRISK I 783-784; FEIST *Goth.* 229; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159; POKORNY I 527-528; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212-213.

kapasë f, pl. *kapasa* 'oil-barrel'. Borrowed from NGk καπάσα id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 33-34 (to *kap*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 266; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapë f, pl. *kapë* 'armful of corn; shock, pile'. From PAlb **kapā* identical with Gk κάπη 'manger, crib', further related to *kap* (KRISTOFORIDHI 141). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **kupъ*, Lith *kaũpas*); FRISK I 783-784; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 73.

kapërcej aor. *kapërceva* 'to cross, to jump over'. A prefixal derivative of *ecëj*, **ka-për-ecëj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Rom **capitiāre*).

kapërdij aor. *kapërdiva* 'to swallow'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdij*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242, 244.

kapërdhij aor. *kapërdhiva* 'to overturn, to subjugate'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdhe*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capovolgere* 'to turn upside down').

kapërthej aor. *kapërtheva* 'to entangle, to entwine'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-për-* based on *thyej*.

kapinë f 'bramble, blackberry'. A recent loanword from Maced *kapina* 'blackberry' with *-a-* < **-ǫ-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (from Bulg *kъpina* or SCr *kupina* id.).

kapis aor. *kapita* 'to exhaust, to wear out'. Often in passive - *kapitem*. Borrowed from Slav **kapiti* ~ **kapati* 'to get tired', cf. Bulg *kap'a* id., SCr *kapati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (based on NGk κόπος 'toil, suffering'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24; JOKL *Studien* 34 (to *qem*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (to *kap*); SVANE 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

kapruall ~ kapruell m, pl. *kaproj, kaprej, kaprenj* 'roebuck'. Borrowed from Lat *capreolus* id. with an innovative penultimate stress (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 78-80, 118.

kapt m, pl. *kapte* 'irrigation ditch'. A parallel form *kaptë* 'lee-side of mountain' also belongs here. An adjective in **-to-* based on *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 266). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (to *kaptoj*).

kaptoj aor. *kaptova* 'to cross, to pass through'. A more conservative form is *kapërtoj*. A phonetic variant of *kapërcej*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capitare* 'to arrive, to turn up'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266-267 (derivative of *kap*).

kapth m, pl. *kaptha* 'path, mountain path'. A derivative in *-th* based on an unattested **kap* continuing PAlb **kapa*. The latter is related to Lith *kāpas* 'grave', *kopà* 'dune', Latv *kãpa* 'dune' continuing IE **(s)kep-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 217; POKORNY I 932.

kapua ~ kapue m, pl. *kaponj* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *cāpōnem* 'capon' (MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Ital *capone* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1047 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 143-145.

kaq adv. 'so, so much, so many'. For the structure of this adverb see *aq*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (related to *aq*).

kar m 'penis'. Borrowed from Gypsy *kar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◊ TREIMER *MRIW* I 366; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141.

karabobe f, pl. *karabobe* 'lote, nettle tree'. Variant of *kalibobë* (MANN *HAED* 185).

karabush m, pl. *karabusha* 'corn-cob'. A prefixal derivative of *rabush*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141 (from Turk *kara baş* 'black head'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

karavelë f, pl. *karavela* 'small round bread'. Another variant is *kravelë*. A singularized plural of the original **karavalë* borrowed from Slav **korvajь* 'round bread', cf. in particular SCr *kravaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 177). The group *-ara-* < South Slavic *-ra-* is explained by the analogy with Turk *kara* 'black'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; ÇABEJ *St.* I 268; SVANE 92.

karbë f 'vulture'. From PAlb **kar(i)bā* related to Lith *kárti* 'to hang' and its cognates, cf. the semantic development of Slav **kobьcь* 'vulture' - to Lith *kabĕti* 'to hang'. In both cases, the basis of the semantic motivation is the well-known hunting position of the vulture "hanging" in the sky. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (to Bulg *kraguj*, SCr *kraguj* 'hawk'); JOKL *LKUBA* 304 (to *shkabë*, with an unorganic *-r-*); FRAENKEL I 224-225; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 101-102 (on the etymology of **kobьcь*).

karkalec m, pl. *karkaleca*, *karkalecë* 'grasshopper'. A transformation of Bulg *skakalec* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 178), probably, under the influence of *karkal* 'excrements' and similar descriptive forms.

karkashinë f, pl. *karkashina* 'lean sickly sheep; pottage of pulse and grain'. Derived from SCr *karkaša* 'carcass'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 179 (the word for pottage - from SCr adj. fem. *kokošinja* 'belonging or related to hen').

karkas aor. *karkata* 'to quack'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrkati* 'to caw, to croak, to quack', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrkam*, SCr *krkati*. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 216.

karmë f, pl. *karma* 'rock'. From PAlb **karpnā* further related to *karpë* (JOKL *Studien* 35). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

karpë f, pl. *karpa* 'rock'. From PAlb **karpā* related to Lith *kerpù*, *kir̃pti* 'to cut', Latv *cìrpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34-35). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 144 (related to the name of the Carpathian mountains, Καρπάτης ὄρος); ROZWADOWSKI *JP* II 161-162; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 24-26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); FRAENKEL 257-258; POKORNY I 944; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix *-pë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269, IV 74; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

karsh m, pl. *kersh* 'rocky area'. A parallel form is *kërshë*. Continues PAlb **kar-usa*, a derivative of IE **(s)ker-* 'to cut', semantically similar to *karpë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 207 (from SCr *krš* id.); POKORNY I 938-947; ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

kartë f 'measure of grain'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 269-270). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 134.

karthi f, pl. *karthi* 'dry firewood'. The same root is represented in *karthë* 'laburnum, golden rain'. A derivative in *-th-* based on **karë* from PAlb **karā* etymologically identical with Slav **kora* 'bark', Lith *kerù, kérti* 'to become separated' and further with IE **(s)ker-* 'to cut'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (from NGk κάρφος 'brushwood'); FRAENKEL 245; POKORNY I 938-947; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 44-45.

karrabisht m, pl. *karrabishta* 'earwig'. A compound of an expressive morpheme *karra-* (a variant of *kala-*) and *bisht*.

karrapuc adv. 'squatting'. A compound of an expressive *karra-* and an unidentified morpheme. Unclear.

karravesh m, pl. *karraveshë* 'stick'. A variant of *kalavesh*.

karrem m, pl. *karrema* 'rainworm'. A prefixal derivative of *rrime*.

karrë f, pl. *karra* 'cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 128, 139.

karrigë f, pl. *karriga* 'chair'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrīga* 'set of four' (here, of four legs). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12 (from Ital *cadrega, carega* 'chair'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047 (from Ital Venet *carega* 'chair'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280.

karroqe f, pl. *karroqe* 'bushel, milk-can'. A parallel form is *krroqe* 'measure made of bark, bucket'. Borrowed from Gmc **krūk-* 'jug', cf. OHG *krūche*, OE *crúce*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (uncertain comparison with Germanic and Celtic names of vessels); BŪGA III 721; KLUGE 407; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 61.

karrup m, pl. *karrupa* 'fish-trap'. An early borrowing from Slav **korupъ* attested in Bulg *korup* (BER 648). ◊ KLEPIKOVA *Sb. Bernštejna* 419-427.

karrutë f, pl. *karruta* 'fermenter'. An early borrowing from Slav **koryto* 'trough', see *koritë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 78, 142). ◊ SVANE 67.

kasnec m, pl. *kasnecë, kasneca* 'herald'. Borrowed from Slav **kaznьcь* id., cf. SCr *kaznac* (JOKL *LKUBA* 56-58). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179, 286; SVANE 193.

kastravec m, pl. *kastravecë, kastraveca* 'cucumber'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **kostrovьcь* id, cf. Bulg *krastavec, krastavica*, SCr *krastavac* (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 286; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; SVANE 106.

kashër f, pl. *kashra* 'reed, rush'. From **kashtër* related to *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 270).

kashnjet m, pl. *kashnjete* 'chestnut grove'. Borrowed from Lat *castanētum* id. See *gështenjë*.

kashtë f 'straw'. From PAlb **kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *LKUBA* 214, 274). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (to Gk κοσταί· κριθαί or ἀκοστή· κριθὴ παρὰ Κυπρίοις, Hes.); TREIMER *MRIW* I 366-367 (borrowed from Gypsy *kašt* 'wood'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 26-27 (to Slav **kostь* 'bone'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104 (prefix *k-* and equivalent of Slav **ostь*); HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 87-88, *Ètimologija 1971* 270-271; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213-214.

kashtup m, pl. *kashtupë* 'skin of corn-cob'. A derivative in *-up* based on *kashtë*.

katër num. 'four'. From PAlb **katur(a)* etymologically related to IE **kʷetur- ~ *kʷetu̯er-* id.: Skt *catvā́ra-*, Gk τέσσαρες, Lat *quattuor* and the like (CAMARDA I 169; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *BB* VIII 185). The vocalism of the second syllable is generalized according to the form of accusative **kʷeturm̥*. The vowel in the first syllable presents serious

difficulties. It may be explained by reduction similar to that of Lat *quattuor* (MANN *Language* XVII 17; HULD 79) and Slav **čьtyre* co-existing with **četyre* (but cf. TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 97). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 181 (from Lat *quattuor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); MANN *Language* XVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 883-884; MAYRHOFER I 371-372; WALDE-HOFMANN I 400-401; POKORNY I 642-644; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 244; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 79; HAMP *Numerals* 907-910.

katua ~ katue m, pl. *katonj* 'stable, basement, cellar'. Borrowed from NGk κατώγι < κατώγειον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 183). ◊ OREL *Subst.* 12 (from Iran **xata-* 'basement').

katund m, pl. *katunde* 'village'. A prefixal derivative of *tund* representing a calque of Slav **kolyba* 'hut' as based on **kolybati* 'to tremble, to shake'(cf. OREL *SOV. slav.* 1985/5 79-84). From Albanian, the word - originally, a name of a hut - was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (from Ital *cantone*); MEYER *Wb.* 183; BRÜCKNER *KZ* XLVIII 168; JOKL *IF* XXXIII 421-424 (from *ka-* and *tund* < **tn̥to-*, participle of *ndej*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 28-30 (from Proto-Bulgarian); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 388; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TANAS,OCA *RESEE* XXVII/1-2 139-144; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα 'suppellex,impedimenta,aedes in qua quis habitat'); MURATI *Probleme* 81; DEMIRAJ *AE* 214-215.

kazhup m, pl. *kazhupë* 'peasant coat'. An early borrowing from Slav **kožuxъ* 'coat made of skin', cf. *gozhup*.

ke prep. 'to, at'. From PAlb **kō* continuing the pronominal form **kʷōi* or **kʷōd* (MEYER *Wb.* 218, *Alb. St.* III 2). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 326 (analogical formation based on *ku*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

kedh m, pl. *kedhë, kedha* 'kid'. Other variants are *kec* and *keç*. An umlauticized form of PAlb **kadza* related to Slav **koza* 'she-goat' (*Alb. St.* III 4, 16; CIMOCHOWSKI LII 231). ◊ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (to Lat *hoedus*); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21 (from SCr *keca* 'sound used to call goats'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (borrowed from Gmc **kidjaz* 'kid' or Turk *käči* 'goat');

TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137-138; MLADENOV *Ist.* 192; PISANI *Saggi* 130; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XII 19-21; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kem m 'incense'. Another form is *qem*. From PAlb **kapna* etymologically identical with Gk καπνός 'smoke' and its cognates reflecting IE **ku̯ēp-* (JOKL *Studien* 37, *IF* XLIV 14). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (from **ked-mo-* and to Slav **čadъ* 'fumes, smoke'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31; FRISK I 781-782; POKORNY I 596-597; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (borrowed from Gk θυμίαμα 'incense' or Lat *thymiama* id.); DEMIRAJ *AE* 215-216.

kep aor. *kepa* 'to hew'. The basic deverbative is *kep* 'quarry; tip, point'. Continues the umlauticized PAlb **kapa* etymologically related to Gk κόπτω 'to hit, to hew', Lith *kapiù, kàpti* 'to hew' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 185, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 39-40 (connects *kep* with *sqep*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 914-915; FRAENKEL 218; POKORNY I 931; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (dialectal form of *qep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 216.

keq adj. 'bad, evil'. From PAlb **kakja* related to Gk κακός 'bad' (BOPP 490; CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 184-185, *Alb. St.* III 3). The disyllabic *keiq, këeq* seems to be an artefact going back to KAVALLIOTIS. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85 (borrowing from Rom **cadōcus*), *Gr. Gr.* 258; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327; JOKL *Studien* 35-36 (divides *këeq* > *keq* into a prefix *kë-* and the root *-eq* compared with Latv *īgns* 'sour', Lat *aeger* 'ill, sick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 145 (rejects JOKL's etymology for phonetic reasons); CIPO *BIShk* III/1 113-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; PISANI *Saggi* 128 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 380, 385 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); FRISK I 758-759; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 100 (from *kë* + *eq* = Latv *īgns*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 565; ÇABEJ *St.* I 273-274 (borrowing from Gk κακός > Alb **kak*, pl. **qeq* with the consequent analogical transfromation into *keq*); HULD 79-80; DEMIRAJ *AE* 216-217.

kerrmë f, pl. *kerrma* 'thorn-bush'. The umlauticized form of *karrmë*, variant of *karmë*.

kerrnjoj aor. *kerrnjova* 'to purr (of cat)'. As it becomes obvious from *kerrmëz* 'purr', the verb continues an earlier form **kerrmnjoj* which, therefore, is a loanword from Lat *carmināre* 'to sing, to make verses'.

ketër m, pl. *ketra* 'squirrel, dormouse'. Other variants are *ketërr, kitër*

and *kitërr*. From PAlb **kŏk-ter* related to Lith **kuokas* 'dance' (reconstructed from *kuokìnė* 'dancing party') and Slav **skakati* 'to jump, to spring'. At an early stage, borrowed to dialectal South Slavic **katerь*, attested in Bulg *katerica* 'squirrel' (OREL *Ètimologija 1980* 60-61). ◊ FRAENKEL 311-312; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (derivative of SCr *kita* 'tuft, cluster', Bulg *kita* id.); GEORGIEV *Въprosi* 41-42 (Bulg *katerica* from Thracian, with the ultimate reconstruction of **skŏk-ter-*); STANG *LS* 86; *BER* 271-272 (agrees with GEORGIEV); GINDIN, KALUŽSKAJA, OREL *BIssl.* 251; MURATI *Probleme* 83.

kezë f 'woman's head-dress, bonnet, hair-net'. Another variant is *kesë*. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested PAlb **kaxā* 'plaited hair' etymologically related to Slav **kosa* id., ON *haddr* 'woman's hair' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 114 (to Gk χαίτη 'long hair'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (from **krezë*, derivative of *krye*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 131-133.

këlboqe f, pl. *këlboqe* 'sputum'. A suffixal derivative of *kalb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 275).

këlqere f 'lime'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *calcāria* 'pertaining to lime' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 186). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1047, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 81, 111-112.

(G) këlshêjt m 'communion cup, chalice'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem sanctum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 221) both parts of which are preserved in *qelq* and *shenjtë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (believes the compound to be formed in Albanian rather than in Latin).

këlthas aor. *këlthita, klitha* 'to cry'. Together with *këlcas* 'to make noise', this form reflects a strong secondary influence of *kërcas*. However, originally, these verbs go back to a different source, Slav **klicati* ~ **klikati* 'to shout, to call'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (identifies *këlcas* with *kërcas*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100.

këlysh m, pl. *këlyshë, këlysha* 'young of animal, cub'. A derivative in *-ysh* of an unattested **kul* related to Gk κύλλα· σκύλαξ. 'Ηλεῖοι, Hes. further connected with σκύλαξ 'young dog, cub' (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 145 (borrowed from Lat *catulus* 'cub'); MEYER *Wb.* 186 (to Lith *kalė̃* 'dog, bitch' or W *colwyn* 'young dog, cub'); JOKL

LKUBA 259-264 (prefix *kë-* followed by *lysh* < **ludh-si̯o-*, to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 357-358 (to Lat *lutum* 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *kë-*); FRISK II 741; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 154-156 (from MGk κουλούκι(ον) 'puppy, young dog'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 218- 219.

këllas aor. *këllita, kalla* 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivative of *kall*. Note various deverbatives based on *këllas*, such as *këllëç* 'case' and *këllëf* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

këllk m, pl. *këllqe* 'hip bone'. Borrowed from East South Slavic continuants of **kъlkъ* 'hip': Bulg *kъlk*, Maced *kolk, kъlk*.

këmbë ~ kambë f, pl. *këmbë ~ kambë* 'leg, foot'. From Rom **camba ~ *gamba* 'leg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 178). Note that there are no traces of the variant *camba* in Balkan Romance. ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (compares with Gk καμπή 'bend'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (from IE **kampā*, cf. CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; OREL *Balcanica* 114-115; COROMINAS *DEC* II 645-646; ROHLFS *Spr.* 93-94 (borrowed from Gk καμπή 'foot joint of a horse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HULD 80 ("the direction of borrowing is uncertain"); LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 115.

këmborë ~ këmbonë f, pl. *këmborë, këmbora ~ këmbonë, këmbona* 'bell'. Borrowed from Rom **campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from *campana*). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk κύμβη 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *canpuone*), *Slavia* XIII 287.

këmishë f, pl. *këmishë* 'shirt'. Borrowed from Lat *camisia* 'linen shirt, night-gown' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114.

kënaq aor. *kënaqa* 'to please, to satisfy'. From PAlb **ka-nakja* closely related to Goth *ga-nah* 'to be enough', OHG *gi-nah* id. (OREL *Fort.* 79). These forms are based on IE **neḱ-*: Skt *náśati* 'to reach' and the like. Note the development of IE **-ḱi̯-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phonetically regular.

◊ JOKL *Studien* 36 (to Lith *nókti* 'to become ripe', Latv *nākt* 'to come'); WEIGAND 36 (prefixal derivative of *ëndë*); KLUGE 248; MAYRHOFER II 145; POKORNY I 316-318; FEIST *Goth.* 194; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275 (supports WEIGAND); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

kënd ~ kand m, pl. *kënde ~ kande* 'corner, angle'. An early borrowing from Slav **kǫtъ* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *canto* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk κανθός).

kënd pron. 'somebody'. From PAlb **kan tan*, a sequence of two pronouns continuing IE **k^uo-* and **to-* in acc. sg. See *kush*. ◊ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 35 (related to *kë*, acc. sg. of *kush*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276 (follows JOKL).

këndell ~ kandell aor. *këndella~ kandella* 'to make red-hot, to revive'. A denominative of *këndellë* (MANN *HAED* 193). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 40 (analyzes a dialectal variant *knell* as a prefixal form related to Goth *ganisan* 'to be healthy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 276 (repeats MANN's explanation); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

këndellë ~ kandellë f, pl. *këndella ~ kandella* 'lamp'. Borrowed from Lat *candēla* 'wax-light, tallow-candle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* I 276; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 116.

këndë ~ kandë f 'pleasure, appetite'. A prefixal derivative from *ëndë* (MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85). The verb *kënditem* 'to be sated' is derived from *këndë* as well as *këndis* 'to deceive', literally, 'to satiate somebody (with lies)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (*këndis* 'to deceive' - to Turk *kı namak* 'to torment' or to *gënjej*); JOKL *Studien* 33 (to *gdhij*).

këndirr aor. *këndirra* 'to choke, to suffocate'. A prefixal derivative of *djerr*: *kë-n-dirr*.

këndoj aor. *këndova* 'to sing'. Borrowed from Lat *cantāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; HULD 80; LANDI *Lat.* 40, 155.

kënetë f, pl. *këneta* 'marsh, valley'. Borrowed from Lat *cannētum* 'reeds, thicket of rushes'.

këngë ~ kangë f, pl. *këngë ~ kangë* 'song'. Borrowed from Lat *canticum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). As to *këngjelë ~ kangjelë* id., it continues Rom **canticella*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 115.

këpucë f, pl. *këpucë* 'shoe'. Derived from *këputë* 'sole', see *këpus*. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (from NGk παπούτσι 'slipper'); MEYER *Wb.* 188 (from Turk *papuş* 'slipper'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 214, 216.

këpujë f, pl. *këpujë*, *këpuja* 'round fruit, drop'. Borrowed from Slav **kapul'a*, derivative of **kapati* 'to drip'.

këpurdhë f, pl. *këpurdha* 'fungus, mushroom'. Another variant is *kërpudhë*. A derivative in *-dhë* of an unattested **këpur* related to Lith *kèpurė* 'cap', Latv *cępure* id. Thus, the mushroom is described as having a cap. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (borrowed from Bulg *pečurka* id., SCr *pečurka* id.); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 163-165 (prefixal form related to Gk παρδακός); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefox *kë-*); FRAENKEL 241; NEPOKUPNYJ *BSS* 40 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

këpus aor. *këputa* 'to tear off, to pluck'. Another variant is *kërpuc* 'to pinch, to pluck'. From PAlb **karputja*, a derivative verb based on an adjective in **-uta* reflected in *këputë* 'sole'. As to PAlb **karputa*, it is further related to *karpë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk κόπτω 'to strike, to hew'); MEYER *Wb.* 187-188 (from Rom **carputiō*, to Lat *carpō* 'to pick, to pluck'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

këpushë f, pl. *këpusha* 'tick, cattle-tick'. Other variant, with an unorganic *-r-*, is *kërpushë*. Derivative of *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 276-277). Borrowed to Rum *căpuşă*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krpelj* 'sheep louse'); PUŞCARIU *Dacoromania* II 594 (from Rum *căpuşă* id. based on *cap* 'head'); JOKL *IJ* XXIII VII 176 (derived from Lat *capere* 'to take'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274-275; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (from Bulg *kapuš* id.).

këqyr aor. *këqyra* 'to look, to observe'. A prefixal derivative of *qyr* (MEYER *Wb.* 230). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kërbaç m 'whip'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrbačь*, a derivative of **kъrbati*

'to scratch, to break', cf. SCr *korbač* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ SVANE 48.

kërbë f, pl. *kërba* 'tub, barrel'. From PAlb **karbā* related to Lat *corbis* 'basket', Lith *kar̃bas* id., Latv *kàrba* 'birch bark vessel', Slav **korbъ* 'basket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krbulja* 'small basket for berries' and the like); FRAENKEL 220; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 52-54.

kërbisht m 'sacrum, sacral bone'. A derivative of *bisht* with a prefix containing an unorganic *-r-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 277). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (to *gërbë*).

kërc m 'stump'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrčь* id. (Czech *krč* id., Slovene *krč* 'stubbed area, area cleaned of trees and stumps'). Note Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Alb *kërci* 'shinbone' and *kërcë* 'cartilage, gristle' belong to the same root. Cf. also *kërcu.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189; BARIĆ *ARSt* 39 (compares *kërci* with Lith *kárka* 'pig's foreleg'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90-91; VASMER II 340; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 191; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcas aor. *kërcita, kërcisa* 'to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound'. Borrowed from Slav **kričati* 'to cry, to shout' (MEYER *Wb.* 189; JOKL *LKUBA* 93). An early loanword with Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav **-č-*. Note that the verb **kričati* is not attested in this meaning in South Slavic where we have only SCr *kričati* 'to warn' (Slovene *kričati* 'to shout' could not be the source of the Albanian word). ◊ OREL *Ètimologija* 1980 61 (connects *kërcas* with *kërcej*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcej aor. *kërceva* 'to dance, to jump; to pour'. Further phonetically developed to *këcej.* This verb is derived from *kërc* 'stump', the main element of the Albanian pre-Christian sacral rite similar to South Slavic *badnjak.* The original meaning was 'to dance, to take part in a ritual dance'. The meaning 'to pour' is secondary - for a similar semantic development in Rom **salīre* see BUCK 677-678; ANIKIN *Ètimologija 1982* 67-69. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (from Slav **skočiti* 'to jump'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (derives *kërcej* from **katerj-*), *Trakite* 253-254; OREL *Ètimologija 1980* 61 (mistakenly connects *kërcej* with *kërcas*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

kërcëlloj aor. *kërcëllova* 'to grind one's teeth, to crack, to creak'. Based

on *kërcyell* 'stem, stalk' which is, in its turn, derived from *kërc*. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (analyzes *kër-cyell* as a prefixal form); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 239.

kërcënoj aor. *kërcënova* 'to threaten'. A recent derivative of *kërcej*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 277 (identical with *kërcëlloj*).

kërcu ~ kërcû m, pl. *kërcunj* 'stump, block, log, root'. Derived from *kërc* (JOKL *LKUBA* 264). Used in semi-pagan Christian rites (TOPOROV *Ètimologija 1974* 3 f.; ROSETTI *Rom. slav.* 1960 65-70; ZOJZI *BUShT* 1949 49 f.), *kërcu* as a name of a sacral log was borrowed into Slav **korčunъ* 'Christmas day, winter solstice' from where it was passed on to Rum *crăciun* 'Christmas; ritual bread baked at Christmas' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* 1978 169-171). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23 (from Slavic); ÇABEJ *St.* I 277-278 (reconstructs **kortjo-*); VAILLANT *JF* XXIV/1-2 72-76 (*kërcu* < Rum *crăciun* < Lat *quartum jejūnium*); MLADENOV 256 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *calātiōnem*); DENSUŞIANU *Hist.* I 262 f. (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *creātiōnem*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 35-36; SCHUCHARDT *AfslPh* IX 526 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *Christī jejūnium*); MELICH *MNr* XXXVII 177 f. (Slav **korčunъ* from **korkъ* 'leg', **korčiti* 'to walk'); PREOBRAZHENSKIJ I 361 (Slav **korčunъ* from **korčiti* 'to walk' as a calque of Lat *adventus*); ROSETTI *Etudes* 204-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (prefix *kër-*); ROHLFS *Spr.* 191-196; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kërçep m, pl. *kërçepë* 'stump, log, branch'. A derivative of *kërc*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (reconstructs the original sg. **kërçap* and explains it as a prefixal derivative of *çapë*).

kërdhokull f, pl. *kërdhokulla* 'hip bone'. See *krrokull*.

kërkoj aor. *kërkova* 'to look for, to seek'. Borrowed from Rom **circāre* id. with the assimilation of velars in the original **qërkoj* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 188). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158-159; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 117.

kërlesh aor. *kërlesha* 'to stand on end (of hair)', refl. *kërleshem* 'to quarrel'. A derivative of *lesh* with a prefix *kë(r)-* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104). Cf. also *ngërleshem* 'to bristle, to stand on end (of hair)'.

kërmë f 'carcass, carrion, cadaver'. From PAlb **karp-nā*, related to Skt *kṛ́p-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrëf* 'belly, body' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to a Turkish loanword *kërdis* 'to butcher'); KRISTOFORIDHI 154 (from NGk κορμί, κουρμί 'cadaver'); MAYRHOFER I 260; WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; POKORNY I 620; ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (from Bulg *kъrma* 'forage, fodder'?!), IV 76.

kërmill m, pl. *kërmij* 'snail, slug'. Other variants are *kërmi* and *kërminj*. Connected with *krimb* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22) as its singularized plural (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 165-168). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 182 (to Portugese *caramujo* 'sea snail' and other Romance names of snail), 525 (to ἀκραμύλα 'snail', Hes.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 27 (from late Lat *ceramida* id.); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 214 (agrees with VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 278-279 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI).

kërnac adj. 'miserly'. A derivative based on Slav **kъrnъ* 'hornless, broken', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *krъn*, SCr *krn*.

kërp ~ kanp m, pl. *kërpe ~ kanpe* 'hemp'. Borrowed from Rom **cannapis* (> Ital *canape*, Rum *cănăpă)* for Lat *cannabis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 174). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9 (from Ital *canape*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039; JOKL *LKUBA* 232, *IF* XLIV 39; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; JANSON *Unt.* 51-52; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

kërpë f 'stain, patch, spot'. Borrowed from Slav **kъrpa* 'patch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrpa*, SCr *krpa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 189). Derived from here is *kërpij* 'to revive, to refresh, to patch'.

kërqabë f 'peg on animal's neck preventing it from passing through hedges'. A derivative based on **kërk*, loanword from Slav **kъrkъ* 'neck', cf. Bulg *kъrk*, SCr *krk*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (deals with a secondary phonetic variant *kërçabë* which he compares with *kërçëp*).

kërqelë f, pl. *kërqela* 'large knife worn at the belt'. A variant of *kurqel* 'dagger' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 279-280) borrowed from Ital *coltello* 'knife', dial. *cortello*. ◊ WEIGAND 36 (from Lat *circellus* 'small ring'); SKOK *Zb. Rešetar* 429-432 (follows WEIGAND).

kërshëndella pl. 'Christmas'. Borrowed from Lat *Christī nātāle* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539) or *Christī nātālia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 189). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 159; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 280; LANDI *Lat.* 49, 85, 146.

kërshnjet m 'kind of tree, arbutus'. A derivative of *krifshë* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 280).

kërtole f, pl. *kërtole* 'big bone'. A lexicalized variant of *kërtollë* ~ *kartollë* 'potato, lump' borrowed from Germ *Kartoffel.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

kërtyl aor. *kërtyla* 'to fill up, to satiate'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **tyl* reflecting PAlb **tūla*. The latter is related to Lith *tū́las* 'many', Gk τύλος 'corn' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 1136-1137; FRISK II 942-943; POKORNY I 1081.

kërth adj. 'crosswise, askew'. Other derivatives of the same root are *kërthiz* 'navel' and *kërthi* 'tiny; baby' (originally, *'small as a navel'?). Attested in a phonetically advanced form *kithi* 'crosswise'. An adverbial form in *-th* based on a loanword from Lat *crucem* 'cross'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (*kërthiz* as a deminutive of Lat *cortīna* 'circle, arch'); HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99.

kërthndezem refl. 'to blush'. A compound of *kërth* and *ndez.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 280-281 (identifies the first component as a prefix *kër-*).

kërveshem refl. 'to grin, to pull faces'. A compound of the prefix *kër-* and *vesh* 'to put on', cf. in particular *veshem* ~ *vishem* 'to get dressed'. As far as the meaning is concerned, the underlying metaphor must have been 'putting on faces', as in E *to pull faces.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 281 (identifies the second part with *vesh* 'ear').

kërr m 'donkey, ass, foal', adj 'grey'. From PAlb **kara* identical with Skt *khára-* 'donkey', Av *xarō* id., Scyth **xara*, Osset *xæræg* id. (OREL *Ètimologija 1986-1987* 220-222). The Indo-Iranian unvoiced aspirate seems to correspond to PAlb **k-*. Note derivatives: *kërriç* 'foal', *kriç* id. and *kiç* id. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARTHOLOMAE 532; MAYRHOFER II 302-303; ABAEV *Skif.* 309; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350-361.

kërrabë f, pl. *kërraba* 'hook, staff'. A suffixal derivative of an unattested PAlb **kara* further related to *karthi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 129 (to *grep*).

kërris aor. *kërrita* 'to grunt (of pigs), to gurgle'. A descriptive stem imitating corresponding sounds.

kërrlë f 'sloppy mud, slime'. Another variant is *kërlë*. From PAlb **karilā* related to ON *hǫrr* 'snivel', OHG *horo* 'excrement', Gk κόρυζα 'snivel'. A derivative *kërrnjotë* 'mucus from nose, snivel' also belongs here. ◊ FRISK I 924; POKORNY I 573.

kërrus aor. *kërrusa* 'to bend'. From PAlb **karnutja*, based on a nominal derivative in *-*ut*- further connected with Gk κυρτός 'curved, bent', Lat *curvus* id. (CAMARDA I 178; MEYER *Wb*. 190). The original nominal form is represented by *krrutë* 'hunch-backed old woman'. ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *curvō* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to ON *hnjóþa* < **kneudhō*); FRISK II 55; WALDE-HOFMANN I 317-318; POKORNY I 309, 935; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 220 (to ON *hverfa* 'to turn').

kërrutë f, pl. *kërruta* 'ewe with horns'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* 'horned' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb*. 190, *Alb. St*. III 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk κερατίας 'horned one'); KRISTOFORIDHI 155 (to Gk κυρτός 'curved, crooked'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (from **ko-k̂ru-to-* 'horned'); PASCU *RE* 40 (from Rumanian); KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 75 (from Arumanian); ÇABEJ *St*. IV 76; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat*. 88, 99, 114.

kësen impers. 'to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains'. Based on PAlb **kantša* < **kankja* related to Lith *kenkiù, keñkti* 'to damage, to harm', ON *há* 'to torment' < Gmc **xanxōn* and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt*. I 39-40). ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 190 (from Turk *kı smak* 'to pinch'); FRAENKEL 240; POKORNY I 565; ÇABEJ *St*. I 281 (dialectal form of *këcej* ~ *kërcej*).

kësulë f, pl. *kësula* 'bonnet, cap'. Borrowed from Rum *căciulă* 'cap', with *-ci-* > PAlb *-*tš*- > *-s-*. The Rumanian word itself goes back to Alb *kaçule*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 190-191 (from Lat *casula* 'hooded coat' via Gk κασοῦλα 'thick coat'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 21; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom*. II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κασοῦλα).

këshete pl. 'bran'. A prefixal derivative of *shete* (Camarda I 70).

këshill m, pl. *këshilla* 'council'. Borrowed from Lat *consilium* id. (Camarda I 80; Miklosich *Rom. Elemente* 17; Meyer *Wb.* 208-209). ◊ Meyer-Lübke *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049, 1053; Mihăescu *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; Haarmann 119; Landi *Lat.* 87, 99, 117.

kështallë f, pl. *kështalla* 'splint (in medicine)'. From PAlb **ka-stalā*, a derivative related to Goth *stols* 'chair', Lith *stālas* 'table', Slav **stolъ* 'table, pole'. ◊ Vasmer III 764-765; Fraenkel 893; Kluge 761; Feist *Goth.* 455-456.

kështër ~ kështën adj. 'Christian'. Borrowed from Lat *christiānus* id. (Miklosich *Rom. Elemente* 13). ◊ Meyer-Lübke *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; Mihăescu *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; Haarmann 117.

kështjellë f, pl. *kështjella* 'castle, fort'. Borrowed from Lat *castellum* id. (Çabej *St.* I 281-282). ◊ Meyer *Wb.* 191 (from Ital *castello* id.); Mihăescu *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; Haarmann 116; Landi *Lat.* 50, 81.

këshyre f, pl. *këshyre* 'mountain path, path in the ravine'. Borrowed from Lat *clausūra, clūsūra* 'lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort' (Çabej *St.* I 282). ◊ Mihăescu *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; Haarmann 117; Landi *Lat.* 68, 103, 110.

këtu adv. 'here'. From PAlb **ka tu* including a pronominal stem **ka* < IE *$k^{u}o$- and adverbial **tu*, cf. Skt *tú* 'now, but' (Bopp 496-497; Vasmer *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). While the prevailing form for 'there' is *aty*, certain dialects preserve *atu* (Elezović *AArbSt.* II 249). ◊ Tagliavini *Dalmazia* 161; Mayrhofer I 507; Çabej *St.* I 282; Huld 80-81.

kic aor. *kica* 'to bite'. A descriptive stem.

kij aor. *kiva* 'to prune, to trim'. Another variant is *kiej*. From **këinj* < PAlb **kadinja*, a denominative verb related to *kadhë* (Çabej *St.* I 282-283). Derived from *kij* is *kizë* 'pruning-hook'. ◊ Meyer *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *incīdere* 'to cut'); Barić *ARSt.* I 40 (to *shqyej*, from **kledni̯ō*); Ajeti *ZfBalk* V/2 139-140 (to Slav **kyjь* 'stick') .

kikë f, pl. *kika* 'top, tip; mane'. Borrowed from Slav **kyka* 'tuft of hair,

plaited hair', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kika*, SCr *kika* (SVANE 181).

kinse conj. 'as, just as, as if'. A univerbation of *kini se* 'you (pl.) have that, you assume that' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 283-284). Cf. also *kish* 'if only' from 3 sg. imperf. *kish*, form of *kam*.

kishë f, pl. *kisha* 'church'. Another variant is *qishë*. Borrowed from Lat *ecclēsia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to late Gk ἐκκλησία id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 279; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 119, 125.

kitë f, pl. *kita* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Slav **kyta* 'tuft, bundle, branch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kita*, SCr *kita*. This Albanian word is historically identical with the singularized form *kite* 'sheaf; ear of grain' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 284). ◊ SVANE 103.

kith m 'veil of mist'. A derivative of *kitë*.

kleçkë f, pl. *kleçka* 'splinter, piece of wood'. Borrowed from Slav **klěčьka* id., cf. Bulg *klečka*, SCr *klečka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 308). ◊ SVANE 81.

klekë f, pl. *kleka* 'kind of mountain pine'. From PAlb **klakā* related to Slav **klokъ* 'tuft, tow'. ◊ VASMER II 252.

kllabë f 'pick, pick-axe'. Borrowed from Slav **klapa*, a derivative of **klapati*, with an irregular substitution of *-*p*- > -*b*-. A more phonetically regular reflex of the same loanword is *kllapë* 'fetter, chain' (*BER* 419). Note a derivative *kllabëz* 'door-bolt'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 184.

kllanë f 'last day of the year, New Year eve, first snow'. Other variants are *kullana, kollanë, këllanë, kllandë*. Borrowed from Rom **calandae*, a form of Lat *calendae* 'first day of a month' attested in Romance and borrowed to Celtic (ÇABEJ *St.* I 296-297). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 196 (from Slav **kolęda* 'New Year day'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 116.

kllapë f, pl. *kllapa* 'puddle'. From **kë-llapë* further related to *llap*. As to *kllaçë* id., it continues **kllapçë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208.

kllapit aor. *kllapita* 'to eat like a dog'. Either derived from *llap* or borrowed from Slav **klapiti* ~ **klapati* 'to sound, to clatter', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *klapam*, SCr *klapati* (SVANE 222).

kllashë f, pl. *kllasha* 'cape of sheep and goat wool'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *klašn'a* 'woolen shawl', SCr *klašnje* 'kind of cloth'.

klloçis aor. *klloçita* 'to brood, to cluck'. Borrowed from Slav **klociti* 'to cluck', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *klocam*, Slovene *klociti*. As to *kllukas* id., it is a local borrowing from dialectal Bulg *klukam* < *klokam*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (adduces various Balkan forms but is uncertain of the actual source of the Albanian verb); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 31 (from Bulg *kloča* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 147; SVANE 236.

kllupit aor. *kllupita* 'to gulp'. From a dialectal form of Bulg *klupam* < *klopam* 'to clap, to beat, to quack' belonging to Slav **klopati* ~ **klopiti*, cf. also SCr *klopati* id.

kmesë f, pl. *kmesa* 'billhook, sickle'. Another form is *kamesë*. Derived from *kamë*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 9 (to *kep*, suffix *-esë*); HULD 145, 154 (reconstructs **Hek̑mn̥-ti̯eH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 220-221 (crossing of *kizë* id. and *kamë*).

kobë f 'theft, augury, deception, disaster'. Borrowed from Slav **kobь*, **koba* id., cf. Bulg *koba*, SCr *kob*, *koba* (MEYER *Wb.* 193, but treats *kobë* 'theft' as an Italian loanword). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 149, 493; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 32; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 222, 236.

koc m, pl. *koca, kocinj* 'bone, skull'. Borrowed from Slav **kostь* id. with a metathesis in the consonantal cluster **-st-* > *-ts-* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195). The Slavic deminutive **kostъka* id. is the source of Alb *kockë* id., *koskë* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 202-203 (from Ital *coccio* 'cracked pot'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

kocë f, pl. *koca* 'black goat; girl from 8 to 10 years old'. An allegro

form of Slav **kozьlica* '(young) she-goat', cf. CS *kozьlica*, SCr *kozlica*.

kocë f, pl. *koca* 'rush-trap for fish'. Borrowed from Slav **kotьcь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koce*, SCr *kotac*.

koç m 'penis'. Another form is pl. *koçet* 'testicles'. Borrowed from Bulg *koč* 'ram'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22 (from Slav **kočanъ* 'head of cabbage'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 194; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokë*); OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 140-141.

kodër f, pl. *kodra* 'hill, angular stone, corner'. Borrowed from Rom **codrum* < Lat *quadrum* 'square' on which also Rum *codru* 'forest' is based (SCHUCHARDT *Vokalismus* II 510). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 193 (compares *kodër* with Rum *codru*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XL 212-213 (from Rum *codru*); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* I 509 (follows PEDERSEN); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 157 (to Alb *katar* 'peak'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 34; TAGLIAVINI *RivAlb* II 185 (repeats PEDERSEN's etymology); SKOK *AfslavPhil* XXXVIII 83-84 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to Lat *castrum* 'castle, fort'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29-30; HAMP *SCL* XXXI 664 (from early Rumanian); PICCILLO *RLiR* XLV 146-157 (from Rumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* I 284-285 (follows SCHUCHARDT).

kofshë f, pl. *kofshë* 'hip, thigh'. Borrowed from Lat *coxa* 'hip' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 246, 366; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 99, 124, 134.

kohë f, pl. *kohë* 'time'. From PAlb **kāxā* etymologically related to Slav **časъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 194, *Alb. St.* III 3). ◊ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 279, *KZ* XXXVI 279; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 144, *Sprache* IX 151; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 148; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs an inlaut cluster **-sk̂-*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 226; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 35; PORZIG *Gliederung* 174; PISANI *Saggi* 124 (follows SCHEFTELOWITZ and reconstructs **kēsk̂ā*), *REIE* IV 6; ECKERT *ZfSlaw* VIII 890; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; HAMP *StFil* XXVII (V)/3 68 (reconstructs **kēsk̂ā* or **kēk̂sā*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-87, *Ètimologija* 1971 268-269; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; SCHMALSTIEG 265; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 66; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X

222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 221-222 (to OPrus *kīsman*, reconstructs *kohë* < **kēsu̯ā*).

koj aor. *kova* 'to feed (children or animals)'. A phonetic variant of *mëkoj*. ◊ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk κονέω 'to hasten'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

kokë f, pl. *kokë, koka* 'head, bulb, berry, grain'. Borrowed from Lat *coccum* 'berry' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; WEIGAND 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 165 (from Rom **coca*, Lat *cauca* 'kind of dish, bowl'), 194 (on *kokë* 'berry, grain'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 285-286 (agrees with WEIGAND).

kokërr f, pl. *kokrra* 'berry, grain'. Derived from *kokë* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 29). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (from Ital *coccola* 'globular fruit (of plants)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 286-287 (agrees with JOKL).

koleshkë f, pl. *koleshka* 'cart'. An early borrowing from Slav **kolesъka* id. otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

kolibe f, pl. *kolibe* 'hut'. Borrowed from Slav **kolyba* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koliba*, SCr *koliba*. Cf. *kalibe* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◊ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84; SVANE 52.

kolmë adj. 'pretty, winsome'. From PAlb **kālima*, a suffixal derivative of IE **kal-*: Skt *kalyá-* 'healthy', Gk Hom κᾱλός 'beautiful'. The long vowel in Proto-Albanian remains unclear. ◊ FRISK I 766-767; POKORNY I 524; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

koll m 'plow-beam'. Borrowed from Slav **kolъ* 'pole', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kol*, SCr *kolac*.

kollë f 'cough'. From PAlb **kāslā* identical with Slav **kašlь* id., Lith *kosulȳs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 195, *Alb. St.* III 2, 63). These forms are derived from IE **k̑ʷās-* 'to cough'. ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; JOKL *Sprache* IX 117-118; VASMER II 214-215; FRAENKEL 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 150; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 35-36; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 649; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

kom m 'mane'. Another variant is *komë*. Borrowed from Lat *coma* 'hair' (JOKL *Studien* 110). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40-41 (from **(s)kēp-no-*, related to Germ *Schaf* 'sheep'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287 (agrees with JOKL).

kongjill m, pl. *kongjij* 'charcoal'. A variant of *thëngjil* with a different prefix **k-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

kopër f, pl. *kopra* 'fennel'. Borrowed from Slav **koprъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kopъr*, SCr *kopar* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 287). ◊ SVANE 109.

kopicë f, pl. *kopica* 'moth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **kopica* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 198).

kopil m, pl. *kopilë, kopila* 'lad, chap, bastard'. Borrowed from Slav **kopylъ* 'shoot, sprout, bastard', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kopil, kopile*, SCr *kopil*. Rum *copil* is of the same origin. ◊ CAMARDA I 162 (to Gk κόπος 'toil and trouble'); MEYER *Wb.* 198 (from Rom **cōpīlis* 'son born from *cōpa*, tavern-keeper'); VASMER *IORJaS* LXXXVI 96 (from Gk κοπέλλα 'girl'); OŠTIR *WuS* V 220 (prefix *ko-* and *-pil* related to *pjell*); JOKL *LKUBA* 6, 14, 311 (follows OŠTIR), *IJb* XXIII 227 (from Modern Greek); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 116-117; SCHÜTZ *WSl* III 17-18; REICHENKRON *Dakisches* 112-113 (from Dacian **kolpīlos*, to IE **gu̯elbh-* 'cub, uterus'); HUBSCHMID *ZfBalk* XVI 61-63, *ZfromPh* XCIX/5-6 497-511; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ABAEV II 279 (to Osset *qæbūl* 'child'); TRUBAČEV *Ètimologija 1979* 129-130, 177; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

kopsht m, pl. *kopshte, kopshtinj, qipshte* 'garden'. A derivative in *-sht* based on PAlb **kāpa* identical with Gk κῆπος id., OHG *huoba* 'plot of land' (MEYER *Wb.* 198-199, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◊ JOKL *Sprache* IX 118; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 842; KLUGE 318; POKORNY I 529; ÇABEJ *St.* III 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

koqe f, pl. *koqe* 'corn, berry'. A singularized plural of *kokë* (CAMARDA I 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287-288). The latter is the source of Rum *coacăză*.◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom **cocceum*, based on Lat *coccum*, or from Ital *coccia*); MEYER *Wb.* 194-195, 210 (repeats SCHUCHARDT's

etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045 (the same explanation); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLVIII 398-400 (from Rom **cocceum*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238.

korb m. pl. *korbë, korba* 'raven'. Borrowed from Lat *corvus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 139-140.

korbull f, pl. *korbulla* 'keg, cask, wooden pail'. Borrowed from Lat *corbula* 'little basket'.

kordhë f. pl. *kordha* 'gut string'. Borrowed from Lat *chorda* 'gut, catgut' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119).

kordhë f, pl. *kordha* 'sword'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. CS *korъda* id., SCr *korda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052 (from Romance); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

korë f, pl. *kora* 'crust, bark'. Borrowed from Slav **kora* 'bark', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kora*, SCr *kora* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173; SVANE 94, 121.

kore f, pl. *kore* 'chicory'. Borrowed from Lat *cichorēum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 117.

koris aor. *korita* 'to shame, to dishonor'. Borrowed from Slav **koriti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kor'a*, SCr *koriti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153-154; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; SVANE 236.

koritë f, pl. *korita* 'trough'. Borrowed from Slav **koryto* id., cf. Bulg *korito*, SCr *korito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22-23; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 142, 170-171; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 67.

korp m, pl. *korpe* 'body'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *corpus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 84.

korsëm adv. 'perhaps, as if'. Another variant is *korse*. A univerbated phraze *kur se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 288-289). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (from **kosrem* based on **kosë* < IE **kᵘā-kᵘe*).

kortë f 'quarter of a slaughtered animal; liquid measure'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part, quarter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 289). Cf. *kartë*.

korube f, pl. *korube* 'beehive'. Borrowed from Slav **koruba* 'hollow trunk, beehive', cf. Bulg *koruba*, SCr *koruba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (connected with *kolibe*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 289 (agrees with SELIŠČEV); SVANE 159.

korr aor. *korr* 'to reap, to harvest'. Goes back to PAlb **kāsra*. Related to Lith *kasù, kàsti* 'to dig', Slav **kosa* 'scythe' (MEYER *Wb.* 200). The name of July *korrik* as well as *korriqe* 'measure of grain' are derived from *korr*. ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 46 (follows MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 100-102 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; PISANI *RIL* CXII 12 (from Ital *corre* < *cogliere* 'to reap'); FRAENKEL 226-227; POKORNY I 585; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 133-135; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from IE **kēr-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 222-224.

korropitet refl. 'to become tired'. A prefixal derivative related to *rropatet* 'to strain'.

korropesh adj. 'dark, dark-haired'. A compound of *korr* and *peshë* structurally similar to *korrozi* id., a compound of *korr* and *zi*.

korrovesh m, pl. *korroveshë* 'jug with a handle; grape', adj. 'without ears'. A compound of *korr* and *vesh*.

kos m 'yogurt, clotted curds'. Borrowed from Slav **kvasъ* 'sour substance', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *kvasъ*, Bulg *kvas*, SCr *kvas* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

kosë f, pl. *kosa* 'scythe'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; SVANE 236.

kosë f, pl. *kosa* 'plait'. Borrowed from Slav **kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ SVANE 181.

kosis aor. *kosita* 'to mow'. Borrowed from Slav **kositi* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kos'a*, SCr *kositi* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 155; SVANE 236.

kosore f, pl. *kosore* 'small scythe'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kosorъ* 'scythe, pruning knife': Bulg *kosor*, SCr *kosor* (SVANE 33).

kosh m, pl. *kosha, koshe* 'basket'. Borrowed from Slav **košь* id.: Bulg *koš*, SCr *koš* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201-202). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 154; SVANE 67, 159.

koshëz f, pl. *koshëza* 'bot-fly'. Another form is *koshas* < **koshaz*. A collective form of **kosh* borrowed from Lat *cossus* 'kind of larva' (CANDREA *GS* III 430). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; ÇABEJ *St.* I 289; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kot m, pl. *kota* 'useless, vain'. From PAlb **kākta* related to Lith *koktùs* 'disgusting'. The latter is further explained as a derivative of *kóks* 'which', Slav **kakъ* 'how'. ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk κότος 'rancor'); MEYER *Wb.* 202 (to *kot* 'darkness' and Gk σκότος id.); FRAENKEL 280; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 118-119.

kot m 'darkness'. From PAlb **kāta* further related to OIr *scáth* 'shadow' < **skāto-*, Gk σκότος 'darkness' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 202). ◊ FRISK II 739-740; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 19; VENDRYES [S] 36; POKORNY I 957.

kovaç m, pl. *kovaçë* 'smith'. Borrowed from Slav **kovačь* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kovač*, SCr *kovač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; SVANE 87, 197.

kozhup m, pl. *kozhupe* 'shepherd's fur jacket'. A variant of *kazhup*.

krah m, pl *krahë* 'arm, shoulder, side'. Borrowed from Slav **krajь* 'end,

side, extremity'. For the semantic development cf. Bulg *krajnik* 'arm, leg', *kraište* id. (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Note the development of *-j-* > *-h-* characteristic of early loanwords from Slavic. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 203 (comparison with Lith *kárka* 'shin, shank' and Slav **korkъ* id., morphonologically difficult), *Alb. St.* III 6, 71; LIDÉN *Studien* 92, *Arm. St.* 43 (comparison with Skt *kiṣku-* 'forearm'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 251 (derives *krah* from **krok-sk̂ā*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs **kar-sk̂ā* and compares *krah* with Skt *kará-* 'hand, elephant's trunk'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 384-385; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 91; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (follows LIDÉN); POKORNY I 945-946; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 210, ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from **korok-*); HULD 81-82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 224 (to Arm *srunkʻ* 'calf (anat.)', Lat *crūs* 'shank').

krahëror ~ krahnuer m, pl. *krahërorë ~ krahnuerë* 'breast, chest'. Derived from *krah* (CAMARDA II 66; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◊ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 250 (to *krehër*); WEIGAND *Grammatik* 55 (follows WIEDEMANN); JOKL *LKUBA* 154 (agrees with WEIGAND); ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (supports CAMARDA).

krahinë f, pl. *krahina* 'region, area'. An early loanword from Slav **krajina* id.: OCS *kraina*, Maced *kraina*, SCr *kraina* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 175). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 324; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; SVANE 205; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (*-h-* is a hiatus filler).

krahis aor. *krahisa* 'to sweep up (wheat); to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **krajiti* 'to cut, to winnow', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

krap m, pl. *krep* 'carp'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *krap* id., SCr *krap* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 204). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Lat *carpiō* or Ital *carpa*).

krap m 'collar-bone'. From PAlb **krapa* related to W *craff* 'strong' < **krapnos*, ON *hrǽfa* 'to tolerate, to bear with', Slav **krěpъkъ* 'strong, firm' continuing IE **krēp-* 'strong'. The same root is found in *krape* 'ovary'. ◊ POKORNY I 620; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XII 135-138.

krat m 'back'. Borrowed from Lat *crātis (spinae)* 'spine'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (from SCr *hrbat* id.).

kredh aor. *krodha* 'to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter'. From PAlb **krōda* identical with Slav **kradǫ, *krasti* 'to steal', refl. **kradǫ sę, *krasti sę* 'to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed' (OREL *IF* XLIII 110-111). Further connections of the Slavic verb (including a popular comparison with Latv *krâju, krât* 'to gather, to collect') are uncertain. The aorist in *-o-* must be secondary as it is, normally, characteristic of presents in *-e-* < PAlb **-e-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Slav **gręznǫti* 'to sink', phonetically improbable), *Alb. St.* III 8, 17, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124; VASMER II 364; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XII 103-105.

kreh ~ kref aor. *kreha ~ krefa* 'to comb'. From PAlb **krebska* related (with an irregular unvoicing of the anlaut) to Lith *grė́bti* 'to rake', Slav **grebǫ, *grebti* 'to row, to rake' (MEYER *Wb.* 204-205, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71). Derived from *kreh* are *krehër ~ krehën* 'comb', a singularised plural of **krah*, and *kresë* 'curry-comb'. ◊ FRAENKEL 165-166; POKORNY I 455-456; ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (on *krehër*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 109-100.

krej aor. *kreva* 'to pull out'. From PAlb **krebnja* connected with *kreh ~ kref* (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

krekë f, pl. 'maple'. Borrowed from Lat *(acer) Crēticum* 'Cretan maple' (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

krel m, pl. *krela* 'curl, lock'. From a local variant of Rom **cerebellus* 'related to the head' based on Lat *cerebrum* 'brain, skull'. For the semantic development cf. *cerebellāre* 'cap'. Metathesized in *klerë* 'curly, fizzy'.

kremte f, pl. *kremte* 'holiday'. A singularized plural of a less usual *kremtë*. In dialects, a form without suffix *kreme* is attested. A suffixal form in *-m-* based on *krye*.

krep m, pl. *krepa* 'rock'. An umlauticized form of PAlb **krapa* related to *krap*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to Ital *greppo* 'steep, rocky bank' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 35 (to *karpë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225 (reconstructs **kr̥Hp-* or **krop-*).

krepull adj. 'inebriated'. Borrowed from Rom **crāpulus*, cf. Lat

crāpula 'excessive wine-drinking, inebriation' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 290-291, with an alternative link to Ital *crepare* 'to burst, to split').

kreshkë f 'foliage'. A suffixal derivative in *-shkë* of *krënd* (attested also as *krend*). As to *kreshk* 'fish scale', it also belongs here. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Ital *crusca*); JOKL *LKUBA* 166 (to *kreshtë*).

kreshmë pl. 'fast'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrāgēsima* 'Lent, fast of forty days', cf. Ital *quaresima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051 (from Ital *quaresima*); HAARMANN 144.

kreshnik m, pl. *kreshnikë* 'hero, knight'. Borrowed from SCr *krajišnik* 'inhabitant of a border region' (SCHMAUS apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 291). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116 (to *kreshtë*).

kreshpë f, pl. *kreshpa* 'sheep with long and rough wool'. From Lat fem. adj. *crispa* 'curled, crisp, uneven'. The verb *kreshpëroj* 'to anger' is based on the same Latin adjective in its different meanings - 'quivering, tremulous'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205 (on *kreshpëroj*); HAARMANN 120.

kreshtë f 'mane, rooster's comb'. Borrowed from Lat *crista* 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 102, 119.

krënd ~ krande m, pl. *krënde ~ krande* 'foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves'. From PAlb **ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE **rendh-* 'to tear (asunder)' and, in particular, with OHG *rinda, rinta* 'rind', OE *rinde* id. and the like (OREL *IF* XLIII 111). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to OIr *grend* 'side-whiskers', OHG *grana* 'mustache' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 240; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Gk κράνον); POKORNY I 865; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 261; OREL *IF* XCIII 111 (to IE **sker-* 'to cut'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225.

kri ~ krî f, pl. *kri ~ krî* 'woodworm, moth'. From PAlb **kriwi-* continuing a dialectal Indo-European form **k̑ʷr̥u̯i-*: Slav **čьrvь* 'worm' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46-47). Nazalisation in Geg is secondary. ◊ TRAUT-

MANN *BSlWb.* 134; VASMER IV 335-336; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 171-172.

krife f, pl. *krife* 'mane'. Borrowed, with the irregular unvoicing of both voiced consonants, of Slav **griva* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). The influence of *krinë* 'mane' borrowed from Romance cannot be excluded. ◊ HAMP *KZ* CVI/2 305-306.

kriklloj aor. *krikllova* 'to creak (of wheels)'. Borrowed from Rom **carriculāre* based on Lat *carrus* 'wagon'.

krimb ~ krym m, pl. *krimba, kërminj ~ kryma* 'worm'. Reflects PAlb **krim-* connected with IE **kʷr̥mi-* id.: Skt *kŕ̥mi-*, Lith *kìrmis* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 247; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 62; MEYER *Wb.* 206). Geg *-y-* remains unexplained: could it be a rare case of *u*-umlaut suggesting PAlb **krimu-*? ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 64; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 191-192, 318, *Sprache* IX 120; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160; MAYRHOFER I 261-262; FRAENKEL 257; PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; POKORNY I 649; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, *Etim.* II 323; HULD 82; OREL *IF* XLIII 116, *ZfBalk* XXIII 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (irregular *-ry-*, *-ri-* < IE **-r̥-*); KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225-226.

kripë ~ krypë f, pl. *kripëra ~ krypna* 'salt'. From PAlb **krūpā* connected with ON *hrufa* 'scab', Lith *kraupùs* 'rough', *kraupis* 'scab', Latv *kraũpis* 'frail, brittle', Slav **krupa* 'groats' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 31, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowing from Slav **krupa*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 220; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 290; POKORNY I 623; OREL *IF* XLIII 106; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 43-45.

Krisht m 'Christ'. Borrowed from Lat *Christus* while *krishterë ~ krishtenë* 'Christian' goes back to Lat *christiānus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158.

krocë f, pl. *kroca* 'dogrose'. A derivative in *-cë* from *kromë*.

krodhë f, pl. *krodha* 'bread crust'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. **crŭda* < *crūda* 'crude, rough'.

krodhë f, pl. *krodha* 'beehive'. Goes back to PAlb **krādā* related to Goth

hrot 'roof', Slav **krada* 'heap, pile'. ◊ POKORNY I 617-618; FEIST *Goth.* 270-271; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 58-60.

kromë f, pl. *kroma* 'scabies; dogrose'. Derived from *kruaj*. Another derivative from the same source is *krosë* 'scab'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*).

krongjill m, pl. *krongjij* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Rom **corniculus* based on Lat *cornū* 'horn'.

krua ~ krue m, pl. *kronj, kroje* 'spring, fountain'. From PAlb **krāna* < **krasna* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Related to Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* 'wave' < Gmc **xraznō* (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 71; TORP *IF* V 204; THUMB *IF* XXVI 3-14 (borrowed from Greek); PETERSSON *IF* XXIV 50 (from **krēnu̯o-*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 146; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 92 (prefix *k-* and root *-rua* identical to that of *përrua*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81-82 (to *krye* and Skt *khánati* 'to dig'); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* II 137 n. 3 (agrees with THUMB); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; PISANI *Saggi* 120; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *k-*); FRISK II 16; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; ÇABEJ *St.* I 292-293.

kruaj ~ kruej aor. *krova* 'to scratch'. From PAlb **krābnja* with a long grade of ablaut, further connected with *kreh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*); JOKL *Studien* 23-25 (same identification with *grij*), *IF* XXXVII 99; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 381(to Gk κνάω, Lith *knóju*); ÇABEJ *StF* III/1 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226.

krunde pl. 'bran'. Another form is *grundë*. Derivative of *kruaj ~ kruej*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 132-133 (explains *grundë* in connection with OE *grindan* 'to grind'), *Alb. St.* III 8; JOKL *Studien* 23 (reconstructs zero grade *-un-* < **-n̥-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 358 (to Slav **krupa* 'groats'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 293 (to Gk κρίνω 'to separate').

krup aor. *krupa* 'to loathe'. From PAlb **krupa* etymologically related to Lith *kraupùs* 'easily scared', *krupùs* id., *krū́pti* 'to scare'. ◊ FRAENKEL 291.

krushk m, pl. *krushq* 'bride's man, unmarried relative'. A metathesis of **kushk(ë)r*, borrowed from Lat *consocer* 'father-in-law' > Rum *cuscru* (MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1045; PUŞ-

CARIU *EWR* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 117-118.

krybe f, pl. *krybe* 'oakum, tow'. From PAlb **krūba*, a derivative in **-b-*, connected with Gk κρύπτω 'to hide' (where old **-bh-* may be alleged), Lith *kráuti* 'to pile up', Slav **kryti* 'to cover, to hide'. ◊ FRAENKEL 291; SCHWYZER I 333 (on the nature of the labial in κρύπτω); FRISK II 29-30; POKORNY I 617; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 71-72.

krydh aor. *krydha* 'to plunge; to steal, to rob'. An Elbasan form. Connected with *kredh* (OREL *IF* XLIII 110).

krye n, pl. *krerë* ~ *krenë* 'head'. From PAlb **krānjā* < **krasnjā* with a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. Etymologically identical with Gk κρᾱνίον 'skull, head' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 33) and further related to IE **k̂erəs-* 'head' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23). The word for 'head' is the source of *kryej* 'to finish'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowed from Lat *cerebrum* 'head, brain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1054; TREIMER *MRIW* I 360 (reconstructs **kreunom* connected with Slav **krušiti* 'to destroy, to grind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (comparison with OIr *cenn* 'head'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160, *Stratificazione* 91-92; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 120; FRISK II 6-7; POKORNY I 574-577; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 86, *KZ* LXXVI 279-280; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HULD 83 (reconstructs **k̂rH-euno-*).

kryq m, pl. *kryqe, kryqa* 'cross'. Borrowed from Lat *crucem* id. with an irregular substitution of the short Lat *-u-* (CAMARDA II 201; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 83, 146.

krrilë f, pl. *krrila* 'crane'. Other forms are *korrilë, kurrilë* and *kojrrilë*. Borrowed from Gmc **kran-ila*, a deminutive of **kranaz* id.: OHG *krano*, OE *cran*. ◊ KLUGE 399-400; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 59; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 179; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129 (from Rom **gruilla*).

krrok aor. *krroka* 'to caw'. A descriptive stem similar to Lat *crōciō* id.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'hip bone, joint, knuckle'. An allegro form of *kërdhokull* id. The latter is a derivative of **kërdhok* 'round object' preserved as a singularized plural in *kërdhoq* 'eye-ball'. As to **kërdhok*, it reflects a suffixal derivative based on the unvoiced variant of *gardh*.

krrokull f, pl. *krrokulla* 'saffron'. Borrowed from Rom **croculum*, deminutive of Lat *crocum* id.

kshetë f, pl. *kshetë* 'nymph, mermaid'. Identical with *kshetë* 'plait', a variant of *gërshetë*.

kthej aor. *ktheva* 'to turn'. A prefixal derivative of *thyej*. ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk ἐκ-τίθημι 'to set outside'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (from Lat *convertere* 'to turn round'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *Studien* 94 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

kthetër f, pl. *kthetra* 'claw (particularly, of vulture)'. Derivative in **-ter* of *kthej*.

kthill aor. *kthilla* 'to make clear, to brighten'. An older Tosk form is *kthiell*. A prefixal derivative (CAMARDA I 101) of unattested **thiell* reflected in *thjeshtë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 184 (to Italo-Alb *fjeγonem* 'to clear up'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (from **kthej diell*); JOKL *Studien* 37-38 (to IE **sk̂ēi-* attested in *hije*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294 (to *fill*).

ku pron. 'where'. From PAlb **ku* identical with Skt *kúha* id., Slav **kъde* id., Lith *kur̃* id. and the like, originating from IE **kʷu-*, a variant of the pronominal stem **kʷo-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to IE **kʷo-*); MEYER *Wb.* 218 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; PORZIG *Gliederung* 168; FRAENKEL 314; MAYRHOFER I 249; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 254; HULD 83-84; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226-227.

kuar ~ kuer m 'measure, order, free time'. Borrowed from Lat *chorus* 'dance in a ring, harmony, harmonious motion'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*përkuar* 'moderate' based on **përkoj* < Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294-296 (to *korr*, IE **sker-* 'to cut').

kuç m 'dog'. Borrowed from South Slavic **kučę* 'dog, cub', cf. Bulg

kuče, SCr *kuče*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 218-219 (various Slavic and Romance parallels); BŪGA II 220; MACHEK *ZfslavPh* XXI 154 (onomatopoeia); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

kuçedër f, pl. *kuçedra* 'dragon (with many heads)'. Another variant is *kulshedër*. Borrowed from Lat *chersydrus* 'kind of snake' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 116). ◊ CAMARDA I 192 (compound of *kulish* 'whelp, young' or *kuç* and gen. of ὕδρα 'hydra'); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (from Lat *excetra* 'snake, serpent'); POLÁK *EBTch* V 29-30.

kuhet refl. 'to redden (of skin)'. Derived from *kuq*.

kujtoj aor. *kujtova* 'to remember, to think'. Borrowed from Lat *cōgitāre* (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 194). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 41-42 (to OIr *ciall* 'reason'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kuk adv. 'alone'. From PAlb **kuka* continuing IE **k^{u}u-k^{u}o-* 'whoever, anybody', cf. Lat *quisquam, quisquis* and the like.

kukas aor. *kukata* 'to wail, to shriek'. Borrowed from Slav **kukati* 'to be alone, to wail', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kukam*, SCr *kukati*.

kukoj aor. *kukova* 'to make fast, to seal (of a barrel)'. Literally, 'to isolate'. Derived from *kuk*.

kukur m 'quiver'. Borrowed from late Lat *cucurum* id. or MGk κούκουρον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 211).

kukutë f 'fennel'. Borrowed from Lat *cicūta* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048) ◊ HAARMANN 121.

kukzoj aor. *kukzova* 'to bend, to arch over'. Based on **kukëz*, a suffixal derivative of **kukë* borrowed from **kuka* 'hook', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kuka*, SCr *kuka*.

kulaç m, pl. *kulaçë, kuleç* 'pancake'. Borrowed from Slav **kolačь* 'round bread', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kolač*, SCr *kolač* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. Elemente 22). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155, 303; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14; SVANE 93.

kular m, pl. *kularë* 'curved piece of wood, ox-collar'. Borrowed from Lat *collāre* 'collar' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 99.

kulbë f, pl. *kulba* 'kind of freshwater fish'. Another form is *kubël*. Early Slavic loanword: note Alb *-u-* rendering Slav *-ъ-*. The source is (South) Slav **kъlba* ~ **kъlbъ* (Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*), see MEYER *Wb.* 212; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 143. ◊ MIKLOSICH *EW* 154 (the Slavic and Albanian words are genetically related); BERNEKER I 659; VASMER II 286; OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 143; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296 (from Rom **cuplea*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

kulë f 'hernia'. An early borrowing from Slav **kyla* id., with **-y-* rendered as Alb *-u-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 212-213 (from Lat *culleus* 'leather sack'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34; SVANE 182.

kulm m, pl. *kulme* 'ridge, peak; wave'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *culmen* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Lat *culmus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 244 (to Gk κολώνη 'hill', Lat *columen* 'top'); HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

kulmak m, pl. *kulmakë* 'rush, reed'. Derived from the archaic *kulm* 'sheaf', borrowed from Lat *culmus* 'stalk, stem, straw' (MEYER *Wb.* 213).

kulpër ~ **kulpën** m, pl. *kulpra* ~ *kulpna* 'ivy, clematis'. A parallel form is Geg *kurpën*. These variants represent a singularized plural of a less usual *kulp*. From PAlb **kulpa* etymologically related to Lith *kìlpa* 'loop', Latv *cil̃pa* id. (MANN *Language* XVII 14). Borrowed to Rum *curpen*. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42 (to Gmc **xwurbana* 'twined, twisted' and Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd'); JOKL *LKUBA* 229-232 (to IE **kʷel-* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 253-254; POKORNY I 926; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* III 214 (to *për-kul*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 227.

kulte f 'water melon, gourd'. Borrowed from Rom **cuculbita*, a variant

of Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 296) ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 114.

kultër f, pl. *kultra* 'pillow, cushion'. Borrowed from Lat *culcitra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213) ◊ HAARMANN 121.

kulloj aor. *kullova* 'to sieve, to sift, to filter'. Borrowed from Lat *cōlāre* 'to filter, to strain' (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

kulloshtër f 'beestings'. Borrowed from Lat *colostra* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118). ◊ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 116 (from Italian).

kullos aor. *kullota* 'to put out to pasture, to graze'. A derivative of *kulloj.* ◊ CAMARDA I 295 (to Gk βου-κολέω 'to tend cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 212 (from Lat *colere* 'to cultivate'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kullumbri f, pl. *kullumbri* 'blackthorn, sloe; turtle dove'. A derivative of **kullumbë* borrowed from Lat *columba* 'dove', the plant being called after the bird as Rum *porumb* 'maize, corn' after *palumbes* 'dove' (MEYER *Wb.* 212). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 119; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Lat *palumbes*); HAARMANN 118.

kullusmë f, pl. *kullusma* 'thicket'. A metathesis from **kullumesë* (cf. *gjysmë*) borrowed from Rom **columnātia*, cf. Lat *columnātiō* 'supporting by pillars'.

kum m 'godfather'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *kum*, SCr *kum* id. A parallel feminine form for 'godmother' (Bulg *kuma*, SCr *kuma*) was borrowed as *kumë*. The latter also stands for 'fox' thus reflecting the Slavic folklore tradition of describing the fox of the fairy-tales as *kuma* 'godmother'.

kumahark m, pl. *kumaharqe* 'dragonfly, damselfly'. A recent compound of *kumë* 'godmother' (see *kum*) and *hark.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 297 (a form with two prefixes **kë-më-* based on *harlë*).

kumb m, pl. *kumbe* 'tone, sound'. Together with *kumboj* 'to sound', a back-formation based on *këmborë* (MEYER *Wb.* 186).

kumbull f, pl. *kumbulla* 'plum tree'. Other variants are *kumull* and *kumëll*. Borrowed from Gk κοκκύμηλον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom **columbula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 297 (borrowed from Doric).

kumerë f 'fear, fright'. A prefixal derivative of *mer*, *tmer*.

kumerq m 'toll, duty'. Borrowed from Lat *commercium* 'trade, commerce' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048.

kumt m 'news, announcement'. Borrowed from Lat *commonitus*, participle of *commonere* 'to remind, to put in mind'. From *kumt* the verb *kumtoj* 'to announce' is derived. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 297-298 (from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon'); HAARMANN 118.

kumtër m, pl. *kumtër* 'godfather'. Borrowed from Lat *compater* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1048; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 298-299 (based on fem. *kumëtër* borrowed from Lat *commāter* 'godmother'); LANDI *Lat.* 41, 115, 143.

kunat m, pl. *kunetër* ~ *kunetën* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Lat *cognātus* 'kinsman, blood relation'. The feminine form *cognāta* is reflected as Alb *kunatë* (CAMARDA I 158; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 214). Note a derivative *kunatoll* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)' that may continue Rom **cognāteōlus*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 125, 138.

kund adv. 'somewhere'. Goes back to PAlb **kum to(m)*, acc. sg. of *ku* and a pronominal stem **to-*, see *ay*. ◊ WEIGAND 41 (to Lat *unde* 'whence'); JOKL *AArbSt* I 35-36 (acc. sg. of **k^{u}o-* and a pronominal **to-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 299-300 (phonetic transformation of *ku*).

kundër prep. 'against'. Borrowed from Lat *contra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

kundoj aor. *kundova* 'to hesitate'. Borrowed from Lat *cunctārī* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ HAARMANN 121; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 52-54 (against MEYER).

kungoj aor. *kungova* 'to communicate'. Borrowed from Lat *commūnicāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). As to *kungë* 'altar (of the Orthodox church)', it is a back-formation derived from the verb. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 22; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300 (*kungë* borrowed from Lat *concha* 'shell-fish, mussel, *vault'); LANDI *Lat.* 117.

kungull m, pl. *kunguj* 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle'. From PAlb **kunkula* identical with Lith *kuñkulas* 'bubble' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 214 (from Lat *cucumis* 'cucumber'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

kunj m, pl. *kunja* 'peg, wedge'. Borrowed from Lat *cuneus* 'wedge' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). The verb *kunjoj* 'to close a sack with a peg' continues Lat *cuneāre* 'to wedge'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

kup m 'heap, pile'. Borrowed from Slav **kupъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kup*, SCr *kup*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215 (from Rom **cuppus* 'kind of vessel'); SVANE 43.

kupë f, pl. *kupa* 'glass, bowl'. Borrowed from Lat *cuppa* 'tub' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 100.

kuptoj aor. *kuptova* 'to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300-301 (derived from *kap*).

kuq adj. 'red'. Borrowed from Rom **cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* 'scarlet' (MEYER *Wb.* 210). ◊ BOPP 490 (to Skt *śúci-* 'fiery, bright'); CAMARDA I 164 (compares with NGk κόκκινος 'red'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; HULD 84.

kur adv. 'when'. From PAlb **kur* formally identical with Arm *ur*, Lith *kuȓ* 'where', Latv *kùr* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34), derived from IE **kʷu-* (see *ku*). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *quā hōrā* 'at what hour, when', with an irregular development of the inlaut vocalism); MEYER *Wb.* 215 (accepts SCHUCHARDT's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; MEILLET *MSL* X 259, XX 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164 (follows VASMER); AČAREAN *HAB* III 613-614; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 647-648; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 324 (on *-r*); HULD 84; HAARMANN 144; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; DEMIRAJ *AE* 227-228.

kurorë ~ kunorë f, pl. *kurora ~ kunora* 'crown'. Borrowed from Lat *corōna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1048; ERNOUT-MEILLET 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 120; JANSON *Unt.* 52-53; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 88.

kursej aor. *kurseva* 'to spare'. Derived from **kurt* 'short' borrowed from Lat *curtus* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Lat *curtus*); MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Rom **curtiāre*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; HAARMANN 122.

kurt m, pl. *kurte* 'yard'. Borrowed from Lat *cortem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 472 (from NGk κούρτη id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 301 (on Old Alb *kurtë* id. preserving the gender of Lat *cortem*).

kurth m, pl. *kurthe* 'snare, trap'. Derivative in *-th* of *kurp ~ kulp*, cf. *kulpër*. Somehow connected with Rum *cursă* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Turk *kurs* 'disk'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 42 (to OHG *hurt* 'wicker-work'); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lat *crātis*, Goth *haurds*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

kurvë f, pl. *kurva* 'whore, prostitute'. Borrowed from Slav **kury*, gen. **kurъve* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kurva*, SCr *kurva* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 194; SVANE 200.

kurrë adv. 'never, ever'. Goes back to PAlb **kur ne* of which the first element is identical with *kur* and the second reflects the Indo-European negation **ne* 'not' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215

(identifies with *kur*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 145; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 302 (phonetic variant of *kur*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 228.

kurriz m 'spine, backbone, hump'. A derivative in *-iz* based on PAlb **kurna* < **kṛnos* related to Lith *kẽras* 'stump', *kìrna* 'pointed end of a trunk, bush', Slav **korenь* 'root'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (to *kërrus*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 573; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 62-66.

kush pron. 'who'. From PAlb **kuša* going back to an Indo-European pronominal compound **k"u-so-* consisting of **k"u-*, a morphonological variant of **k"o-* id., and demonstrative **so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, quite close to Tokh A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < **k"u-so-* (MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13; OREL *LB* XXX/1 57-58). Note *-sh-* < **-s-* explained by the "ruki" rule (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 114). As to acc. *kë* ~ *kâ*, it continues PAlb **kam* < IE **k"om* (MEYER *Wb.* 217, *Alb. St.* III 2, 88). ◊ BOPP 463 (to IE **k"o-*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 212 (to IE **k"o-*); MEYER *Wb.* 217-218 (*kush* treated as a borrowing from Lat *quis* with some reserve); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317 (related to IE **k"o-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 165; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (follows MEILLET); VAN WINDEKENS I 246; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276, 302-303; HULD 84; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *LB* XXX/1 58-59, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 218, 228 (from **k"u-sm̥i*).

kushëri ~ **kushërî** m, pl. *kushërinj* 'cousin'. Borrowed from Lat *consōbrīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 218). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

kusht m, pl. *kushte* 'vow, bet, boundary, condition'. Back-formation of *kushtoj* 'to cost' continuing MLat *constāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 217). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 303 (borrowed from Ital *costo* 'price').

kushtrim m 'hue-and-cry, war cry, call-up, enrollment, alarm'. A regular deverbative in *-im* based on **kushtroj* borrowed from Rom **conscrīptāre*, cf. Lat *conscrībere* 'to enroll (of troops)'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 257 (to *kusht*); LAMBERTZ *Volkspoesie* 247 (divides into *kush trim*

'who is brave?'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 303-304 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

kushull m 'consul'. Borrowed from Lat *consulem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046.

kut m, pl. *kut* 'measure of length'. Borrowed from Lat *cubitus* 'cubit' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138, 141.

kutë f, pl. *kuta* 'young dog, cub'. Borrowed from Slav **kutę* id. attested in East Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198). Cf. *kuç.*

kutëndoj aor. *kutëndova* 'to thank'. Borrowed from Lat *contentāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049) ◊ HAARMANN 119.

kuvend m, pl. *kuvende* 'speech; council, meeting'. Borrowed from Lat *conventus* 'meeting, assembly' (CAMARDA I 340; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 219). A parallel form pl. tantum *kuvise* 'speeches, words' continues Rom **conventiae.* ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1044, 1048; JOKL *Idg.Jb.* XI 190 (*kuvise* as a deverbative of **kuvij* borrowed from Lat **convenīre*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St.* I 304 (*kuvise* as a plural of *kuvend*, cf. his interpretation of *vise : vend*); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 88, 148-149.

ky pron., f. **kjo** 'this'. From PAlb **ka-ei*, f. **ka-jā*, based on a pronominal element **ka-* and a demonstrative, see *ai, ajo.* ◊ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315; HULD 84-85 (to *kʷo-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (from **ku-i*, with **-i* < IE **ei̯om*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 217-218.

kyç m, pl. 'key'. Other forms are *klyç* and *qyç*. Borrowed from Slav **kl'učь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kl'uč*, SCr *ključ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 150, 308; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; SVANE 84.

L

lab m, pl. *labë, lebër ~ lebën* 'Lab, inhabitant of Laberia'. Back-formation based on *Labëri* 'Laberia' borrowed from an unattested South

Slavic **labanьja* < **olbanьja* rendering the native pre-Albanian name of the country: *Albania*, 'Αλβανία. ◊ DESNICKAJA *VÈI* 194 (directly from ancient **arb-/*alb-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

labërgoj aor. *labërgova* 'to undo, to untie'. A phonetic variant of the same word is represented in *labërkoj* 'to reduce, to diminish, to wear out'. A derivative of an unattested **lapërkë* based on *lapër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304).

labiç m 'ghost, bogey', adj. 'importunate, rotten'. From **lamiç*, a derivative of *lamjë* 'bogey' (from NGk λαμία, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 231). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Ital **larviccio*, based on Lat *larva* 'specter, shade'); JOKL *LKUBA* 77-78 (from Slav **l'ubičь* 'lover').

labrik m 'sea-wolf'. Borrowed from Gk λάβριχος id. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *labrax*); MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from Rom **labracum* < Gk λάβραξ id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

lacë f 'gusset, inlet; white goat'. Continues **larcë*, a phonetic variant of *larëz* id., a derivative of *larë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304-305). ◊ BARDHI apud ÇABEJ *ibid.* (to IE **leuk̂-* 'white').

laçkë f, pl. *laçka* 'household goods'. One of the rhyming words appearing together with *plaçkë* 'thing, booty' (of Modern Greek or late Slavic origin, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 344): *me laçkë e me plaçkë* 'bag and baggage', *plaçkë e raçkë* id.

ladut m, pl. 'rogue, rascal'. Probably, borrowed from an unattested Bulg **lъgut* 'liar' derived from Slav **lъgati* 'to lie'.

lafatë f, pl. *lafata* 'Judas tree'. Another phonetic variant is *lajthatë*. A form *lofatë* is also attested. Derived from *lajthi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (from Ital *siliquastro* 'Judas tree').

lafshë f, pl. *lafsha* 'crest (of bird), comb'. Borrowed from Lat *laxa (cutis)* 'loose (skin)' (MEYER *Wb.* 234). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 197 (to *lapë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84 (deminutive of *lapë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 77-78.

lag aor. *laga* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash'. From PAlb **lauga* to be further compared with *lëgatë*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *lī-* 'to melt'); CAMARDA 140 (to Gk λούω 'to wash'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Slav **volga* 'liquid'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 37 (related to Slav **volga*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 45-46; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (same as VASMER); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 83; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; HAMP apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *liũgas* 'swamp'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229-230.

lagaterë f 'period of changeable weather (in March - April)'. A compound of *lag* and *ter* (JOKL *LKUBA* 293).

lagje f, pl. *lagje* 'district, quarter'. Singularized plural of **lag* etymologically identical with Gk λόχος 'ambush, place for lying in wait', Slav **logъ* 'den, narrow valley' and other continuants of IE **loghos*, a deverbative of **legh-* 'to lie' (JOKL *RIEB* I 58-60). ◊ POKORNY I 658-659; FRISK II 110-112; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from Gk λόχος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 305 (agrees with JOKL, adduces sg. *lag* 'band, horde'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XV 248-250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 230.

laj ~ lâj aor. *lava* 'to wash'. Originates from PAlb **launja* related to Gk λούω id., Lat *lavō* id. (PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211, 215). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (borrowed from Lat *lavāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; JOKL *IF* XLIII 51; VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 84-86 (to Russ *solovyj*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175 (follows MEYER); FRISK II 138-139; WALDE-HOFMANN I 773-774; POKORNY I 692; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117, *Münch. St. Spr.* 109; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 186 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211, 247; HULD 85 (if borrowed, Lat *lavāre* would yield **lëvoj* or **loj*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 230-231.

lajkë f, pl. *lajkë* 'caress; flattery'. From **larkë* further related to *larë*. Semantically, the development is identical with that of *laroj* 'to speckle, to spot' and 'to flatter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 305-306). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk λαικάζω 'to wench'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (borrowed from or related to Slav **laska* 'caress'); JOKL *LKUBA* 204-205 (to Gk λάσκω 'to shout' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 231 (to *laj*).

lajle f, pl. *lajle* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A contamination of *lajkë* and *lale*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 306 (related to *larë*).

lajthi f, pl. *lajthi* 'hazel-tree, hazel-nut'. In Borgo Erizzo, *lakthi* is attested (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166-167). Based on *lakth* ~ **laqth* 'loop, noose', derivative in *-th* of *lak* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 30). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 234 (to Slav **lěska* 'hazel-nut', Lith *lazdà* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 44 (to Skt *vleṣka-* 'sling'); JOKL *LKUBA* 203-205 (supports MEYER and reconstructs an earlier **ladh* with an epenthetic *-j-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109 (from **l-al-thi*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 231-232.

lak m, pl. *leq, leqe* 'trap, snare, rope, bow (of a musical instrument), pass (in the mountains), bend, curve'. From PAlb **laka* 'bend, curve' connected with IE **lēk-* ~ **lək-*, see *flak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *laqueus* 'noose, snare'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Rom **laquus*, cf. Lat *laqueus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 160; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 9; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 227.

lakë f 'defilé, valley'. Borrowed from Gmc **lakaz* 'brook, river, swamp', cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu* and the like. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *lacus*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Ital *lacca* 'deep bottom', itself from Germanic); KLUGE 416.

lakër ~ **lakën** f, pl. *lakra* ~ *lakna* 'cabbage, greens'. Borrowed from Gk λάχανον 'greens' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14; MEYER *Wb.* 236). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 208; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; JANSON *Unt.* 41.

lakmi f, pl. 'greed, avarice'. Derived from **lakëm* 'greedy' borrowed from Slav **olkomъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lakom*, SCr *lakom* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 236). As a result of erroneous segmentation of **lak-ëm*, a new form *lakut* 'greedy, glutton' was produced. ◊ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

lakshte f 'dew'. Derivative in *-sht(ë)* from *lag*.

lakuq adj. 'red (of earth)'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

lakur adj. 'naked'. From PAlb **lauk-ura* derived from IE **leuk̂-* 'to

shine, to be white'. The derivative **lauk-urā* > *lëkurë* 'skin, bark' also belongs to the same root. For the semantic motivation of words for 'bark'. From *lakur* the word for bat *lakuriq*, *laskuriq* is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 236 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'), *Alb. St.* III 3; JOKL *Studien* 46, n. 1 (compares *lëkurë* with Gk λακίς 'tear, break, crack', Slav **lǫčǫ*, **lǫčiti* 'to split'), 51 (prefix *lë-* in *lëkurë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; TRUBAČEV *Remesl. term.* 165-166; POKORNY I 687-689; HULD 86; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145, *Orpheus* VI 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 232-233, 240-241 (dialectal form of *lakuriq*, further related to *lëkurë* and based on IE **skeu̯ə-* 'to cover').

lale f, pl. *lale* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A result of assimilation of *liquida* in the plural form of *lar*.

lalë m 'uncle, father' (used as a title). Represents a *Lallwort* wide-spread in the Balkans, cf. NGk λαλᾶς 'grandfather' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 236; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167, *Stratificazione* 117). From this stem *lalush* 'to fondle, to caress' is derived.

landër f, pl. *landra* 'tendril (of plants); oleander'. Borrowed from MLat *lorandrum*, a transformation of Lat *rhododendron* (OREL *Orpheus* VI 66).

lanok m, pl. *lanokë* 'robber, thief'. Another variant is *landok*. Borrowed from Slav **lěnъkъ* 'lazy person, idler', cf. Bulg *lenk'o*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (derivative of *lëndë* with the original meaning 'woodcutter').

lap aor. *lapa* 'to slurp, to lap up'. From PAlb **lapa*, an onomatopoeia relate to Gk λάπτω 'to lick', Lith *lapth* 'to swallow greedily, Slav **lopati* 'to eat greedily' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* III 31). Among derivatives, note *lëpij* 'to lick' and *lëpis* 'index' (literally, the licked finger). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (equal to Friul *lapa* 'to lick'); FRISK II 85, 92; POKORNY I 677; FRAENKEL 339-340; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242 (influenced by *pij*, form of *pi*).

laparos aor. *laparosa* 'to make dirty'. Together with Bulg *lapardosvam* id. borrowed from a Modern Greek formation based on Gk λαπαρός

'soft'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (to *lapërdhi*), *LKUBA* 90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 233 (new formation in *-os* based on *lapër* 'cloth').

lapë f, pl. *lapa* 'hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf'. Continues PAlb **lapā* related to Lith *lāpas* 'leaf', Gk λοπός 'shell, husk, bark' and the like. Derived from *lapë* are *lapetë* 'peritoneum (of a slaughtered animal); triangular patch of cloth' and *lapër* 'peritoneum, dewlap', adj. 'foul, evil, bad'. As to *labë* 'bark', it is a secondary dialectal variant of *lapë*, cf. ÇABEJ *St.* I 307. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 237 (to Lith *lópas* 'spot' and its cognates); JOKL *Stud.* 44 (*labë* to Lith *lúobas* 'bark'), *LKUBA* 88-89; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav **lupъ* 'scale', ON *lauf* 'leaf'), XXVI 386 (*labë* to Gk λοβός 'pod'); FRAENKEL 339-340; FRISK II 105-107; CHANTRAINE 632; POKORNY I 678; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229, 233.

lapërdhi f, pl. *lapërdhi* 'dewlap; obscenity, dirty joke'. Derivative of *lapër*, cf. *lapë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (to Skt *lápati* '(he) whispers', Slav **lepetъ* 'babble'); JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (together with *laparos* 'to make dirty' related to IE **leip-* 'fat, grease, dirt'), *LKUBA* 90.

laps aor. *lapsa* 'to exhaust, to wary'. Although in other cases the cluster *-ps-* indicates the Greek origin, this word may continue PAlb **lapitja* related to Gk λαπαρός 'weak', λαπάζω 'to weaken' (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◊ FRISK II 84-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (from Gk βλάπτω 'to disable, to weaken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 234.

laps aor *lapsa* 'to wish, to want'. From PAlb **laubitja* related to Skt *lúbhyati* 'to wish', Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◊ MAYRHOFER III 107-108; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (identical with *laps* 'to exhaust, to wary'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XV 174-176.

lapush adj. 'big-eared'. Borrowed from Slav **lapuša* 'plant with big leaves', cf. SCr *lapuša* 'kind of oak'. The Albanian usage is obviously metaphorical.

lar m 'laurel'. Borrowed from Lat *laurus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 237). From *lar* a deminutive *larth* 'holly' as well as *larëz* 'wild vine' and *larushk* id. are derived. ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17 (*larushk* from Lat *labrusca*); HAARMANN 132; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 110, 140.

lara pl. 'menstruation; rinse water'. Substantivized form of *larë* ~ *lanë*, participle of *laj.*

laracoj aor. *laracova* 'to variegate'. Together with *laraman* 'motley, spotted' and *laragan* id. derived from *larë.*

lardh m 'fat bacon'. Borrowed from Lat *lāridum, lārdum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169.

larë f, pl. *lara* 'white spot', adj. 'spotted, motley'. From PAlb **laurā*, derivative in *-r-* based on *laj.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laros*, cf. *laroj*).

larg adv. 'far (away)'. Borrowed from Lat *largus* 'big, large' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042, 1050; HASDEU *EMR* I 583; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 132; HULD 85 (gross misinterpretation of MEYER's view); LANDI *Lat.* 49.

laroj aor. *larova* 'to speckle, to variegate; to flatter'. Another morphological variant is *laros*. Derived from *larë.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (borrowed from NGk λερώνω 'to dirty'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 153 (*laroj* 'to flatter' to Slav **laskati*); JOKL *IJ* X VII 67 (united *laroj* 'to speckle' and *laroj* 'to flatter' by comparing it to Gk ποικίλλω 'to speckle, to paint, to flatter'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (follows JOKL).

lartë ~ naltë adj. 'high'. Based on the adverbial Lat *in altum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◊ MEYER *BB* XIV 54, *Wb.* 238 (rejects his earlier explanation); JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (from PAlb **laudra*, to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 34 (on prothetic *l-*), 201; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 147-148 (< **tlə-ro-*, to Lat *tollō*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 246; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

lashtë adj. 'old; early, premature (of fruit)'. A parallel form is *lashë*. An adjective in *-të* going back to PAlb **lauša* related to Goth *laus*

'empty, loosen', with further connection with Gk λύω 'to loose, to release'. Semantically, the development may be compared to that of Gmc **alda-* 'old' if, in our case, an intermediate link 'to release' > 'to let grow' > 'to grow old' is admitted. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (from Lat *lassus* 'faint, languid'); JOKL *LKUBA* 226-228, *Slavia* XIII 309 (to IE **leudh-* 'to grow'); KLUGE 446; FRISK II 149-150; POKORNY I 681-682; FEIST *Goth.* 325; HAARMANN 132; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 56 (to Lith *ìlgas* 'long'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308-309 (derivative of *lag*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

latë f, pl. *lata* 'small axe'. From PAlb **laptā* related to *lapë* (JOKL *Studien* 47, *LKUBA* 88) and reflecting a derivation close to (thematic) Slav **lopata* 'spade', Lith *lópeta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). On the semantic link between 'leaf' and 'spade' see TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 43. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 17 (related to Slav **delbto*); TOPOROV *PJa* IV 358-363.

latredh m, pl. *latredha* 'uncastrated ram or goat'. A prefixal derivative of *tredh* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110).

latyrë f, pl. *latyra* 'rinse water'. Borrowed from Rom **lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* 'to wash' (MEYER *Wb.* 237).

lavare f, pl. *lavare* 'noose, hangman's rope'. Singularized plural of *lavar* 'dog-collar'. A prefixal form of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). The corresponding verb is *lavirem* 'to hang down'.

lavij aor. *lavita* 'to become mad'. Another variant is *lavem* id. Historically identical with *lavos* 'to wound, to injure' from NGk λαβώνω id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 239 (on *lavos*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108.

lavire f, pl. *lavire* 'filthy rags; whore; brook, rill; ridge (of a hill)'. Derivative of *lavirem*, see *lavare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310).

lbardh aor. *lbardha* 'to make white'. A prefixal derivative of *bardh*.

le part. Accompanies verb in jussive. Goes back to PAlb **laide* identical with the Baltic particle of optative and permissive: Lith *laĩ*, Latv *lài, leî*, OPrus *-lai*. It coincides with the old unattested imperative as well as with 2 sg. pres. of *lë* (CAMARDA I 255; PEKMEZI 76-77). ◊ FRAENKEL 329; ÇABEJ *St.* I 310.

lebetis aor. *lebetita* 'to tremble, to shudder, to be frightened'. Borrowed from Slav **lebetati* 'to tremble', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *lebetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 239). ◊ SVANE 254.

lebër f 'mastitis; leprosy'. Identical with *lepër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

leckë f, pl. *lecka* 'rag, scrap of cloth'. Derived from *lesë* 'cleaning-rag' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rreckë*).

leçis aor. *leçita* 'to proclaim, to announce'. Borrowed from Slav **ličiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: CS *ličiti*, Maced *liči*, SCr *ličiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 242). The reasons for which the vowel of the first syllable is reflected as Alb *-i-* are not clear. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180; SVANE 247.

ledh m 'mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river mouth, balk'. Continues PAlb **laida* related to OPrus *laydis* 'clay' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 239, *Alb. St.* III 28). The meaning 'wall' may be explained as an original description of a 'clay wall'. ◊ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 367-368; JOKL *IF* XXX 206 (to OE *līste* 'edge'); ENDZELĪNS *DI* IV/2 248 (follows MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Gk λήμη); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; PISANI *Saggi* 123; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (to Latv *lēza*, ON *lágr*); POKORNY I 662; DURIDANOV *TD* 94 (reconstructs Dac **laid-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (follows JOKL); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220 (repeats JOKL and OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

ledhë f, pl. *ledha* 'caress, fondling'. If the underlying meaning was 'to touch', *ledhë* is related to *ledh* exactly as Lith *laĩtas* 'silt' is connected with *liẽsti* 'to touch' (JEGERS *KZ* LXXX 87-88). The Baltic forms, moreover, are cognates of OPrus *laydis*, see *ledh*. ◊ FRAENKEL 334.

leh m, pl. *lehë* 'plot of land, patch of land'. Borrowed from Slav **lěxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: OCS *lěxa*, Bulg *lexa*, SCr *lijeha, leha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 305; SVANE 38.

leh ~ lef aor. *leha ~ lefa* 'to bark'. Goes back to PAlb **laja*, a zero grade form related to Skt *rā́yati* id., Lith *lóju, lóti*, Slav **lajati* and

the like (MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◊ CAMARDA I 65 (to Gk ληκέω 'to sound'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 151; ERNOUT-MEILLET 344; PISANI *Saggi* 130; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk λάσκω); FRAENKEL 387; MAYRHOFER III 55; POKORNY I 650; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIV 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

lehtë adj. 'light'. A more archaic variant is *leh*. Continues PAlb **lega* < IE **legʷh-* or **laga* < IE **l̥ngʷh-* etymologically connected with Skt *raghú-* 'hastening', *laghú-* 'light', Gk ἐλαχύς id., Lat *levis* id. and the like (BOPP 462, 490; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 239-240). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38 (from Lat *levis* id.); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 69; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108 (*leh* < **lev* < **l̥ngʷh-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; MAYRHOFER III 31-32; FRISK I 484-485; WALDE-HOFMANN I 788-789; POKORNY I 660-661; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133 (follows VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 310-311.

lej aor. *leva, linda* 'to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)'. A parallel morphological variant *lind* represents - as many other Albanian verbs of this type - a nasal present indicative of the original vocalism **li-n-d*. The original verb is represented by its dialectal form *le* continuing PAlb **laida* while the form *lej* is a secondary formation **laidnja*. Further related to *lë* and, outside Albanian, to Lith *léisti* 'to let', Latv *laîst* id. and the like. For the semantic development of *le* ~ *lej* 'to be born' < 'to appear' < 'to be sent forth' it is important to note the range of meanings of Lith *léisti* - 'to let, to send, to let rise'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (hesitantly suggests a borrowing from Lat *levāre* 'to lift up, to raise'); JOKL *Studien* 49, *LKUBA* 42-44, 262 (to IE **leudh-* 'to grow' - but that leaves the vowel of *lind* unexpained); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170 (agrees with JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 29-30 (to Lat *līberī* 'children' < **leidheroi*, not **leudheroi*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from **lei-n-*); FRAENKEL 351-352; ÇABEJ *St.* I 311-313 (to IE **legh-* 'to lie', cf. in particular Gk λόχος, λοχεία 'childbirth'); POKORNY I 666; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 28; JANSON *Unt.* 29-30; CLACKSON *LR* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235-237 (to Lat *alō* 'to feed', Bret *ala* 'to give birth'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lekë f 'sinciput, top of the head'. From PAlb **lakā* etymologically connected with *lak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75).

lelë f, pl. *lela* 'dirty woman, slut'. Borrowed from Slav **lěl'a* 'aunt', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lěl'a, lel'a*, Bulg *lel'a*, SCr *ljelja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25).

lemarak m, pl. *lemarakë* 'glutton'. Another variant is *lemacak*. Expressive derivatives based on *lemcë*.

lemcë f 'uterus (of animals)'. A morphological variant in *-zë* is represented by *lemzë* 'female sexual organ'. Both words are based on *lemë*, a participle of *lej* (GAZULLI 234). As to *klemzë* id., it is a prefixal derivative of *lemzë* (GAZULLI 204). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 313.

lemeri f, pl. *lemeri* 'fear, terror'. Prefixal derivative of *(t)merr*.

lend m, pl. *lende* 'acorn'. From PAlb **lenta* compared with the Indo-European word for 'lentil' **lent-*: Lat *lēns, lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav **lętja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 313-314). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *glānde(m)* 'acorn' but how to explain Lat *gl-* > Alb *l-*?); MEYER *Wb.* 243 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1054; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22 (compares with *lënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk βάλανος id.); VASMER II 553-554; WALDE-HOFMANN I 783; POKORNY I 677; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 131-132 (same as MANN); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Latin); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XV 63-65; OREL *IF* XLIII 111 -113 (unconvincing comparison with *lej*).

lenicë f, pl. *lenica* 'female salmon'. Derivative of *lej* using a suffix of Slavic origin. The specific term is connected with the salmon spawning.

lenoj aor. *lenova* 'to mitigate, to soften, to relieve'. Borrowed from Ital *lenire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ CAMARDA I 173 (to Lat *lēnīre* 'to make soft, to alleviate'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; ÇABEJ *St.* I 314 (derived from *leh, lehtë*).

lepër f 'leprosy'. Borrowed from Lat *lepra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from NGk λέπρα id.).

leptyrë f 'muddy place'. Borrowed from Rom **lippitūra*, cf. Lat *lippitūdo* 'blearedness, rheum'.

lepur m, pl. *lepra, lepuj* 'hare'. Borrowed from Lat *leporem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 139; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 241). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 9; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 144-145.

lerë f, pl. *lerë* 'dirt, mud'. From PAlb **laurā* etymologically identical with Lith *laũrė* 'dirty person', further related to **leu-* reflected in *lum.* ◊ CAMARDA I 146 (to ὀλερόν· κόπρον, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laroj*, ὀλερόν); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (derivative in *-rë* of *lyej*), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 12 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 346-347; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 237 (dialectal form of *lyrë*, cf. *lyej*).

lerë f, pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank'. Continues PAlb **laurā* related to Gk λαύρα 'alley, pass between rocks' (JOKL *RIEB* I 43-46). ◊ FRISK II 91; PISANI *Saggi* 85; POKORNY I 683; GINDIN *JaDN* 164; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from λαύρα); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 237-238 (originally Geg).

lerth m 'ivy'. Another variant is *lerdh*. Deminutive in *-th* of *lar.*

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'harrow, wicker-work, frame'. Borrowed from Slav **lěsa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lesa*, SCr *ljesa* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 156). A parallel form *leshë* id. belongs to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◊ SVANE 31.

lesë f, pl. *lesa* 'cleaning rag, cloth'. A derivative of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

leskër f, pl. *leskra* 'scale (of fish), shred, slate, thin metal shavings'. A derivative of **lesk* borrowed from Slav **listъkъ* 'small leaf', cf. South Slavic continuants: Maced *listok*, SCr *listak.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316 (from SCr *liska* 'metal plate'); SVANE 149.

lesh m, pl. *leshra* ~ *leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'. From PAlb **laiša* etymologically connected with the Balto-Slavic word for 'foliage': Lith *laĩškos* 'leaf', Latv *laĩska* 'leaf on a linen stalk; stalk', Slav **listъ* 'leaf'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav **volsъ* 'hair'); *Wb.* 241 (comparison with Gmc **fleusaz* 'fleece'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 38, 61; JOKL *Studien* 49 f. (to

Skt *laví-* 'sickle', Gk λαῖον id.), *Slavia* XIII 292 (borrowed from Slav **lěsa*); KRISTOFORIDHI 205 (to Gk λάχνη 'down, fleece, frizzy hair'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45 (to Gk οὖλος 'curly'), *Hymje* 26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38-39 (to ON *vlóh* 'hair', Gk λάχνη, same as KRISTOFORIDHI); RIBEZZO *Riv. indo-gr.-it.* I 16 (to Gk λάσιος 'hairy, covered with hair'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows MEYER); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315-316, IV 78; FRAENKEL 333-334; VASMER II 500-501; POKORNY I 681; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (borrowed from Slav **volsъ*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XV 143-144 (Slavic and Baltic words derived from IE **lei-* 'to spring up [of plants]'); HULD 85-86 (to OS *wlōh* 'fringe') ; DEMIRAJ *AE* 238-239 (to Lat *vellus* 'wool').

leshko m, pl. *leshko* 'credulous, gullible'. This homonym of *leshko* 'hairy one' (to *lesh*) is borrowed from Bulg *lečko, lъčko*, adv. 'lightly', cf. *lečok* 'light'.

leshnje f 'moss'. Derivative of *lesh*.

lez m, pl. *leza, lezë* 'wart, mole, pimple, birthmark'. Another morphological variant is *lezë*. There exists a dialectal form *lemzë* that reflects the original structure of the word and allows to identify it with *lemzë* ~ *lemcë* and, in the long run, with *lej* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 31). For the semantics cf. E *birthmark*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316-317 (to *lyej*).

lë ~ lâ aor. *lashë* 'to let'. From PAlb **laidna*, a present in **-ne/o-* replacing a more archaic **laida* (see *lej*). Related to IE **leid-* attested in Baltic and Germanic: Lith *léisti* id., Latv *laîst* id., Goth *letan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28, 65, IV 24). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 252, *Sprache* IX 118; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 351-352; POKORNY I 666; FEIST *Goth.* 329-330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 317 (to Lat *lēnis* 'soft, smooth' - semantically difficult); DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 227; OREL *IF* XLIII 113; HULD 155; JANSON *Unt.* 81 (on part. *lënë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 239.

lëbarke f 'dysentery'. A prefixal derivative of *bark* (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 51; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

lëbyr aor. *lëbyra* 'to dazzle, to maze, to confuse'. A prefixal deriva-

tive of *byr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 317-318 (reconstructs two prefixes *lë-* and *b-*); MURATI *Probleme* 86-87 (to *lyej*).

lëforë f, pl. *lëfora* 'rind, peel, scale of fish'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *lëvore* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 318).

lëfos m, pl. *lëfosë* 'glutton'. From **lëpues* 'lapping', see *lap*. The feminine form *lëfosë* is attested in a different meaning - 'woman or animal with hanging breasts'.

lëfyt m, pl. *lëfyta* 'pipe, tube'. A prefixal derivative of *fyt* (MEYER *Wb.* 115). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

lëgatë f, pl. *lëgata* 'marsh'. Cf. also *lëngatë* under the influence of *lëng* ~ *lang*. From PAlb **leugatā* connected with Illyr ἕλος Λούγεον καλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liũgas* id., Slav **luža* 'pool' (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◊ MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 52 (to Gk λέμφος 'mucus'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45-46 (to *lag*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86, *IF* XLVI 383; KRAHE *BNF* XIV 120-124 (Illyrian parallels); FRAENKEL 379; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 239-240 (to *lag, lagë*).

lëkore f, pl. *lëkore* 'chicory'. A prefixal derivative of *kore* id., probably influenced by *lëkurë*.

lëkostër f 'bast'. A prefixal derivative of unattested **kostër* borrowed from Slav **kostra* 'bark, grass'. In South Slavic only a derivative **kostr'ava* 'kind of grass' has been registered: Bulg *kostr'ava*, SCr *kostrjava*.

(G) **lëkue** m, pl. *lëkonj* 'water lily'. Borrowed from Lat *(līlium) Lacōnem* 'Spartan (lily)'.

lëkund aor. *lëkunda* 'to rock, to swing, to sway, to shake'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kund*, a nasal present reflecting PAlb **kunda* and related to Gmc **xutan* 'to swing': MHG *hutzen*. ◊ BUGA *RFV* LXV 317 (compares Germanic forms with Lith *kuzděti* 'to tremble', *kùdulti* 'to pull hair or beard'); POKORNY I 956-957; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

lëkuq aor. *lëkuqa* 'to tinge red, to dye red'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 101).

lëkurë f, pl. *lëkurë* 'skin, hide'. Derived from *lakur*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102, 108 (prefix *lë-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 240-241.

lëmaqe f, pl. *lëmaqe* 'expanse of rubble, stoneslide, pile of stones'. A singularized plural of **lëmak*, a derivative in *-ak* of *lëmë*.

lëmashk m, pl. *lëmashqe* 'mud, scum, moss, fur on tongue'. Another variant is *lëmyshk* 'moss, fur on tongue'. A prefixal derivative from *myshk*.

lëmazë f, pl. *lëmaza* 'thin skin, shell'. A prefixal derivative of *mazë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108).

lëmehem refl. 'to put on make-up'. A reflexive form of *lëmoj* 'to smooth, to polish'. ◊ ÇABEJ St. I 318 (derived from *lyem*, participle of *lyej*).

lëmekem refl. 'to become wet; to faint'. A prefixal denominative (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110) of an unattested **mek* 'wet' continuing PAlb **maka* and connected with *makë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

lëmë ~ lamë f, pl. *lëmë ~ lamë, lëmënj ~ lamënj, lëmenj ~ lamenj* 'threshing-floor, wine-press'. There also exists a more archaic masculine form *lëm ~ lam*. From PAlb **lamā* etymologically identical with OHG *lam* 'lame', Slav **lomъ* 'breaking; crow-bar; broken branches', reflecting **lomos* further derived from IE **lem-* 'to break' (MEYER *Wb.* 243, *Alb. St.* III 64). ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 17 (to *lej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167-168 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ St. I 318-319 (to Lith *lomà* 'pit, hole'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 25-27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 241 (to Gk ἀλωή 'threshing-floor').

lëmoj aor. *lëmova* 'to file, to polish'. Borrowed from Lat *līmāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

lëmoshë f, pl *lëmosha* 'alms, charity'. Borrowed from Germanic, cf. OHG *alamuosa* id., OS *alemōsa* id. Based on *lemoshë* is *lemoshtër*

'crumb, speck, offering to the dead enclosed in coffin with corpse'. ◊ KLUGE 15; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lëmsh ~ lamsh m, pl. *lëmshe ~ lamshe* 'ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spellet'. The meaning 'globe of earth' < *'broken lump of earth' may be one of the oldest. The word goes back to PAlb **lemesja* and is formally identical with Latv *lemesis* 'sharp edge of the plouw', Slav **lemešь* 'plouwshare', with a parallel form with a voiced auslaut in Lith *lẽmežis* 'wooden part of plough to which the ploughshare is fixed', Slav **lemežь* 'plouwshare'. The resulting IE **lemesi̯o-* is a derivative of **lem-* 'to break', cf. *lëmë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 243 (from Rom **glemus*, cf. Lat *glomus* 'ball, clue of yarn, thread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 23-24 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *Slavia* III 451 (against MEYER for phonetic reasons: Lat *gl-* cannot yield Alb *l-*; suggests a comparison with Slav **lomiti* 'to break'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 324 (*-sh* explained as the ending of locative!); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 20 (to OIr *loman* 'cord'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; FRAENKEL 354; ÇABEJ St. I 319 (from IE **u̯lo-m-* based on **u̯el-* 'to turn'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIV 108-110; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

lëmuq adv. 'in a heap, piled up', m 'pile'. Another variant is *lëmuç*. A variant of *lëmaqe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255.

lëndë ~ landë f, pl. *lëndë ~ landë* 'wood, timber, material'. Goes back to PAlb **lentā* etymologically related to Gmc **lendō* 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentà* 'board', Slav **lǫtъ* 'bast' (MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 117; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 36). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 152, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93; MANN *Language* XVII 20; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 203; FRAENKEL 357-358; VASMER II 536; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 217; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 150-151; HULD 87; CLACKSON *LR* 135, 227.

lëndinë f, pl. *lëndina* 'untilled land, fallow field, grassland'. Borrowed from Slav **lędina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ledina*, SCr *ledina* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187). ◊ SVANE 166.

lëndoj ~ lendoj aor. *lëndova ~ lendova* 'to irritate, to make sore, to hurt'. Borrowed from Lat *lentāre* 'to make flexible, to bend'. ◊

MEYER *Alb. St.* V 92 (to *linda*); ÇABEJ St. I 319 (from Lat *laedere* 'to hurt, to wound').

lëng ~ lang m, pl. *lëngje ~ langje* 'juice, liquid, broth'. From PAlb **langa* obviously connected with *lag* and *lëgatë* but reflecting an unexpected nasal infix. Morphonologically not clear. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to Slav **slęknǫti* 'to become wet'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430.

lëngatë f, pl. *lëngatë* 'illness, sickness, ailment'. Another variant is *ligatë* 'liver phthisis (in sheep)'. From PAlb **ligatā* derived from **liga* > *lig*. The inlaut *-ën-* has appeared under the influence of *lëngoj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to *lëngoj*).

lëngoj aor. *lëngova* 'to weaken, to languish'. Borrowed from Lat *languēre* 'to be faint, languid' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). Note a nominal derivative *lëngjyrë* 'typhus'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 132.

lëngor adj. 'pliant, supple'. Derived from *lëngoj* (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 50 (to Lith *leñkti* 'to bend'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lëng*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 242.

lënur ~ lnuer aor. *lënura ~ lnora* 'to card, to comb (flax)'. A prefixal derivative of *nvar*, a variant of *mvar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (from Rom **lānōrius* 'worker in wool').

lëpec m 'old ox or cow; ailing person'. Derivative of *lopë* (MEYER *Wb.* 248). ◊ ÇABEJ St. I 320 (to *lapë*).

lëpiskë f, pl. *lëpiska* 'scale (of fish)'. A prefixal derivative of *pisk*.

lëpitkë f, pl. *lëpitka* 'slipper'. A derivative of *lapë* with a Slavic suffix. A homonymic *lëpitkë* 'blade (of knife)' is borrowed from Bulg *lepidka*, deminutive of *lepida* id., itself a Modern Greek loanword (*BER* 364). ◊ MANN *HAED* 241 (explains *lëpitkë* 'blade' directly from Greek).

lëpizë f, pl. *lëpiza* 'shelf, rack'. As well as *lëpozë* 'roof', related to *lapë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 86-95).

lëpjetë f, pl. *lëpjeta* 'orach, dock'. Borrowed from Gk λάπαθον id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14-16) or, rather, from an unattested *λάπεθον. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from Lat *lapathum* id.), *Alb. St.* V 92; JOKL *LKUBA* 119 (agrees with THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ St. I 320 (Albanian and Greek forms derived from the same Mediterranean source).

lëplungë f, pl. *lëplunga* 'webbing for tying cradle to mother's back, cheese-cloth used as a strainer'. A secondary phonetic variant of *naplungë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

lëpushë f, pl. *lëpusha* 'mullein; broad-leafed plant'. Derived from *lapë*.

lëroj aor. *lërova* 'to cultivate, to till'. Borrowed from Lat *labōrāre* 'to labor, to take pains'.

lërushkë ~ larushkë m *lërushq ~ larushq* 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis'. Borrowed from Lat *lābrusca* 'wild vine' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; HAARMANN 132.

lëshoj aor. *lëshova* 'to let, to leave, to free'. Borrowed from Lat *lassāre* 'to render faint, to tire, *to let' (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk λίσσομαι 'to beg, to pray'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (from Ital *lasciare* 'to let'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 243; HAARMANN 132.

lëti ~ lëtî adj 'Italian, Latin, Catholic'. Borrowed from Lat *Latīnus* 'Latin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 238-239). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169-170; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 309.

lëvare f, pl. *lëvare* 'waterfall'. Another variant is *livare*. A prefixal derivative of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310) structurally close to *ujvarë* id. < *ujë varë* 'hanging water'. For the original meaning of *lëvare* cf. a derivative *livarzë* 'catkin' < *'hanging'.

lëvere f 'cloth, rag, laundry'. A singularized plural of **lëvar*, the latter being a prefixal derivative of *var*, cf. *lëvare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309-310). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (with a metathesis, from Lat *velārium* 'covering, screen'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

lëvirem ~ lëvyrem refl. 'to beg, to beseech'. A semantic development of an older *lëvyrem* 'to scratch oneself (as a sign of grief)', the latter being based on *lëvyr* 'to scratch, to lacerate', a prefixal derivative of *var, vjerr.*

lëviz aor. *lëviza* 'to move, to stir'. Related to *luaj* from which it is derived with an unusual suffix *-iz* < PAlb **-idja.*

lëvore f, pl. *lëvore* 'peel, skin; rag'. A formation parallel to *lëvere* but with a different vocalism (ÇABEJ *St.* I 321). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108 (prefix *lë-*).

lëvorzoj aor. *lëvorzova* 'to peel'. Based on *lëvorzë ~ lëvorxë* 'peel, skin', derived from *lëvore.*

lëvozhgë f, pl. *lëvozhga* 'hard shell, peel, skin'. Other variants are *lëvezhgë, lëvexhgë, levoxhgë.* Derivative in *-kë* or *-shkë* of *lëvorxë.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 476 (borrowed from Slav **luska ~ *l'uska* 'peel, shell'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321 (derived directly from *lëvorë*).

li ~ lî m, pl. *linj* 'flax, linen'. Borrowed from Lat *līnum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 244-245). ◊ CAMARDA II 161 (compares *li* with Gk λίνον id., Lat *līnum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1056; JOKL *LKUBA* 256; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (same as CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; JANSON *Unt.* 53.

licë f, pl. *lica* 'flax tow'. A metaphoric usage of Slav **lice* 'face' as 'face side' or 'upper part', cf. such meanings as Bulg *lice* 'upper part' or SCr *lice* id.

lidh aor. *lidha* 'to bind, to tie'. From PAlb **līdza* etymologically close to Lat *līgāre* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 43-44 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 358; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 129; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HAMP *IF* LXVI 53; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HULD 86-87; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242-243.

lifqer m, pl. *lifqere* 'waterfall'. Another form is *lifqar*. Borrowed from Rom **lavcārum* < Lat *lavācrum* 'bath'. The vowel of the first syllable results from the development of the unstressed *-ë-* to *-i-*. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/5 9 (from Lat *liquor* 'liquid'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321-322 (related to *lëvare*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lig adj. 'bad, ill'. Reflects PAlb **liga* while *ligë* 'illness' goes back to PAlb **ligā*. Further connected with Gk ὀλίγος 'small, few', λοιγός 'destruction, death', Lith *ligà* 'illness', Latv *liga* id. (CAMARDA I 66 on λοιγός; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 7). The related adjective *ligshtë* 'ailing' is identical with Lith *ligū́stas* 'ill' (DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 60-61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRAENKEL 370; FRISK II 376; CHANTRAINE 645; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 190; POKORNY I 667; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199; HULD 87; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243.

ligj m, pl *ligje* 'law'. Other morphological variants of sg. are *ligje* and *ligjë*. The word is borrowed from Lat *lēge(m)* id. (CAMARDA II 69; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 245). Note Alb *-i-* < Lat *-ē-* (explained by the Sicilian dialectal mediation in MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 43 (*ligj* vs. *zakon*), *WuS* XII 83; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (related to Lith *lygùs* 'equal', OPrus *līgan* 'court'); TOPOROV *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 25 (follows ŠIROKOV); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 133; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361-362; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 85.

ligje pl. 'mourning, dirge'. Historically identical with *ligj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (from Rom **elēgium* instead of Lat *elogium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044.

lijë f, pl. *lija* 'smallpox'. Borrowed from Slav **lixo* 'evil'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lat *līra* 'furrow').

lik m 'level'. Borrowed from Slav **likъ* 'face, surface', cf. Bulg *lik*, SCr *lik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◊ SVANE 126.

likardhë f 'chickenpox'. Probably, from **lëkurdhë*, a suffixal derivative of *lëkurë*. As to the unexpected *-a-* in *likardhë* it could be explained by the analogy with the dialectal *likar* 'doctor' of Serbo-Croatian origin. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* IV 369 (to Russ *kor'* 'chickenpox'); RUSAKOV *LIs 1980* 173.

likogjone pl. 'sacrum, loins, lumbar regions'. An adaptation of the unattested Slavic compound **lędvo-gonъ* 'place from where hips begin', based on **lędva* 'hip, kidney, loin'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to Gk κοχώνη 'part between the pudenda and the anus'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

likoq m 'animal with one testicle'. A prefixal derivative of *koqe* one of the meanings of which is 'testicles'.

liktyrë f 'rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage'. Another variant is *lyktyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *ligātūra* 'band, bunch' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◊ HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327-328.

lil m, pl. *lila* 'lily'. Borrowed from Lat *līlium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35).

lilë f, pl. *lila* 'small iron ring, loop-ring, link'. From PAlb **leilā* related to Lith *leĩlas* 'thin, supple, flexible' and, further, to *liẽlas* 'big', Latv *liêls* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (to the non-existent Lith *lėlės* 'handcuffs'); FRAENKEL 329; POKORNY I 662.

limë f, pl. *lima* 'file'. Borrowed from Lat *līma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 246). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 133.

lind aor. *linda* 'to bear, to beget; to be born'. A nasal present of *lej* (OREL *IF* XCIII 112-113). ◊ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 12; JOKL *Studien* 63; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33-35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243-244.

ling m 'hurry, haste'. From PAlb **linga*, a substantivized nasal present related to Skt *réjate* 'to spring', Goth *laikan* 'to jump', Lith *láigyti*

'to run (unattached)'. For forms with a nasal infix cf. Lith *linguoti* 'to swing'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (*ling* 'trotting' from Turk *link* 'trot'); FEIST *Goth.* 319-320; FRAENKEL 330-331; MAYRHOFER III 72; POKORNY I 667.

lingë f, pl. *linga* 'small bell'. From PAlb **lingā* etymologically identical with Lith *lìngė* 'flexible pole; bend', Latv *liñga* 'loop'. ◊ FRAENKEL 331; POKORNY I 676; ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (onomatopoeia).

linjë f, pl. *linja* 'linen shirt; linen'. Borrowed from Lat *līneum* 'linen garment' (MEYER *Wb.* 245). The homonymic *linjë* 'line' either goes back to Lat *līnea* 'thread, line' or to its continuations in Romance. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 133.

lipë f, pl. *lipa* 'lime-tree'. Borrowed from Slav **lipa* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lipa*, SCr *lipa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◊ SVANE 126.

liq m 'woof, weft'. A singularized plural of **lik* going back to PAlb **lika.* A nominal deverbative of IE **leik[u]-* 'to leave, to remain': Skt *riṇákti* 'to leave', Lat *linquō* id., OHG *līhan* and the like. ◊ MAYRHOFER III 59; WALDE-HOFMANN I 808-810; POKORNY I 669-670; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

liroj aor. *lirova* 'to free'. Borrowed from Lat *līberāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 247). Cf. also *lirë* 'free'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

lis m, pl. *lisa* 'oak, high tree'. A borrowing from Slav **lěsъ* 'wood, forest, tree' (MEYER *Wb.* 247). The Slavic dialect from which the word was borrowed must have had a narrow **ě* > Alb *i*, i.e. it may be identified as "ikavski" Serbo-Croatian (JOKL *LKUBA* 177). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 48 (to Gk ἄλσος 'holy grove'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 205-206; HULD 87 (compares *lis* with *lende* and *lëndë* as a parallel of *vise* ~ *vend*).

lisë f, pl. *lisa* 'woof, weft'. Goes back to PAlb **litšā* continuing **leik[u]i̯ā* and related to *liq.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (borrowed from Bulg *lesa* 'fishing-line, rope, plaiting'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lismë f, pl. *lisma* 'slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay'. From PAlb

**litšimā*. A derivative of *liq, lisë*. The original meaning of the word might be 'remaining (earth), remainders'.

loc m 'dear, darling'. As demonstrated by the derivative *loçkë* 'pupil (of the eye)', also used metaphorically as a synonym of *loc*, the original meaning of the latter must have been 'pupil'. It is, therefore, a continuation of PAlb **lātjā*, derivationally connected with *lot*. Another derivative of *loc* is *loke* 'dear' (addressed to mother).

lodroj aor. *lodrova* 'to spring, to dance, to play'. Derived from *lodër* 'game, play' based on *loz* (SPITZER *MRIW* I 326). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175.

lodh aor. *lodha* 'to tire, to weary'. From PAlb **lada* related to Goth *letan* 'to let', Gk ληδεῖν· κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28). ◊ CAMARDA I 124 (to Gk λώβη 'maltreatment'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 250; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32, 36; PISANI *Saggi* 130; PORZIG *Gliederung* 104; FRISK II 114; KLUGE 424; FEIST *Goth.* 329; POKORNY I 666; HULD 143; BEEKES *IF* XCIII 36; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 54; DEMIRAJ *AE* 244-245.

log m, pl. *logje* 'meadow'. Borrowed from Slav **logъ* 'ravine, low place' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 75, 187). Note that in these meanings the word is not attested in South Slavic where it usually stands for 'lying' or 'den'. ◊ SVANE 167.

logori f, pl. *logori* 'wailing, mourning, dirge'. Assimilated from **lëgori*. Borrowed from Lat *allēgoria* 'allegory'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to *ligje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 211 (related to Gk λόγος used to denote 'dirge'); JOKL *WuS* XII 88 (from NGk μυρολογῶ 'to mourn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (identical with *llogaris* 'to count', of Modern Greek origin), IV 78.

lojc adj. 'unstable'. Literally, 'playful'. Derived from *lojë* 'play' < **loë* related to *loz*.

lopatë f, pl. *lopata* 'shovel, oar'. Borrowed from Slav **lopata* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lopata*, Bulg *lopata*, SCr *lopata* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 245). The derivative *lopatëz* 'tadpole' has derived its unusual meaning from the South Slavic usage in which Bulg *lopata* and SCr *lopata* may stand for 'unpro-

portionately large parts of the body'. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 169, 303; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81 (from SCr *lopata*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 76.

lopë f, pl. *lopë* 'cow'. Continues PAlb **lāpā* related to Latv *luõps* 'cattle' (ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 62). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 206; MEYER *Wb.* 248 (parallels with Alpine words for 'cow'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 22 (to Celt **lāpego-* 'calf': OIr *láeg*, Bret *leue*); JOKL *IF* XLIII 57, *Sprache* IX 149; MIKKOLA *BKIS* XXI 219-220 (to ON *lamb* 'lamb'); PETERSSON *Heter.* 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175-176, *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 654; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51; HAMP *RomPh* XII 153; SCHRIJVER *BC* 309; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245.

loqe f, pl. *loqe* 'penis; testicles'. A singularized plural going back to a paradigm sg. **lok* ~ pl. *loqe*. From PAlb **lāuka* closely related to Lith *liaukà* 'gland' further based on IE **leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322-323). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (compares with SCr *lokanja* 'belly', Bulg Gypsy *lokatši* 'penis'); PEDERSEN *St. Balt.* IV 152 (on Lith *liaukà*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; FRAENKEL 361-362; POKORNY I 687-690; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427.

lorzë f 'parrot'. Used in a phrase *flas si lorza* 'to chat like a parrot'. A suffixal diminutive of an unattested **lori* 'parrot lori, one of the Lorinae'.

losh adj. 'tearful'. Continues **lot-sh*, derived from *lot*.

lot m, pl. *lot* 'tear'. From PAlb **lā(i)ta*, an adjective in **-to-* based on IE **lēi-* 'to pour, to flow' (BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 148-150). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 249 (from Lat *flētus* 'weeping, wailing'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176 (agrees with BARIĆ); POKORNY I 664-665; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

loz aor. *lojta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PAlb **lādja*, a denominative verb based on . The latter is etymologically identical with Slav **ladъ* 'order, peace' from which a similar verb **laditi* 'to make order, to make peace' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (related to *luaj*); MEYER *Wb.* 248 (related to Lith *palóda* 'lack of restraint, licentiousness' and separated from *luaj*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 152 (connects *loz* with *luaj*); JOKL *Studien* 75, *LKUBA* 224; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 323-324 (to OIr *luaid* 'to move'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIV 9-12.

loze f, pl. *loze* 'tendril (of a plant)'. A singularized plural of a less wide-spread *lozë* id. Borrowed from Slav **loza* 'vine, tendril', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *loza*, Bulg *loza*, SCr *loza* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◊ SVANE 118.

lter m 'altar'. Borrowed from Lat *altārium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040, 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38, 115.

luaj ~ luej aor. *lojta ~ luejta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PAlb **lādnja*, a denominative verb closely connected with *loz* (CAMARDA I 50). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (borrowed from Lat *lūdere* 'to play'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 133.

luan ~ luâ m, pl. *luaj ~ luanj, luanë* 'lion'. Borrowed from Lat *leōnem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141-142; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 89, *IF* L 49-52 (from Slav **lьvъ* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (related to Gk λέων id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (follows MEYER).

lubenicë f, pl. *lubenica* 'water-melon'. Borrowed from Slav **luběnica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *lubenica*, SCr *lubenica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 304; SVANE 106.

lubi f, pl. *lubi* 'ogress, dragon-woman with seven heads'. Another variant is *luvgi*. Note also *luvgji* 'voracity, greed' representing a metaphoric usage of this word. It seems probable that *lubi* is a back-formation based on *luvgat*, see *lugat*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 72-74 (to Slav **l'ubiti* 'to love').

lucë f, pl. *luca* 'mud, mire'. Important parallel forms are *jucë*, *juci* and *juzi*. Borrowed from Lat *lutea* 'muddy' (MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◊ CAMARDA I 88 (connected with Lat *lutum* 'mud'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (borrowed from *lutum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; FRAENKEL 198-199; KRISTOFORIDHI 143 (to *llucë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 44 (to Lith *jáudra*

'swamp, marsh; podzol (a kind of soil)'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

luftë f, pl. *lufta, luftëra* ~ *luftna* 'fight, war'. Borrowed from Lat *lucta* 'wrestling' > Rum *luptă* 'fight' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250). Note the East Romance type of the development of *-ct-* in this word. The verb *lëftoj, luftoj* 'to fight' corresponds to Lat *luctāri* id. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049, 1054; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 145, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 55-56; HULD 86; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 22-123, 135.

lug m, pl. *lugj, lugje* 'trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe'. Related to *lugë* 'spoon' with which it continues PAlb **luga* ~ **lugā* etymologically connected with Slav **lъga* 'spoon, blade', **lъžica* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 143-145, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93). Both Albanian and Slavic forms are based on IE **leugh-* 'to break', cf. Skt *rujáti* 'to break'. Note *lugatë* 'oar' derived from *lugë* under the structural influence of *lopatë* and *lukth* 'stomach' based on *lug* (MEYER *Wb.* 250). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 250 (*lugë* borrowed from Slavic); MEYER *IF* II 368-369, *Wb.* 250 (*lug* treated as a Turkish loan, from *oluk, uluk* 'channel'; for *lugë* follows MIKLOSICH); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XVII 14; MAYRHOFER III 64; POKORNY I 686; HAMP *SCL* XXVII/2 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, apud DEMIRAJ (to OE *long* 'vessel'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 257-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245-246.

lugat m, pl. *luget, lugetër* 'bogey, vampire'. Another variant is *luvgat*. Borrowed from an early Romance compound the first element of which was, undoubtedly, Lat *lupus* 'wolf' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; JOKL *LKUBA* 69-74). The whole word can continue Rom **lupus peccātus* 'false wolf'. ◊ POLÁK *EBTch* V 34-35.

luhas aor. *luhata* 'to rock, to sway, to swing'. Borrowed from Slav **l'uxati* 'to strike', cf. in South Slavic - Bulg *l'uxam* 'to strike at a short stick while playing chelik'.

lukër f. 'sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *lucrum* 'gain, profit, wealth' (JOKL *LKUBA* 257-259). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 118.

lule f, pl. *lule* 'flower'. Singularized plural of **lulë* < PAlb **lulā*, an ancient Balkan loanword from an oriental source, probably, from Copt *hrêri, hlêli* 'lily' < Eg *ḥrr.t* id. The same source is postulated for Gk λείριον id., Lat *līlium* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 250 (from Lat *līlium* with *i* > *u* after *l*-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 178 (questions MEYER's explanation); MANN *Language* XVII 16; FRISK II 100-101; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109 (prefix *l*-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 254; HULD 87-88.

lum adj. 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate'. From PAlb **lubna*, an adjective in **-no-* derived from IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish' (JOKL *Studien* 52-53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86), cf. in particular Goth *liufs* 'dear'. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 333; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325 (to *lus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 247-248.

lumak m, pl. 'bud, shoot; lichen, moss'. Another form is *lëmak*. A suffixal derivative of an unattested **lum* continuing PAlb **lubna*. The latter is an adjective in **-no-* based on IE **leubh-* 'to peel, to skin', cf. Lith *lubà* 'board (of a ceiling)', Latv *luba* 'bark, board', OPrus *lubbo* 'board', Slav **lъbъ* 'forehead, skull'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 251 (from Lat *limācem* 'snail'), *Alb. St.* IV 94; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 48-50 (a prefixal derivative of *makë*); POKORNY I 690; FRAENKEL 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325-326 (from *lumë*); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 225-228; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

lumë m, pl. *lumenj* 'river'. From PAlb **luma* etymologically identical with Gk λῦμα 'dirt', and further related to IE **leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk λούω 'to wash'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (borrowed from Lat *flūmen* 'river'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *Studien* 51-52 (to IE **lei-* 'to pour'); FRISK II 144-145; POKORNY I 681; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 258; HULD 88 (to IE **(s)leub-* 'to be slick, wet'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 246-247.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'boat, barge, ferry'. Borrowed from Rom **lunter*, cf. Rum *luntre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 129.

lundër f, pl. *lundra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Rom **lunter* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046).

lungë f, pl. *lunga* 'swelling, tumor'. From PAlb **lunkā*, a derivative of IE **leu-k-* 'to bend' with a nasal infix, similar to that of OPrus *lunkis* 'angle', Lith *luñkanas* 'supple', Latv *lùnks* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 252 (to *bulë, bulungë);* BŪGA *RR* I 369; JOKL *Studien* 53 (to Skt *rógа-* 'pain, illness'); FRAENKEL 390; POKORNY I 681-682; ÇABEJ *BUShT* XV/4 76-77 (follows MEYER), apud DEMIRAJ (Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248 (to *lëng*).

lupesh m 'glutton'. Derivative of *llup* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 153). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (from a non-existent Bulg *lupež* 'thief').

luqerbull f, pl. *luqerbulla* 'werewolf'. Other variants are *ruqerbull, riqebull*. Borrowed from Rom **lupus cervulus*, cf. a more usual Romance **lupus cervarius* as in Fr *loup-cervier* id. (LA PIANA *Prefisso* 21). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (a prefixal derivative of *qelb*).

luqerë f 'lamp, lantern'. Borrowed from Lat *lucerna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250, *Alb. St.* IV 80). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (adduces Old Albanian data); LANDI *Lat.* 89, 112-114.

luroj aor. *lurova* 'to howl, to wail'. A phono-morphological variant of *ulërij*.

lurtoj aor. *lurtova* 'to cajole, to flatter, to caress'. A phonetic modification of **larëtoj*, to *laroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 326-327).

lus aor. *luta* 'to pray, to invoke, to beg'. From PAlb **lugtja* related to Lith *lūgate* 'to ask, to pray', Latv *lùdzu, lùgt* 'to ask, to invite', OHG *lockōn* 'to lure, to entice' (TREIMER *MRIW* I 377-378), further related to IE **leugh-* 'to lie, to cheat'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk λίσσομαι 'to beg, to pray'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 25; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Slav **l'utiti* 'to be fierce, to be violent'); KLUGE 444; FRAENKEL 389; POKORNY I 686-687; JOKL *Die Sprache* IX/2 150 (agrees with TREIMER).

luspë f, pl. *luspa* 'scale (of fish)'. Borrowed from Slav **luspa* 'scale, shell', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *luspa*, SCr *ljuspa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◊ SVANE 119, 237.

lush m, pl. *lushë* 'berserk; carrion'. Back-formation based on fem. *lushë* 'bitch; berserk woman'. As far as the latter has a parallel form *lutë* 'bitch, glutton', *lushë* must be explained as resulting from **lut-shë* based on an unattested **lutë*, borrowed from Slav **l'utъ* 'angry, wild, violent' (in particular, of animals).

luzmë f 'swarm (in particular, of bees)'. From **luazmë* ~ *luezmë*, derivative of *loz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

luzhi f 'flood'. Based on **luzhë* borrowed from Slav **luža* 'pool', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *luža*, SCr *luža* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◊ XHUVANI *Shkëndija* III/4 5 (related to *lëgatë*); SVANE 170.

lyç adv. 'in a mess, in a muddle, out of joint'. Derived with an adverbial marker *-ç* from *lyej*.

lyej aor. *leva, lyejta* 'to smear, to oil'. Since the original meaning seems to be 'to cover with oil', the expected Proto-Albanian form may be reconstructed as **elaiwanja*, with *-ye-* resulting form the contraction of the inlaut cluster **-aiwa-*. This is a denominative verb based on an unattested **elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαι(ϝ)ον 'oil'. Note *lyrë* 'fat' derived from *lyej*. ◊ CAMARDA I 242 (to Gk ἀλείφω 'to oil'); MEYER *Wb.* 251-252 (borrowed from Lat *linō* 'to daub, to besmear' or related to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50 (to IE **leip-* 'fat', thus repeating CAMARDA's etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 67; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327 (to IE **lēi-* 'to flow, to pour').

lylyver m, pl. *lylyvere* 'rainbow'. A phonetic variant of *yllber*.

lym m, pl. *lyme* 'mud, alluvium'. Borrowed from Gk λῦμα 'dirt', cf. *lum*. ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86 (to *lerë*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248-249.

lyp aor. *lypa* 'to beg, to ask, to seek, to need'. In Tosk also *lip*. Despite an irregular development of the root vowel, continues PAlb **leipa* related to Gk λίπτομαι 'to be eager, to long for', Lith *liepiù, liepti* 'to order'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 247 (to *lipsem* 'to miss', itself a Modern Greek loanword); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE **leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 179 (against MEYER); FRAENKEL 367; FRISK II 127-128.

lyr aor. *lyra* 'to make dirty'. Derived from *lerë* 'dirt'.

lyrdhëz f, pl. *lyrdhëza* 'wart'. Apparently, from **lyr-th-ëz*, a derivative of *lyrë*. Cf. *lyth*.

lyshtër f, pl. *lyshtra* 'flotsam, alluvium; crowd'. Borrowed from Lat *lūstrum* 'slough, bog, morass, puddle; house of ill-repute, debauchery'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (to *lyej*).

lyth m, pl. *lytha, lythë* 'wart, corn'. A derivative in *-th* of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 328).

Ll

llabiç m, pl. *llabiçë* 'bogey, vampire; glutton'. From **lubiç*, derivative of *lubi*.

llacë f, pl. *llaca* 'ladder'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **lazьca* related to **laziti* 'to climb'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llallë f, pl. *llalla* 'wet-nurse; moth'. An onomatopoeia. In its second meaning *llallë* may be a calque of Slav **baba* 'woman, grandmother; butterfly, moth'.

llap aor. *llapa* 'to lap up' (of animals). From PAlb **lapa* compared with Gk λάπτω 'to gulp, to drink greedily', Lith *lapénti* 'to swallow food' (of pigs), Slav **lopati* 'to eat up' (CAMARDA 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237). ◊ FRAENKEL 340; FRISK II 85; POKORNY I 651; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapë f, pl. *llapa* 'tongue, language'. From PAlb **lapā* connected with the verb *llap*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 237; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

llapush adj. 'long-eared'. An early borrowing from an unattested Slav **lop(o)ušь* id., cf. **lopouxъ* id.

llapushë f, pl. *llapusha* 'broad-leafed cabbage, covering leaf of maize'. Borrowed from Slav **lopušь*, derivative of **lopuxъ* 'burdock, broad-

leafed plant', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lopux*, SCr *lopuh*. ◊ SVANE 112; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llaskonjë f 'twig, shoot'. A derivative in *-onjë* of **laskë* borrowed from Slav **lozъka*, deminutive of **loza* 'vine'. Another form of **laskë* is attested as *llashkë* 'shoot'.

llazurë f 'agitation, noise, swarm'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Slav **orzorъ* 'ravage, destruction', cf. SCr *razoriti*.

llënjëz f 'mud, silt'. A derivative from PAlb **slinjā* related to Lith *sliẽnas* 'saliva, mucus, slime', Slav **slina* 'saliva'. ◊ FRAENKEL 826; VASMER III 672; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llërë ~ llanë f, pl. *llërë ~ llanë, llëra ~ llana* 'forearm, ell'. From PAlb **alenā* related to Gk ὠλένη 'elbow', Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina* and the like (MEYER *Wb*. 233). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St*. III 76 (borrowed from Rom **ulnāna*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 44, *Kelt. Gr*. II 59; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRISK 1146-1147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 812; POKORNY I 307; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (from Gk ὠλένη); HAMP *AION-L* II 185-187; JANSON *Unt*. 30; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 249-250.

lloç m 'mud, mire, sludge'. Derived from *llohë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St*. I 328 (from Bulg *ločka* 'mud').

llohë f 'rain with snow, snow broth, dampness'. An early borrowing from Slav **lojь* *'anything liquid' (SLAWSKI V 259) > 'fat, lard; flooded area; crater, funnel' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 233 (compares with Slav **loky* 'pool, pit'); SVANE 173; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

llokmë f, pl. *llokma* 'lump, chunk'. Another variant is *llomkë*. Borrowed from Turk *lokma* id. (MEYER *Wb*. 233). ◊ ÇABEJ *St*. I 328 (from Bulg dial. *lomka* id.).

llom m 'mud, sludge, sediment'. Derived from *llohë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 233 (from the non-existent Slav **lomъ* 'swamp'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36.

llomis aor. *llomita* 'to pound, to crush'. Borrowed from Slav **lomiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lom'a*, SCr *lomiti* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; SVANE 91, 237.

llomotis aor. *llomotita* 'to brawl, to chatter'. Borrowed from Slav **lomotiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lomot'a*, SCr *lomotiti*.

lloskë f, pl. 'kind of fish, roach'. Borrowed from Slav **loska* unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *losk* 'kind of insect, Ixodes ricinus'.

llosh m, pl. *lloshe* 'nest, den'. Borrowed, with the unvoicing of the anlaut consonant, from Slav **loža* ~ **ložь* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *loža*, SCr *loža, lož*.

lloz m, pl. *lloze* 'bolt, bar'. Another variant is *loz*. Derived from the verb *loz*.

llubatë f 'sediment'. A derivative from *llurbë* as well as *lluburdinë* id.

llukë f, pl. *lluka* 'lime-tree'. An early Slavic loanword, from **lyko* 'bast' and, in particular, 'lime-tree bast'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

llukë f, pl. *lluka* 'foul egg'. From PAlb **lukā* related to *lerë* and derived from IE **leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◊ POKORNY I 681.

llup aor. *llupa* 'to gulp down, to swallow'. Continues PAlb **lupa* etymologically connected with Skt *lumpáti* 'to break, to injure', Lith *lùpti* 'to peel', Latv *lupt* 'to peel; to eat', Slav **lupiti* 'to peel' (hesitantly - MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◊ FRAENKEL 391-392; POKORNY I 690-691; MAYRHOFER III 108-109; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 183-184.

llurbë f 'sediment, mud'. Continues PAlb **lur(i)bā* derived from **lur-a*, a form related to *lerë*.

M

macë f, pl. *maca* 'cat'. Borrowed from Slav **maca* id., cf. South

Slavic forms: Bulg *maca*, SCr *maca* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb*. 263). Derived from *macë* is *mackë* 'cat; bush (on wheel)'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 166; SVANE 138.

macollë f, pl. *macolla* 'mallet'. Dissimilated from **malollë*, borrowed from Lat *malleolus* id.

macukë f 'shepherd's staff'. A lexicalized phonetic variant of *matukë*.

maçë f, pl. *maça* 'hard soil'. Borrowed from Slav **mača* 'swamp, marsh' (Czech *máča*) unattested in South Slavic.

madh adj. 'big, large'. From PAlb **madza* related to Hitt *mekkiš* id., Skt *mahā́nt-* 'great, large', Gk μέγας id., Lat *magnus* id. and the like (BOPP 489, 491; GIL'FERDING *Otn*. 23; CAMARDA I 6; MEYER *Wb*. 252). The irregular vocalism may be explained by an unusual reduction (MANN *Language* XXVI 385, XVII 17); in any case, it is reminiscent of *-a-* in Lat *magnus* and OIr *maige* id. Rum *mare* id. seems to have been borrowed from dial. Alb *mall* with *-ll-* < *-dh-*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St*. III 18, 63, 81, *Gr. Gr*. 277; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 535; JOKL *IF* XLIV 57; PUŞCARIU *EWR* -88-89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180-181; MANN *Language* XVII 17; ERNOUT-MEILLET 379; FRISK II 189-190; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; MAYRHOFER II 609-610; WALDE-HOFMANN II 10-12; POKORNY I 708; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom*. II 344; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HULD 88-89; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVI/3, 95-96 (reconstructs **məĝi̯os*), *AE* 250-251.

magar m, pl. *magarë* 'donkey'. Another variant is *magjar*. As it is clear from *margaç* id., the original form of *magar* was **margar*, with the dissimilation of sonorants. Both words are derivatives of an unattested **margë*. The latter appears to be a borrowing from Gmc **marxjō*, cf. OHG *mar(i)ha* 'mare', *mar(a)h* 'horse', ON *merr* 'mare' and the like. The form *magar* was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◊ CAMARDA II 73 (from *gomar*); MEYER *Wb*. 253 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *ma-* + *krrič*); KLUGE 454; IL'INSKIJ *Rodna reč* VII 9-10 (to IE **mek-* ~ **meg-* 'to bellow'); SKOK *AArbSt* IV 124-132; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom*. II 345; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija 1964* 180; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; ÇABEJ *St*. I 329 (prefixal derivative of Old Alb *gare* 'she-ass'), *Etim*. 14-15.

mahajër f 'fallow'. A compound *mah ajër* 'feeds the air', cf. for the semantic motivation Russ *pole pod parom* 'fallow' = 'field under the vapor'. ◊ JOKL *Glotta* XXI 121-124 (from Rom **majārium*, cf. Ital *maggiatico* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 134.

mahnis aor. *mahnita* 'to astound, to stupefy'. Another variant is *manis*. Borrowed from Slav **maniti* 'to lure, to charm', with *-h-* influenced by **maxati* 'to wave'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 254 (from **maxati*). ◊ SVANE 250.

maj ~ mâj aor. *majta* 'to feed, to fatten'. Another morphological variant is *mah* id. From PAlb **mazdnja*, a deverbative based on IE **mazd-* 'feeding': OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* 'fat, marrow' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 251-252). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to IE **meĝh-* 'big'); MEYER *Wb.* 259 (to Lat *mandō* 'to chew'), *Alb. St.* III 28, 63; JOKL *Studien* 54, *LKUBA* 183 (to Skt *mádati* 'to boil'); KLUGE 465; MAYRHOFER II 683-684; POKORNY I 694.

maj m 'May'. Borrowed from Lat *Mājus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◊ HAARMANN 134.

maj m, pl. *maja* 'hammer'. Borrowed from Lat *malleus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (uncertain of Latin origins of the word); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050 (from Ital *maglio* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330; HAARMANN 134.

majere f 'terraced land'. Derived from *majë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (from Rom **majārium* 'fallow' reconstructed by JOKL for *mahajër*).

majë f, pl. *maja* 'tip, top, point, peak, summit'. Another form is *malë*. From PAlb **malā*, a feminine form of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255). Derived from *majë* is *majos* 'to fill to the brim'. ◊ CAMARDA II 69-70 (from IE **meĝh-* 'big'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (to Lat *mōns* 'mountain'); JOKL *LKUBA* 162-163 (from **molịā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88-189; HULD 89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 252-253.

majmë adj. 'fat'. Derived from *maj* 'to feed, to fatten' (CAMARDA I

37; MEYER *Wb.* 259). ◊ GRIENBERGER *Got.* 156-157 (to Goth *mats* 'food', Skt *mádati* 'to boil', MIr *mát* 'pig').

majtë ~ mâjtë adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm', cf. also Ital *manca* 'left hand' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Cf. *mëngjër*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

makar adv. 'at least'. The word is also used as an interjection. Based on MGk μακάρι < μακάριον, neut. 'blessed' (FILIPOVA-BAJROVA *Gr. zaemki* 122). The same word is attested in other Balkan languages. ◊ MIKLOSICH *EWb* 181 (from Turk *meγer* 'but, however, only' < Pers *meger*); MEYER *Wb.* 255 (follows MIKLOSICH); SKOK II 359 (from NPers *mä* 'not' and *ägär* < Iran **hakaram* 'unless, maybe').

makë f, pl. *maka* 'glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)'. Goes back to PAlb **makā* related to Lith *makénti* 'to walk through a swamp', Slav **mokrъ* 'wet', **moknǫti* 'to become wet' (MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◊ POKORNY I 698; FRAENKEL 399-340; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIX 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 253-254.

makërr m 'stagnant green on ponds'. A derivative of *makë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 254) reflecting PAlb **makra*, an exact correspondence of Slav **mokrъ* 'wet'. From **makra* other forms are derived: *makrohem* 'to get covered with a film (of liquids)' and *makrosë* 'stagnant green on ponds'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mâkth m 'kind of clover'. A parallel form is *mokth*. Derived from *mak* 'opium poppy'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **makъ* 'poppy'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

makth ~ mâkth m 'place where the cattle gives birth to their young'. Based on an unattested **mak ~ mâk* derived from *maj*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138.

makth ~ mâkth m 'bogey, nightmare'. Other variants are *mangth, mankth*. A secondary formation based on *ankth* with an expressive prefix *m-*. ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

makth ~ mâkth m 'leveret'. Derived from *mang*. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 57-60 (related to Goth *magus* 'youth' and continuing IE **maghu-*); BARIĆ

ARSt. 16 -17; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

makush m, pl. *makushë* 'ostrich'. Derived from *makut.*

makut adj. 'greedy, gluttonous'. Suffixal form in *-ut* based on an unattested **mak ~ mâk* derived from *maj.* Cf. also *makth.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

mal m, pl. *male* 'mountain'. From PAlb **mala* identical with Lith *malà* 'land', Latv *mala* 'bank, shore' (JOKL *LKUBA* 162 f., 320, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87); cf. also **mal-* reflected in the ancient Balkan toponymy: Illyr *Maluntum,* Dac *Dacia Maluensis* vs. *Dacia Ripensis.* Note an archaic derivative in PAlb **maljā* > *majë* 'summit, peak' (MEYER *Wb.* 273, *Alb. St.* III 63, 78; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39). From Proto-Albanian **mala* was borrowed into Rum *mal* 'bank'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *marú-* 'mountain'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *ZONF* X 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 181, *Origini* 149; KRAHE *Balkan-ill.* 53-55; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 90; MÜHLENBACH - ENDZELIN II 556; MAYER II 73-74; LA PIANA *Studi* I 112 (to Skt *mūrdhán-* 'top, summit', OE *molda* 'forehead'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 36 (to rare Ir *mol* 'heap'); PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 400-401; POKORNY I 722; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HULD 89 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 254-256.

malcoj aor. *malcova* 'to inflame, to make sore'. Borrowed from Rom **malitiāre,* cf. Lat *malitia* 'badness, spite' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330 (euphemistic use of *mëlcoj*); HAARMANN 134.

mall m 'homesickness, longing, affection'. Borrowed from Lat *malum* 'evil, misfortune' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

mallesë f, pl. *mallesa* 'pasture, meadow'. A variant of *mballesë,* see *mballoj.*

mallëngjej aor. *mallëngjeva* 'to touch, to move, to stir'. Used in the figurative sense only. Borrowed from Lat *malum angere* 'to cause pain', instead of *angere* proper (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

mallkoj aor. *mallkova* 'to curse, to excommunicate'. Another form is *malkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *maledīcere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ CAMARDA I 105 (to Gk μαλακός 'soft, gentle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 134.

mallth m 'pad under the claw (of animals)'. Based on an unattested **mall* continuing PAlb **maldwa* and related to Lat *mollis* < **molduis* 'soft', Skt *mṛdú-* id. and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 718; WALDE-HOFMANN II 103-104; MAYRHOFER II 676; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

mamicë f, pl. *mamica* 'wet-nurse, midwife'. Borrowed from Slav **mamica* 'mother', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mamica*, SCr *mamica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25). ◊ SVANE 190.

mamuz m, pl. *mamuza, mamuze, mamuzë* 'spur'. A suffixal derivative of *mamis* 'to allure, to embroil, to spur' borrowed from Slav **mamiti* id., cf. Bulg *mam'a*, SCr *mamiti*.

man m, pl. *mana, mane* 'mulberry'. Other variants are (T) *mën*, (G) *mand*. From PAlb **manta*. The same word is attested in Dac μαντεία 'blackberry', Diosc. 4.37, *mantīa*, App. Herb. 87 (POTT *KZ* XIV; MEYER *Wb.* 257). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* II 213, III 236; BERTOLDI *Glotta* XXI 258-260 (Dac μαντεία to Gk βάτος 'blackberry'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330-331 (quotes *mani* 'strawberry' of the Alpine Romance).

mandile f, pl. *mandile* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Lat *mantīle* 'towl, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 258).

mang m 'small (of animals); urchin'. Borrowed from Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm'. The adjective *mangët* id. with a recently added suffix *-ët* and the adverb *mangut* 'less, missing, short' go back to the same source. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38 (*mangut* from Ital *manco* 'maimed'); MANN *HAED* 262 (metaphorical usage of *mangë* 'flax-breaker', see *mëngë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 331 (to IE **men-* 'little'); LANDI *Lat.* 48.

maraj m 'fennel'. Other variants are *mëraje* and *maraq*. Borrowed from Rom **marathrium*, derivative of Lat *marathrum* 'fennel' (MEYER

Wb. 259) or, as reflected by *maraq*, from **marathricum*. The intermediate form **mararja* was borrowed to Rum *mărar*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *marathum* or Gk μάραθον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *μάραθριον); ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

marauzhgë f, pl. *marauzhga* 'horse-fly'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg **maravuška*, deminutive of dialectal *marave* 'ant' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mardhë f 'chill, frost, ice'. Goes back to PAlb **mardzā* etymologically identical with Slav **morzъ* 'frost' (MEYER *Wb.* 260, *Alb. St.* III 17, 63, 72). Both forms continue IE **merĝh-* 'to rot, to soak'. The verbs *mardh* 'to chill, to freeze' and *mërdhij* id. are deverbatives. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, *Kelt. Gr.* I 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; MANN *Language* XVII 18; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 739; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XX 10-14; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256.

mare f, pl. *mare* 'bearberry, strawberry-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *marum* 'cat-thyme, kind of sage'.

marenë f, pl. *marena* 'marsh rosemary'. Borrowed from Slav **marěna* 'plant Rubia tinctorum' attested in West and East Slavic.

margaç m, pl. *margaçë* 'ass, donkey'. A derivative of **margë*, see *magar*. ◊ KONITZA *Albania* VIII/Ser. 9 52 (from Rom **marcātum* ~ **mercātum* 'market').

(G) margjënuer m 'ledge of a rock serving as a cover'. A suffixal derivative of **margjën* borrowed from Lat *marginem* 'edge, brink' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 332).

marmur m 'marble'. Borowed from Lat *marmurem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332.

mars m 'March'. Borrowed from Lat *Martius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215; HAARMANN 135.

martë f, pl. *marta* 'Tuesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Martis (dies)* '(day

of) Mars, Tuesday' (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Ital *marte* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (supports MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

martesë f, pl. *martesa* 'marriage'. Borrowed from Rom **maritātiō* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Lith *martì* 'sister-in-law'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183.

martoj aor. *martova* 'to marry'. Borrowed from Lat *maritāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1047, 1050; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308; JOKL *LKUBA* 13-15 (to IE **merī* 'young woman'); SKOK *AArbSt.* I 210 (derived from IE **merī* 'young woman'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (questions JOKL's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256-257.

marr aor. *mora* 'to take, to grasp'. From PAlb **marna*, a deverbative based on the heteroclytic word for 'hand' preserved in Gk μάρη, Lat *manus* (NEISSER *BB* XIX 121-122). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 261 (to Skt *mṛśáti* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (to Gk μάρπτω 'to grasp, to seize'); JOKL *Studien* 53-54 (agrees with NEISSER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk μείρομαι 'to divide'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; FRISK II 175; CHANTRAINE 667; WALDE-HOFMANN II 34-35; POKORNY I 740; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140 (compares *marr* with Gk ἄρνυμι 'to take' and reconstructs **(s)med-Hernō*), *Norw. JLing.* XXIII 13-14, *Sprache* XXX 157; HULD 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 257-258 (to Skt *prá-mṛṇa*, imper. 'to pack').

marrë adj. 'mad, foolish, crazy'. Literally, 'dim, murky'. See *marrtë*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mūrá-* 'stupid'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Hitt *maršaš*).

marrtë 'murky, cloudy, dim, dull'. A suffixal derivative of PAlb **marsa* related to Slav **morxъ* 'dusk, fog'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIX 222; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mas aor. *mata* 'to measure'. From PAlb **matja*, a denominative verb based on an adjective in **-to-*, **ma-ta-* further related to IE **mē-* id.: Skt *mímāti*, Tokh A *me-* and the like (CAMARDA I 35; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 262-263, *Alb. St.* III 24, 63, 81). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II

575; JOKL *Sprache* IX 118-119; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 703-704; ÇABEJ *StF* I (XIX)/3 41; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; MAYRHOFER II 638; VAN WINDEKENS I 295-296; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 258.

mashë f 'gum, paste, glue'. Borrowed from Lat *massa* 'lump, mass, adhering stuff'.

(G) mashën f 'barn, hayloft, cowshed'. A singularized plural of **mashë* borrowed from Lat nom. *mansiō* 'place of abode, dwelling'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332 (from Lat *massa*).

mashkull m, pl. *meshkuj* 'man', adj. 'male'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 262). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 137-138.

mashkull m, pl. *mashkuj* 'hook'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' used to denote the part of the hinge which is inserted into another called *fēmina* 'female'. Thus, Lat *masculus et fēmina* > Alb *mashkull e femër* 'hook and eyelet'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mashterk m, pl. *mashterq* 'big wooden platter, dish'. Another variant is *mashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **magistericus*, literally, 'master's (dish)'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332-333 (from SCr *masur* 'wooden platter').

mashurkë f, pl. *mashurka* 'green bean, pod'. Derived from *mashë*.

mat m 'bank, shore'. Continues PAlb **mata* < **mn̥to-* related to Lat *mōns* 'mountain' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39-40). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 314-315 (borrowed from Gk ἄμαθος 'sand, sandy soil'); BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 17 (agrees with VASMER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 108-109; POKORNY I 726; ÇABEJ *St.* I 333-334 (related to OIr *math* 'sand').

matkë f, pl. *matka* 'queen-bee'. Borrowed from Slav **matъka* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *matka*, SCr *matka* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286-287). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; SVANE 158.

matukë f 'mattock, hoe'. An early borrowing from Slav **motyka* id.

(MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 263). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 78, 142; SVANE 76.

mazatore f, pl. *mazatore* 'one year old heifer'. Derived from *mëzat*, see *mëz*.

mazë f, pl. *maza* 'cream, skin on the milk'. The same word is attested as *madh, mazë* 'corn skilly with cream'. Borrowed from Slav **mazь* ~ **mazъ* 'fat, ointment', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *maz'*, SCr *maz*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 54 (to *maj*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; DEMIRAJ *AE* 250 (*madh-* to Skt *médas-* 'fat'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Goth *mats* 'food, meal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 258-259 (related to Slav **mazь*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mbaj aor. *mbajta* 'to hold, to carry'. From PAlb **en-barnja*, a causative derived from **bera* > *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 196 (reconstructs **-bhoreịō* but Italo-Albanian forms preserve *-nj*), *IF* XXXVII 103-105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 227; HULD 90 (believes that in the cluster **-rnj-* the first element is preserved); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86.

mball aor. *mbolla* 'to bung'. A prefixal derivative of *ballë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (to Gk ἐμβάλλω 'to throw in, to put in').

mballoj aor. *mballova* 'to turn out to graze'. The noun *mballesë* 'meadow, pasture' is derived from *mballoj*. From an earlier **mbëlloj* reflecting a loan from Lat *ambulāre* 'to walk (around)'.

mbar aor. *mbara* 'to bring (back)'. From PAlb **en-bara*, further related to *mbaj* and *bie* (BOPP 540; CAMARDA I 135; MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 104; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185; ÇABEJ *St.* I 54-55.

mbarë adj. 'right, good, favorable'. A tabooistically used Lat *impar* 'uneven, unequal'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

mbarështoj aor. *mbarështova* 'to arrange, to dispose, to administer'. Another variant caused by the analogical influence of *shtroj* is *mbarështroj*. Goes back to the phraze *mbarë shtoj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 334). ◊ JOKL *ZfromPhil* XLI 233 (from Lat *ministrāre* 'to take care of, to

manage'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 136; JANSON *Unt.* 54.

mbaroj aor. *mbarova* 'to finish, to end, to complete'. A prefixal derivative of *parë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

mbars aor. *mbarsa* 'to make pregnant, to fecundate'. Derived from the adjective *mbarsë, barsë* 'pregnant'. The latter continues PAlb **en-bartja* related to IE **bher-* 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 28). ◊ POKORNY I 128-132 (presented together with **bher-* 'to bear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 334-335; MANN *Comp.* 72 (*barsë* identical with Illyr *[equa] bardia* 'pregnant [mare]').

mbart aor. *mbarta* 'to bear, to carry (back)'. Continues PAlb **en-barta* based on an adjective in **-to-* and related to *mbar*.

mbarre f 'shame'. Another phonetic variant is *marrë*. The original meaning was 'burden'. Derived from *mbar*.

mbas prep. 'after', adv. 'behind'. A prefixal variant of *pas* id. These forms continue PAlb **en-apa-tši* from **en apo k^u̯id*, cf. *pa*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (to Skt *paśćāt* 'after, behind'); HAMP *KZ* LXXV/1-2 23.

mbase adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. From *mba(j) se* (MEYER *Wb.* 264). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 247.

mbasi conj. 'since'. As clear from a variant *mbassi*, continues a sequence *mbas si*.

mbath aor. *mbatha* 'to put on (shoes)'. From PAlb **amb(i)-autsa*, a prefixal verb based on **autsa* < **ou-k̂-*. The latter is an extension of IE **eu-* id.: Arm *aganim* 'to put on (clothes)', Lat *ex-uō* 'to draw out, to pull off', Lith *aunù, aũti*, Slav **uti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (from Rom **bassus* 'lower part, underwear'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 54-55 (from IE **ambhi-oudhō*, derivative of the above **eu-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 18-20 (to IE **au̯edh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* I 76; FRAENKEL 27; WALDE-HOFMANN I 434-436; POKORNY I 346; VASMER III 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 335-336 (to Slav **bosъ* 'barefooted', Lith *bãsas* id. - but there is no **k̂* in this root!); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mbes aor. *mbeta* 'to remain, to stay'. A prefixal derivative of *jes* (CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 163). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186.

mbesë f, pl. *mbesa* 'niece, granddaughter'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōtia* id. known only in Dalmatia, > ODalm *nepoça* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1040; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264-265 (phonetically incredible comparison with Lith *móša* 'sister-in-law'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 180 (from Rom **neptia*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232 (reconstructs IE **nepōtịā*), *KZ* XXXVI 308, *Kelt. Gr.* I 93; JOKL *LKUBA* 27 (against the Latin etymology), *WuS* XII 82; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118; ERNOUT-MEILLET 438; HULD 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbë prep. 'at, in'. Another variant is *më*. From the atonic form of PAlb **ambi* continuing IE **ambhi*: Gk ἀμφί 'about, around', Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt **m̥bi* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 35, 64). ◊ BOPP 499 (to Skt *ápi*); CAMARDA I 170 (to Gk ἐπί 'upon'); FEIST *Goth.* 87-88; FRISK I 98; POKORNY I 34; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 95; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130, *Ériu* XXVIII 145; MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 45; DEMIRAJ *ZfBalk* XXIX 64-67, *AE* 260-261.

mbëltoj aor. *mbëltova* 'to plant'. Borrowed from Rom **implantāre* 'to plant', cf. Lat *plantāre* id. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (derived from *baltë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79, VII 230.

mbërdhe adv. 'on the ground'. A compound of *mbë* and *dhe* with an epenthetic *-r-*.

mbërthej aor. *mbërtheva* 'to fasten, to button'. A prefixal derivative of *birth* (see *birk*). For the semantic development cf. Germ *knöpfen* 'to button' ~ *Knopf* 'button, knob, bud'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 265 (from Lat *invertere* 'to turn upside down'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 336-337 (phonetic transformation of *mbath*).

mbërrij ~ mbërrîj aor. *mbërrita ~ mbërrina* 'to arrive'. Another variant is *mërrij*. Derived from *arrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 337 (related to *mbar*).

mbëshel aor. *mbëshela* 'to shut, to close, to lock'. Other variants are *mbëçel* and *mbërshel*. A prefixal derivative of *çel* (JOKL *Studien* 55).

mbështet aor. *mbështeta* 'to stand, to prop'. From PAlb **ambhi-stata* based on an adjective **stata* identical with IE **st(h)ətos* 'standing', cf. Skt *sthitá-*, Gk στατός id., Lat *status* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 250). ◊ FRISK I 739; MAYRHOFER III 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; POKORNY I 1006; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

mbi adv. 'on, upon'. Oiginally, an adverb. From a tonic form of PAlb **ambi*, cf. *mbë*.

mbiatu adv. 'immediately, at once'. A Calabrian phonetic variant of *mbi ato* 'on this' > 'at once' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 337). ◊ CAMARDA II 153 (*mbi* + Ital *atto* 'act'); MEYER *Wb.* 265 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

mbij ~ mbîj aor. *mbiva* 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot'. From PAlb **en-būnja* related to IE **bheu-* : **bhū-* 'to grow, to be' (CAMARDA I 48; MEYER *Wb.* 36-37, *BB* VIII 189). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 35; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 504 (to IE **bher-* 'to bring'); POKORNY I 146-150; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (to IE **bhei-* 'to beat, to strike'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 100-101 (follows ÇABEJ).

mbjell aor. *mbolla* 'to sow'. A prefixal derivative of *pjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

mblatë f, pl. *mblata* 'shewbread'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38), with a non-etymological nasal in the anlaut. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 292; ÇABEJ *St.* I 337-338.

mbledh aor. *mblodha* 'to gather, to collect'. Continues PAlb **ambi-ledza*, a prefixal verb related to Gk λέγω id., Lat *legō* 'to read, *to gather' (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 13; JOKL *LKUBA* 8; LA PIANA *Studi* I 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PORZIG *Gliederung* 192, 211; PISANI *Saggi* 129; ERNOUT-MEILLET 350; FRISK II 94-96; CHANTRAINE 626; WALDE-HOFMANN I 780; POKORNY I 658; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (to Goth *lisan* 'to gather'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; HULD 145, 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 261-262.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to fill'. Borrowed from Lat *implēre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◊ CAMARDA I 125 (related to *plotë*); LAMBERTZ *LVII* 71 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 254-255; ÇABEJ *St.* I 338.

mbloj aor. *mblova* 'to betroth'. Historically identical with *mbloj* 'to fill'.

mbrapa adv. 'behind, back', prep. 'behind'. Together with *prapa* id. continues PAlb **(en)-per-apa*, cf. *për* and *pa* (CAMARDA I 61; MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◊ JOKL *MRIW* I 302; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbraz adj. 'empty, void'. Results from the recombination of *mbrazëm* < **(m)brazën*, borrowed from Slav **porzdьnъ* id., cf. Bulg *prazen*, SCr *prazan* (MEYER *Wb.* 266). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 323-325; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15.

mbrej aor. *mbrejta* 'to harness, to yoke'. Another variant is *mbreh*. From PAlb **en-breunja*, further related to *brez* (MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

mbrenda adv., prep. 'inside, within'. Variant of *brenda*.

mbres aor. *mbreta* 'to bruise, to beat'. A prefixal derivative of *pres*.

mbret m, pl. *mbretër* ~ *mbretën* 'king'. Borrowed from Rom **imperātus* for Lat *imperātor* 'emperor'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 266 (directly from *imperātor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 191, 256; ROSETTI *RRL* XXVII/6 495; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239, 280; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 145.

mbrëma ~ mbrama adv. 'in the evening'. From PAlb **en-prama* the second element of which is identical with Gk πρόμος 'foremost man', Goth *fram* 'from', OHG *fram* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 266, *Alb. St.* III 64, 72). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 164; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRISK II 600; POKORNY I 814.

mbrodh aor. *mbrodha* 'to help, to do good'. A suffixal derivative of *prodh* 'to produce', a back-formation of *prodhoj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (continuation of Ital *prode* 'brave, valiant'); MANN *Comp.* 4 (from IE **en-pro-aĝō*).

mbroj aor. *mbrojta* 'to defend, to protect'. Borrowed from Rom **imparāre* id. (HAARMANN 140).

mbruaj ~ mbruej aor. *mbrujta* 'to knead'. From PAlb **brunja* related to *brumë* (MEYER *Wb.* 266) and, further, to Lat *ferveō* 'to boil' (JOKL *LKUBA* 263). Derived from *mbruj* is *mbrus* 'to stuff full'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to OE *beorm* 'barm', Lat *fermentum*); PISANI *Saggi* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111.

mbufas aor. *mbufata* 'to inflate, to swell'. A prefixal derivative of **bufas* borrowed from Slav **buxati* 'to beat, to swell' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 338). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (to Ital *buffare* 'to blow').

mbulim m 'source; burial, grave'. Deverbative of *mbuloj.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (to *bulë*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulova* 'to cover, to bury'. Another variant is *mbloj.* Borrowed from Rom **manipulāre* 'to dig in handfuls', cf. Lat *manipulus* 'handful'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom **invēlāre* 'to cover'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAARMANN 131; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (identical with *mbloj*).

mbuloj aor. *mbulova* 'to seal'. Attested only in BUZUKU. Based on **bulë* borrowed from MLat *bulla* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 340). ◊ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla* id.).

mburr aor. *mburra* 'to praise'. Denominative of *burrë* (MEYER *Wb.* 55). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 126 (to Lat *furō* 'to rage').

mbush aor. *mbusha* 'to fill'. Continues PAlb **en-busa* related to Gk βυνέω < *βυσ-ν-έω 'to fill up' and its cognates (CAMARDA I 52; MEYER *Wb.* 267, *Alb. St.* III 32, 61, 80). ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk φλύω); FRISK I 276-277; CHANTRAINE 202; POKORNY I 101; DEMIRAJ *AE* 262 (reconstructs a nasal present for Proto-Albanian).

mbutoj aor. *mbutova* 'to seal, to bung'. Denominative based on *but* 'barrel, tub'.

mbyll aor. *mbylla* 'to shut, to fasten'. Continues PAlb **ambi-wela*, originally, *'to encircle', related to Skt *valati* 'to turn', Gk εἰλέω 'to roll tight up, to close', OIr *fillid* 'to bend' and the like (HAMP *Evidence* 139-140). ◊ ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; FRISK I 457-458; MAYRHOFER III 161; POKORNY I 1140-1143; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 233.

mbys aor. *mbyta* 'to strangle, to drown, to kill'. From PAlb **ambi-witja* with the regular development of **-iwi-* > *-y-*. Further related to Skt *vyáthate* 'to sway, to rock', Goth *wiþon* 'to pour'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 56 (to Lat *confūtāre* 'to suppress, to restrain', ON *bauta* 'to strike'); POKORNY I 1178; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233, 254; HULD 90-91; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139 (derived from IE **u̯ed-* ~ **ud-* 'water', cf. also *zhys* 'to dive'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 262-263 (derived from *pi*).

me m 'insufficience, lack', adj. 'insufficient, scanty, not full'. From PAlb **manu* etymologically close to Gk μάνυ· μικρόν. Ἀθαμᾶνες (Hes.), μανός 'thin' and Arm *manr* 'small, thin' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430). The form *metë* 'insufficient' is derived from *me* after the fall of the final nasal. Related to *me* is *mej* ~ *mêj* 'to reduce, to diminish'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 273 (comparisons with Lat *minuō* 'to lessen', Ital *meno* 'less' or Slav **mьnь* 'small(er)'); MEILLET *MSL* VIII 164; KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (to *mangut*, *mungoj*); AČAREAN *HAB* III 257; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*mej* < IE **mn̥i̯ō*); FRISK II 171-172; POKORNY I 728-729; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 199 (to IE **(s)meik-* 'small'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79.

me prep. 'with'. From PAlb **me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *miþ* id., Gk μέτα 'in the middle, between' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 32). ◊ CAMARDA I 314 (identifies *me* with NGk μέ); MEYER *Wb.* 268 (borrowed from NGk μέ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188 (against MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 364; FRISK II 216; POKORNY I 702; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140, *NTS* XXIII 13 (follows MANN); HULD 91.

meçkë f, pl. *meçka* 'she-bear'. Borrowed from one of South Slavic tabooistic names for bear: Bulg *mečka*, SCr *mečka*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

mefshtë adj. 'slow, sluggish'. A suffixal derivative of *mehem*.

meh ~ **mef** aor. *meha* ~ *mefa* 'to soak'. From PAlb **meu-ska* related to Latv *maût* 'to dive', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and other continuants of

IE **meu-* ~ **meu̯ə-* 'wet'. ◊ VASMER III 26; POKORNY I 741-742; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mehem refl. 'to fail'. Goes back to PAlb **mōja* related to OHG *muoan* 'to work diligently', Gk μῶλος 'toil (of war)', Slav **majati* 'to work slowly'. ◊ FRISK II 282; POKORNY I 746; *BER* 702; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVII 132-134; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mekem refl. 'to gasp, to choke'. Related to *mekët* 'wet' (JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508) according to a semantic universal linking words for 'being silent' and 'melting'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 63 (to Slav **mьlčati* 'to be silent'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (examples of this semantic development); ANIKIN 67-78 (semantic parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 264 (expressive word).

mekët adj. 'wet'. Cf. also the verb *mek* 'to make wet'. Continues PAlb **maka* related to *makë* (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◊ JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508 (to Lith *mìnkau* 'to knead'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 193; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 263-264 (borrowed from SCr *mek*, Bulg *mek*).

meksh m, pl. *meksha* 'buffalo-calf'. Another variant is *meshk* 'bull-calf'. From **megsh* continuing PAlb **maguša* related to OIr *maug* 'slave', Goth *magus* 'youth' (from IE **maghu-* : **maghos*). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 339; POKORNY I 696; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (related to *mekët*).

mel m 'millet'. Borrowed from Lat *milium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 523; MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 136.

mellë f 'clay, loess'. Borrowed from Slav **mělъ* ~ **mělь* 'chalk, loess', cf. Bulg *mel*, SCr *mel*.

memec m, pl. *memecë, memeca* 'deaf-mute, dumb'. Borrowed, with assimilation of nasals, from Slav **němьcь* 'stranger, mute person', cf. Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nemac*, *nijemac* (MEYER *Wb.* 269). Such assimilation is, in fact, attested in Bulg dial. *memkin'a* < *nemkin'a* 'kind of haricot', originally, 'Germ woman', fem. of **němьcь*. ◊ SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 214; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195-286; SVANE 185.

memzi adv. 'hardly, scarcely'. Another variant is *mëzi*. Based on *mem*, a participal form of *mej* ~ *mêj* 'to reduce, to diminish', see *me*.

menati adv. 'early in the morning'. A lexicalized phrase *me natë* with an adverbial marker.

mençëm adj. 'clever, intelligent'. A derivative in *-shëm* of *mend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 106).

mend pl. 'mind'. Borrowed from Lat *mentem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA I 306; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40-41; MEYER *Wb.* 274). Note the denominative verb *mendoj* 'to think, to count'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **mn̥tis*), XXVIII 32 (from Latin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 83-85, 116.

mendër f, pl. *mendra* 'mint'. A suffixal derivative based on **mendë* borrowed from Lat *menta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from Ital *menta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (from Gk μίνθη id.); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 135.

mendull f 'almond'. Borrowed from Rom **amendula*, cf. Ital dial. *ammennola* < **amendula* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 485 (from Ital Venet *mandola* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 258-259 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189-190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110 (from Lat *amyndala*).

(G) merajë f 'winter pasture'. A derivative of *mera* 'pasture', of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 259-260 (from Lat *hibernālis* 'wintry'); JOKL *LKUBA* 265 (from Rom **invernālia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129.

merendoj aor. *merendova* 'to arrange'. A recent formation based on the adverb *merend* 'in order', a lexicalized phrase *me rend*, cf. *rend*.

merë f 'fear'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190).

merë f 'measure'. Borrowed from Slav **měra* id., cf. in South Slavic:

Bulg *m'ara*, dial. *mera*, SCr *mera, mjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 89.

merë f 'scent, fragrance'. Borrowed from Lat *myrrha* 'myrrh' > Rom **mĭrra.*

merimangë f 'spider'. Other variants are *merimagë, mirëmangë, milimangë, milingonë* and *merimajkë.* Tabooistic transformations of *merming* id. borrowed from NGk μυρμῆγγι 'ant, midget' (MEYER *Alb. St.* I 77). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 274-275 (compound the first element of which is compared with Slav **paǫkъ* 'spider'); KRISTOFORIDHI 220, 234 (to Gk μύρμηξ); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk Dor μύρμαξ 'ant'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 341-342 (follows MIHĂESCU).

mesë 'skin (of onion), milk-skin, film'. Goes back to PAlb **matšā* related to *makë* and reflecting IE **mok^u̯i-*. Thus, Albanian seems to reflect a labiovelar in this root.

mesnik m 'meat pasty'. Borrowed from Bulg *mesnik* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 270 (to Slav **męso* 'meat').

meshë f, pl. *meshë* 'mass'. Borrowed from Lat *missa* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 56.

meshnohem refl. 'to become senile, to dote, to be childish'. A prefixal derivative (in *me-* < *mbë-*) of **shenoj* borrowed from Lat *senēre* 'to be old'.

metale f, pl. *metale* 'snow-drift'. Borrowed from Slav **metadlo* 'heap', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *metalo*, SCr *metalo*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (from Bulgarian). ◊ SVANE 174.

(G) meteh m 'boundary, frontier'. Another variant is *metef.* A deverbative based on an unattested **meteh* 'to partake, to share'. The latter is borrowed from MGk μετέχω id. From MGk μετόχιον 'priory, farm', *metoq* 'stable' has been borrowed. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (borrowed from MGk μετόχιον 'priory', later - 'farm').

metë f, pl. *meta* 'swallow, mouthful'. A deverbative based on Slav **metati* 'to throw' (depicting a swallow as a 'throw' of food into the mouth).

mezhdë f, pl. *mezhda* 'baulk, strip of land between fields'. Reflects a Bulgarian continuant of Slav **medja* 'boundary' > *mežda*. Another regional loanword, *megjë* id., reflects a Serbo-Croatian continuant of the same provenance, SCr *medja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26).

më ~ **mâ** adv. 'more'. Continues PAlb **mai* from IE **məi̯es* with a secondary nasalization. Related to Goth *maiza* id., Oscan *mais* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 271 (borrowed from Lat *magis* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 86-88 (< IE **məison-*); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (same as MEYER); KLUGE 470; FEIST *Goth.* 342; POKORNY I 704.

mëgashtër f, pl. *mëgashtra* 'sage'. Another variant is *mugashtër*. Borrowed from Rom **medicāster* reflected in Ital *medicastro* (JOKL *LKUBA* 211-213). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 342; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 82, 109, 136.

mëkat m, pl. *mëkate* 'sin'. Borrowed from Lat *peccātum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA II 199; MEYER *Wb.* 271). The initial *m-* results from *mp-* as demonstrated by the form *mpkat* in BOGDANI (WEIGAND *BA* III 205) and seems to be a prefix added already in Albanian. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343; HAARMANN 141.

mëkeq aor. *mëkeqa* 'to anger'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mëkëmb ~ **mëkamb** aor. *mëkëmba* ~ *mëkamba* 'to set up, to erect'. A prefixal denominative of *këmbë*.

mëkoj aor. *mëkova* 'to feed'. Borrowed from Lat *medicāre* 'to heal, to cure' (MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 244; HAARMANN 135.

mëkresë f, pl. *mëkresa* 'tombstone'. Together with its morphonological variant *mëkrejcë* 'baulk', reflects a prefixal derivative of *krye*.

mëlcoj aor. *mëlcova* 'to sweeten'. Other variants are *ëmbëlcoj* ~ *ambëlcoj*. Derivative of *ëmbël* (MANN *HAED* 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 281-282 (from Rom **mellītiāre* based on Lat *mellītus* 'of honey, related to honey'); JOKL *LKUBA* 212, 287-288 (derivative of *mjaltë* in *-ësoj*); PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 111 (agrees with JOKL).

mëlçi f, pl. *mëlçi* 'lung, liver'. Also used in phrases *mëlçi e bardhë* 'lung' and *mëlçi e zezë* 'liver' and, originally, representing a word for spleen borrowed from Ital *milza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271-272). ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Kahane* 310-318, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95.

mëlmej aor. *mëlmeva* 'to add fat and oil to food'. Based on *majmë* even though the origin of *-l-* is not clear.

mëltoj aor. *mëltova* 'to graft, to wed (of plants)'. Borrowed from Lat *marītāre* 'to marry', also used in the sense of *mëltoj*.

mëllagë f, pl. *mëllaga* 'marsh mallow'. Another variant is *mullagë*. From the original **mëllakë*, with an unexplained sonorization of the auslaut. Borrowed from Gk μαλάχη id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193 (considers *g* < χ to be strange); ÇABEJ *St.* I 343-344 (from the same pre-Indo-European source as Lat *malva* 'mallow' and Gk μαλάχη id.); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

mëllenjë f, pl. *mëllenja* 'blackbird'. There exist also phonetic variants *mëllënjë*, *mëllinjë* and the like. Continues PAlb **melanjā* from IE fem. adj. **melən̥iā* 'black' > Gk μέλαινα id., cf. also Skt *maliná-*, fem. *malinī* 'dirty, unclean, Latv *męl̃ns* 'black' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 42-43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 344). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (borrowing from Gk μέλαινα); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 207 (Greek origin); MEYER *Wb.* 271 (from Rom **mer(u)lanea*, derivative of Lat *merula* 'blackbird'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 537 (accepts MEYER's etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; WEIGAND 58 (from Rom **merlōnia*, cf. Rum *merloi* < Rom **merlōnius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 720-721; MAYRHOFER II 598; FRISK II 198-199; ÇABEJ *St. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* III 259; JANSON *Unt.* 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 264-265 (to OHG *amusla*, *amsala* 'thrust').

mëllezë f, pl. *mëlleza* 'kind of elm; blackbird'. Another variant is *mullezë*.

A derivative in *-zë* of *mëllenjë* (VASMER *Alb. St.* I 42; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194). ◊ ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* I 345; DEMIRAJ *AE* 280-281.

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'grief'. From PAlb **melana* 'black', the masculine form of the adjective represented in *mëllenjë* (MEYER *Wb.* 283). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Ital *malanno* 'misfortune'); JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (follows MEYER *Wb.* 283); MANN *HAED* 298 (figurative use of *mëllë* 'swelling').

mëllë ~ mullâ m, pl. *mëllënj ~ mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mullë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 345-346). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom **bullāna*, to *bulla* 'bubble'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145 (prefixal formation with *-llâ* being related to *lungë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (related to *bulë*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 545 (connected with *mall* 'property, goods', a Turkish loanword).

mëllugë f, pl. *mëlluga* 'scale; scar, mark'. Related to *mëllë*.

mëmë f, pl. *mëma* 'mother'. A typical example of a nursery word reflecting an earlier **mamā*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (related to Gk μάμμα); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET 381; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 265.

mënd m, pl. *mënde* 'moment'. Borrowed from Lat *mōmentum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274).

mënd aor. *mënda* 'to suckle, to feed'. Continues PAlb **manzda*, a nasal present further related to *maj*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64 (to Gk μαζός); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XVI 182; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Lat *mentum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 265 (related to *mëmë*).

mëndafsh m, pl. *mëndafshra ~ mëndafshna* 'silk'. Borrowed from Lat *metaxa* 'raw silk' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 272) or from MGk μέταξα id. (CAMARDA I 45), in both cases, through an intermediary stage of Rom **mentaxa*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 135, 140.

mëngë ~ mangë f, pl. *mëngë ~ mangë* 'armful, sleeve'. Borrowed from

Lat *manicae* 'sleeve' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 272). Note a derivative *mëngore* 'short jacket, fur-coat'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 111.

mëngër ~ mangën f, pl. *mëngra ~ mangna* 'oil-press, press, roller'. Borrowed from Gk μάγγανον 'axis of a pulley, bolt' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 9) or, rather, from MGk μάγγανον 'machine, contrivance'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from NGk μάγγανον 'press'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 250, XLIV 24-27; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 346 (a Geg variant *mangë* resulting from the decomposition of *mangën*); ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; JANSON *Unt.* 42.

mëngoj aor. *mëngova* 'to rise early'. Borrowed from Lat *mānicāre* 'to come in the morning', derivative of *māne* 'morning' (MEYER *Wb.* 272-273). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to Lat *māne*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 135.

(T) mëngjër adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom **mancinus*, cf. Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◊ HAARMANN 134; ROHLFS *Spr.* 161; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mëngji ~ mangji f, pl. *mëngji ~ mangji* 'sorcery, witchcraft; medicine'. Borrowed from Lat *magīa* 'magic, sorcery' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050) influenced by the popular etymology linking it to *mëngjër*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 253 (from Gk μαγεία 'sorcery'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 24-27 (from Gk μάγγανον 'charm, drug'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 346-347 (derived from *mjek*).

mënoj aor. *mënova* 'to halt, to be late'. Phonetic variant of *vënoj* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274, *IF* VI 105), see *vonë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44, 61 (to *vonë*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *manēre* 'to stay, to remain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 134.

mënjanë adv. 'at the side'. A univerbation of *më nj(ë) anë*. From it, a verb *mënjanoj* 'to avert' is derived.

mënjë f 'manna; drizzle'. From Rom **mannia*, cf. Lat *manna* 'manna'.

mënjill m, pl. *mënjille* 'vigil; fast'. Borrowed from Rom **vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* 'vigil' (MEYER *Wb.* 273-274) with the further assimilation to Rom **mingilia*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23 (from Lat *mane vigil*); HAARMANN 157.

mënjollë f, pl. *mënjolla* 'sapling, shrub, shoot'. Borrowed from Lat *malleolus* 'mallet-shoot' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347 (from Ital Venet *magliolo* id.); HAARMANN 134.

mërehem refl. 'to be fascinated, to be charmed'. Borrowed from Lat *mīrārī* 'to wonder, to be astonished'.

mërgoj aor. *mërgova* 'to exile, to drive away'. Borrowed from Lat *mergere* 'to thrust, to push' (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *SCL* XXVIII/1 73-74.

mërgjyzë ~ mërgjizë f, pl. *mërgjyze ~ mërgjize* 'marigold, narcissus'. Based on a compound of *mër- < Maria* and *gji*, 'Mary's breast'.

mëri ~ mëni f, pl. *mëri ~ mëni* 'hate, wrath'. Borrowed from Lat *mania* 'madness' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Note, however, that an alternative source could be Gk μανία with its stress corresponding to that of the Albanian word. ◊ HAARMANN 134; JANSON *Unt.* 54-55.

mërkosh m, pl. *mërkosha* 'man lying in wife's bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover'. Borrowed from Rom **māricōsus* 'husband-like', based on Lat *mās* 'male'. For the formation cf. *bellicōsus* 'warlike'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 10-13 (related to Skt *márya-* 'young man, lover' and the like); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from a poorly attested Bulg *mъrkuš* 'miserable, broken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 267-268 (derived from Turk *merakî* 'hypochondriac'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

mërkurë f, pl. *mërkura* 'Wednesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Mercurii (diēs)*, cf. MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 516. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347; HAARMANN 136.

mërlaqet refl. 'to eat greedily'. An expressive verb of onomatopoeic character.

mërmëris aor. *mërmërita* 'to murmur, to mutter'. Borrowed from Slav **mъrmъrati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mъrmor'a*, SCr *mrmrati*.

mërqinjë f 'jujube, kind of brier'. Borrowed from Rom **myrīcīnia* based on Lat *myrīca* 'tamarisk, kind of shrub' (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ HAARMANN 137.

mërshë f 'corpse, carrion'. From PAlb **merusa* based on IE **mer-* 'to die': Skt *mriyáte*, Lith *mir̃ti*, Slav **merti* and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 457-459; MAYRHOFER II 696-697; POKORNY I 735; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVIII 101-102.

mërshinë f, pl. *mërshina* 'wineskin'. Borrowed, with an epenthetical *-r-*, from Slav **měšina* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mešina*, SCr *mješina, mešina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 185; SVANE 68.

mëru ~ mirû m, pl. *mërurë ~ mërun* 'handle'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Rom **manurus*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *manus* 'hand'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 275 (from **manōbrium* or *manūbrium* 'handle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1054.

mërzej aor. *mërzeva* 'to rest at noon (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat *meridiāre* 'to take a mid-day nap' (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 136.

mërzis aor. *mërzita* 'to bore, to hate'. Borrowed from Slav **mьrziti* 'to hate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mrъzi*, SCr *mrziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SVANE 237.

mësoj aor. *mësova* 'to teach, to train'. Borrowed from Rom **invitiāre* id. > Rum *învęța*, Prov *envezar* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* IV 81). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1051; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 78; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43 (from

Gk μανθάνω 'to learn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 347-348 (a prefixal derivative of *pësoj*).

mësyj aor. *mësyta* 'to attack'. A prefixal derivative of *sy*, cf. Germ *ins Auge fassen* (MEYER *Wb.* 276; ÇABEJ *St.* I 348). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 259 (from *mbë syj*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 149-150 (related to *qoj*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; DEMIRAJ *AE* 357-358.

mëshere f 'small piece of cheese'. Borrowed from Rom **mensōra* for Lat *mensūra* 'measure'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (identical with *mueshirë*).

mëshikë f 'bubble, blister, bladder'. Borrowed, with an irregular change of the anlaut, from Lat *vēsīca* 'bladder' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 276-277). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053.

mëshirë f 'pity, mercy'. Borrowed from Lat *miseria* 'wretchedness'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 277 (based on an unattested **mësh(i)roj* borrowed from Lat *miserēre* 'to feel pity'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAARMANN 136.

mëshkenjë f, pl. *mëshkenja* 'cadaver, carrion'. Derived from *mërshë*.

mëshoj aor. *mëshova* 'to be heavy, to bear down'. Another variant is *pëshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *pensāre* 'to weigh' > Rom **pesāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 124.

mëshqerrë f, pl. *mëshqerra* 'heifer'. A prefixal derivative of *shqerra* (MEYER *Wb.* 417).

mështekër ~ mështekën f, pl. *mështekra ~ mështekna* 'birch'. Borrowed from Lat *masticinus* 'related to the mastic-tree' (> Rum *masteacan* 'birch'). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (from Gk δένδρον μαστίχινον 'mastic-tree').

mështekohem refl. 'to become wild, to rave, to rage'. Borrowed from Lat *masticāre* 'to chew', with an unusual semantic development partly refllected by Rum *mesteca* 'to chew, to mix' (MEYER *Wb.* 277) ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 91; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135.

mëtrik m 'disease of cattle, tumor, gangrene of intestines'. Borrowed from Rom **mātricus* based on Lat *mātrix* 'womb' MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349; HAARMANN 135.

mëz ~ mâz m, pl. *mëza ~ mâza* 'foal'. From PAlb **mandja* related to *mënd* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* III 28). A closely related form is attested in Messapic, in Jupiter's name *Menzana* (STIER *KZ* XI 148). From Proto-Albanian, Rum *mînz* 'foal' was borrowed while Ital *manzo* 'ox' and other forms go back to Messapic. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Ital *manzo* 'tame ox'); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 266; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 94; CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 436 (to Lat *mandus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184, *Stratificazione* 138; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; ERNOUT-MEILLET 384; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 127; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; POKORNY I 729; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79; ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXV 51-52; *St.* VII 204, 212; JANSON *Unt.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 267.

mi ~ mî m, pl. *minj* 'mouse'. From PAlb **mū(s)* related to IE **mūs* id.: Skt *mū́ṣ-*, Gk μῦς, Lat *mūs* and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 278). The nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 139 (borrowed from Greek); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63-64, 81; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190, *Stratificazione* 138; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 275-276; MAYRHOFER II 668; WALDE-HOFMANN II 132-133; POKORNY I 752-753; HULD 91-92; OREL *ZfBAlk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *KZ* CVI 100-103, *AE* 267-268.

micë f, pl. *mica* 'cat'. A word of onomatopoeic origin represented in Romance: Rum *miţa*, Ital *micio*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25 (from SCr *mica* id. - but there is no such word); MEYER *Wb.* 263 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192.

midër f, pl. *midra* 'raspberry'. Another variant is *mitër*. A figurative use of *mitër* 'womb, uterus', of Modern Greek origin.

miell m, pl. *miellra ~ miellna* 'flour'. Continues PAlb **melwa* closely related to OHG *mëlo* id., ON *mjǫl* id., Slav **melvo* 'grain for grinding' and continuing IE **mel̥uo-*, further - to **mel-* 'to grind' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 75). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; KLUGE 470;

MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 122; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 145; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVIII 92-93; POKORNY I 716-718; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268.

mih ~ **mif** aor. *miha* ~ *mifa* 'to dig, to hoe'. From PAlb **mik-ska* related to Skt *mímikṣati* 'to mix', Gk μίσγω < *μίγσκω id. (with a voiced velar), Lat *misceō* id., OHG *miskan* id. and the like. ◊ FRISK II 192-193; MAYRHOFER II 632-633; WALDE-HOFMANN II 95-96; POKORNY I 714; ČOP *ŽA* IV 294-295; HAMP *Sprache* XI 139 (< IE**(s)mi(d)-sḱ-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

mijë f, pl. *mijë, mija, mijëra* 'thousand'. A phonetically more archaic variant is *milë*. Borrowed from Lat *mīlia* id. (CAMARDA I 171; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Wb.* 278). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *Numerals* 920.

mik m, pl. *miq* 'friend'. Borrowed from Lat *amīcus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 278). The derivative *mikloj* 'to flatter, to fondle, to caress' seems to be based on **mikull* continuing Lat *amīculus* 'friend'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Origini* 209; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110; HULD 92 (on the apheresis of the pretonic vowel); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257; LANDI *Lat.* 59, 136.

milak m, pl. *milakë* 'leveret'. Borrowed from SCr *milak* 'dear one'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 278 (to *milor* 'young ram', of Rumanian origin); PASCU *RE* 65 (suffixal derivative of **mel* borrowed from Rum *mel* 'lamb'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μέλλαξ 'boy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (follows MIHĂESCU).

milingër f 'blight on leaves'. A suffixal derivative of **milingë* borrowed from Slav **mělinъka* 'crumb, pinch', otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 279 (comparison with SCr *medljika* 'mildew'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XI 489-490 (from Gk-Rom *melandrya*).

mill m, pl. *mille* 'sheath'. From PAlb **meila* 'fastening (of a knife)' related to Skt *minṓti* 'to fasten', OIr *-tuidmen* id. and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

mirë adj. 'good'. From PAlb **mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav **mirъ* 'peace' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43-44; as to OLith *mieras*, it was borrowed from Slavic despite VASMER II 626). Further connections are OPrus *mīls* 'nice', Lith *meilùs* 'dear', Slav **milъ* 'nice, pleasant' (MEYER *Wb.* 279, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78) and other continuations of IE **mēi-* ~ **mī-* 'mild, weak, nice'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mitrá-* 'friend'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (on suffixes *-*l*- ~ *-*r*- in this stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (from Lat *mīrus* 'wonderful, amazing'); PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows VASMER); HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 224 (follow VASMER); FRAENKEL 449; POKORNY I 711-712; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; HULD 92 (confused account of JOKL's analysis); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk σμύρις 'emery'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268-269.

mis m, pl. *misa* 'limb, member'. Continues PAlb **mitja* related to Lith *mìklas* 'supple', *mitrùs* id. (for the semantics, cf. Germ *gelenkig* as a usual translation of *mìklas*), Latv *mikls* id., *mitrs* id., *mikât* 'to knead'. ◊ FRAENKEL 447-448, 452.

miskë f, pl. *miska* 'turkey'. Unclear.

misur m, pl. *misurë* 'deep plate'. Derivative of an unattested **misë* borrowed from Slav **misa* 'plate', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *misa*, SCr *misa* (MEYER *Wb.* 280). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 44.

mish m/n, pl. *mishra* ~ *mishna* 'flesh, meat'. From PAlb **miša* further related to IE **memso-* id.: Skt *māṁsa-* 'flesh, meat', Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav **męso* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 280, *Alb. St.* III 61, 64, 68). The development of *-*em*- to *-*i*- seems to precede the "ruki" rule. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 56, *Kelt. Gr.* I 82; JOKL *LKUBA* 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Stratificazione* 93; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113-114; BARIÇ *Hymje* 39; AČAREAN *HAB* III 323-324; PISANI *Saggi* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 395; MAYRHOFER II 615; FEIST *Goth.* 361; POKORNY I 725-726; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIX 7-11; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 128, *St.* VII 242; HULD 92-93; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *StF* IX/1 359, *AE* 269-270.

mishkonjë f, pl. *mishkonja* 'midge, gnat'. Another variant is *mushkonjë*. A feminine derivative of **mushkë* ~ **mushkue* borrowed from Lat

musca 'fly'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 280-281 (from Rom **muscōnia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 137 (from Rom **muscōnea*).

mitë f, pl. *mita* 'shoot'. Continues PAlb **meita* related to Skt *methí-* 'pillar, post', ON *meiðr* 'beam', Lith *miẽtas* 'post, stake'. ◊ FRAENKEL 451; MAYRHOFER II 683; POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (to Gk μίτυλος 'hornless').

mitë f 'bribe, tip'. Borrowed from Slav **myto* 'payment', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mito,* SCr *mito* (MEYER *Wb.* 281). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 299; SVANE 208.

mizë f, pl. *miza* 'fly'. A derivative in *-zë* of PAlb **mūjā* identical with ON *my* id., further connected to Gk μυῖα id., Lat *musca* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 75; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 281, *Alb. St.* III 64, 81). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 168 (derives *mizë* from **mūs-* rather than **mūjā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193, *Stratificazione* 139; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93, 107; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (to Arm *mžil*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 265-266; WALDE-HOFMANN II 133; POKORNY I 752; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270.

mizoj aor. *mizova* 'to rage, to snarl, to hate'. Borrowed from Rom **invidiāre* id., cf. Lat *invidia* 'envy, jealousy' (MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; HAARMANN 131.

mizon aor. *mizoi* 'to snow (of light flocks)'. Derived from *mizë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 350), a figurative usage widespread both in Romance and Slavic.

mjalcë f, pl. *mjalca* 'bee'. Continues PAlb **melitjā* identical with Gk μέλισσα < *μέλιτjα id. (CAMARDA I 79). Cf. *mjaltë.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 281; JOKL *LKUBA* 287; FRISK II 200-201; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

mjaltë m/n/f 'honey'. Continues PAlb **melita* related to Hitt *milit* id., Gk μέλι id., Goth *miliþ* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 281-282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Lat *mel*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 162; JOKL *LKUBA* 287-289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; FEIST *Goth.* 359-360; ERNOUT-MEILLET 394; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 203; POKORNY I 723-724; FRISK II 200-201; CHANTRAINE 682; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270-271.

mjalloj aor. *mjallova* 'to mew'. Another variant is *mjaulloj*. A verb of onomatopoeic origin.

mjedhër f, pl. *mjedhra* 'mulberry; tares'. Other variants are *mjetërr*, *mitër* and *mjedër*. Also used in a phrase *mane mjedhëra* id. A suffixal derivative of **mjedh* related to Lith *mēdis* 'tree', Latv *mežs* 'wood', thus defining mulberry as a wood berry. ◊ FRAENKEL 423-425; POKORNY I 706-707; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350-351 (from **mer-dā* related to OIr *merenn* 'mulberry').

mjegull f, pl. *mjegulla* 'cloud'. Other variants, *mjergull* and *njegull*, are secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 351). From PAlb **meg(u)lā* related to Gk ὀμίχλη 'fog, mist', Lith *miglà* id., Slav **mьgla* 'darkness, mist' (CAMARDA I 70). In Proto-Albanian, the word with an unusual vocalism was reshaped according to a more standard pattern with **-e-* in the root. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (borrowing from Lat *nebula* 'cloud' or cognate of Slav **mьgla* and the like); BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 362; JOKL *Studien* 57-58 (explains *mjergull* by invoking the influence of **merg*ᵘ- dark', cf. ON *myrkr* 'dim'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; MANN *Language* XXVI 385-386; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202-204 (derived from **mjergë* with suffix *-ullë*); FRISK II 387; FRAENKEL 451; VASMER II 587-588; POKORNY I 712; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; ÇABEJ *St.* I 351-352; HULD 93; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 271-273 (to Lat *nūbēs* 'cloud', W *nudd* 'fog' and also to *natë*).

mjek m, pl. *mjekë* 'physician, doctor'. Borrowed from Lat *medicus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1043, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 109, 137, 139.

mjekër f, pl. *mjekra* 'chin, beard'. From PAlb **smekrā* etymologically related to Hitt *zamankur-* 'beard', Skt *śmáśru-* id., Arm *mawruk'* id., Lith *smākras* 'chin' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 4, 58, 71, 84). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 268; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 93; AČAREAN *HAB* III 375; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75, 126, 161; FRAENKEL 839; MAYRHOFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 116; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 683, 687; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; HULD 93-94; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 76; KORTLANDT

SSGL X 220; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273.

mjel aor. *mola* 'to milk'. From PAlb **melga* identical with Gk ἀμέλγω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu, mélžti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 283, *Alb. St.* III 17, 64). The loss of *-g-* may be rather late if the variant *mjelg* adduced by CAMARDA is not an artefact. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550, *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 275; BARIĆ *ARSt* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 434-435; FRISK I 91; WALDE-HOFMANN II 121; POKORNY I 722-723; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; HULD 94-95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273-274.

mjellme f, pl. *mjellme* 'swan'. Derived from *miel*, cf. similar connections of Slav **olbǫdь* 'swan' related to Lat *albus* 'white', Gk ἄλφι 'barley flour'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to Slav **bělьmo* 'wall-eye, white spot'); VASMER II 470; POGHIRC *LB* VI 98 (follows MEYER).

mjerë adj. 'unhappy, unfortunate'. Borrowed from Lat *miserem* id. > Rom **misrem* (CAMARDA I 133). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to IE **melən-* 'black'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 78; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194 (from **mel-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541 (to Lat *morior* 'to die'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Lat *miser*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 264, apud DEMIRAJ (to OIr *meirb* 'lifeless'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 274 (to Gk μιαρός 'stained').

mjeshtak m, pl. *mjeshtakë* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Rom **domestiācus*, cf. Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mjeshtër m, pl. *mjeshtër, mjeshtra* 'master, builder'. Borrowed from Lat *magister* 'master' (CAMARDA II 204; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 136, 139.

mjet prep/adv. '(up) to, among, between', m, pl. *mjete* 'means; boundary'. From PAlb **meta* related to Gk μετά, μέτα 'among', Goth *miþ* 'with' (JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191-192; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DEMIRAJ *AE* 274-275.

mjetë f 'coarse wool, lint, yarn'. Borrowed from Gk μίτος 'thread

(of the woof)' with the change of vowel similar to that of *mjegull*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk μίτος); MEYER *Wb.* 284 (from Rom **migetta* ~ **micetta* > Fr *miette* 'crumb'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (a prefixal derivative of *jes*).

mjezditë f 'noon'. While in the parallel forms *mesditë* and *mesnatë* 'midnight' the first element is *mes* 'middle' of Modern Greek origin, in *mjezditë* and *mjeznatë* 'midnight' *mjez* continues Lat *medius* 'middle' (MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◊ CAMARDA I 89 (*mjez-* to Gk μέσος 'middle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191.

mkeqem refl. 'to get worse'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

mlysh m, pl. *mlysha* 'kind of fish, pike'. Another variant is *mlyç*. Borrowed from Rom **maris lūcius* 'sea pike', even though in Albanian the word refers to a sweet water fish. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 284 (a hesitant comparison with Ital *merluzzo* 'cod, hake'), *NGr. St.* III 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (from Lat *lūcius* 'pike'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

(G) mllef m 'rancor, wrath'. A derivative in *-f* (= Tosk *-h*) of *mëllë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 352-353).

mnerë f 'fear, fright'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr*.

moç m. pl. *moça* 'one year old wether'. From PAlb **matuša* derived from *mot*.

moçoj aor. *moçova* 'to insult, to offend'. Borrowed from Lat *monstrāre* 'to show, to report, to witness against'.

modh m 'bushel'. Borrowed from Lat *modus* 'measure'.

modhull f, pl. *modhulla* 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea'. Continues PAlb **mādzula* derivationally close to Lith *mažùlis* 'small' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335) and further related to Lith *mažas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 284-285, *Alb. St.* III 16, 64, 83). Borrowed to Rum *mazăre*. ◊ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk μόδος 'kind of plant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 182-186 (to Goth *mats* 'dish, food', OIr *maisse* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 55-56 (to Skt *māṣa-* 'bean'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to *mot*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 422-423; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; HAMP *SCL* XXX 89; BURROW *Henning MV* 95; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 276.

mokër ~ mokën f, pl. *mokra ~ mokna* 'millstone'. Borrowed from Gk μηχανή 'device, instrument' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 16). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (from Lat *machina* 'machine, instrument'); MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Latin); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 19 (follows THUMB); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 195 (prefers the Latin etymology); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; HAARMANN 134 (from Latin); JANSON *Unt.* 43; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 112.

mokërr f, pl. *mokrra* 'millipede, woodlouse'. Borrowed from the substantivized Slavic adjective **mokra*, fem. 'wet', cf. **mokrica* 'millipede'.

molar adj. 'dirty, muddy'. A prefixal formation based on *larë*, a participial form of *lyej*.

molë f, pl. *mola* 'moth'. Borrowed from Slav **molь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mol*, SCr *molj*. A parallel form *molicë* continues Slav **molica* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 285). The verb *molis* 'to eat away (of moth)' is derived from *molë*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 154.

molikë f, pl. *molika* 'silver fir'. An early borrowing from Slav **moldika* 'young tall tree', cf. Bulg *mladika*, SCr *mladika*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 196-197, 200 (to *mëllenjë* and its cognates); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 127.

molis aor. *molisa, molita* 'to make tired, to weaken'. Borrowed from Slav **mъdьliti* id., cf. CS *mъdliti*, Slovene *medliti*.

mollë f, pl. *mollë* 'apple, apple tree'. Borrowed from Lat *mālum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 285). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (compares with Gk μῆλον id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μῆλον); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210, 254; HULD 94 (*mollë* described as a cognate of Lat *mālum* and Gk μῆλον).

mollok m, pl. *mollokë* 'boulder, rock, lump'. Derived from *mollë*.

moraçë f 'fennel'. Borrowed from South Slavic **moračь* id.: Bulg *morač*, SCr *morač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 259).

more interj. A vocative particle used in a call to a man. Other variants are *mre, bre, ore*. In feminine forms *moj* and *mori* are used (but *vore* in Italo-Albanian). The same interjection is used in all Balkan languages. The source of *more* may be one of the aoristic forms of *marr*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to Gk ὁράω 'to see'); MEYER *Wb.* 286.

morë f 'bogey, nightmare'. Borrowed from Slav **mora* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mora*, SCr *mora* (MEYER *Wb.* 286-287). ◊ SVANE 216, 237.

mori f 'swarm, mass, crowd'. Borrowed from Slav **mor'e* 'sea; (fig.) large amount, swarm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *more*, SCr *more*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209, 281

mornica pl. 'shivering fit'. Borrowed from Slav **morьnica* 'shivering; kind of illness', cf. Bulg *mornica*, Slovene *mornica* (SVANE 184).

morovicë f 'ant'. Borrowed from South Slavic **morvica* id., cf. Bulg *mravica*, SCr *mravica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 287). Alb *-oro-* seems to reflect an analogical change of **morvica* to **morovica*, cf. Ukr *muravic'a* and the like. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196 (contamination with *morr*).

morovinë f 'sultriness'. Borrowed from Slav **morovina*, deverbative of **moriti* 'to destroy' otherwise unknown in South Slavic. ◊ SVANE 172.

mort m 'death'. Borrowed from Lat *mortem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 145; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 85.

morth m 'chilblain'. Derivative of *morr*, cf. a similar semantic relationship in Rum *păducei* 'chilblain' ~ *păducel* 'small louse, nit'

(ÇABEJ *St.* I 353). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 260 (to *mardh*); MURATI *Probleme* 91.

morr m, pl. *morra* 'louse'. From PAlb **mērwa* based on IE **mer-* 'to die' as Gk φθείρ 'louse' is based on φθείρω 'to destroy'(OREL *Fort.* 79). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 245 (to Lat *mordeō* 'to bite' or to NGk μωρά); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (follows STIER); JOKL *Studien* 58 (to Skt *marcáyati* 'to endanger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196, *Stratificazione* 139; FRISK II 1012-1013; DEMIRAJ *AE* 277.

mos adv. 'not' (prohib.). From PAlb **mātš* connected with IE **mē* id. (BOPP 497; CAMARDA I 102, 214; MEYER *Wb.* 287). The Indo-European prohibitive **mē* is directly reflected in a simple form *mo*. The second element may go back to IE **k^ue* 'and' so that *mos* continues **mē k^ue* as reflected in Gk μήτε 'and not' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 149-150). ◊ BOPP 497 (identifies *-s* in *mos* with *s'* 'not' so that *mos* is treated as a double negation); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (*-s* = *s* 'not' < Lat *dis-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322; JOKL *AArbSt.* I 37-38 (connects *-s* with the pronominal stem **k^uo-* ~ **k^ui-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 205; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 90; PISANI *Saggi* 110; POKORNY I 703; CHANTRAINE 692; ÇABEJ *St.* I 353-354 (analyzes *mos* as two subsequent negations *mo* + s'; HAMP *SCL* XXX/1 89; HULD 94-95 (follows OREL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349; ; DEMIRAJ *AE* 275-276.

moshë f 'age'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *mocë* is preserved. Goes back to PAlb **mātušā* derived from **māti-* > *mot*. Borrowed to Rum *moş*, 'grandfather' after the change of **-t(u)š-* to **-š-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 33: reconstructs **mēt-si̯o-*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 263 (to *mas*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

mot m, pl. *mote* 'time, weather, storm, thunderbolt'. Goes back to PAlb **māti-* etymologically identical with Skt *māti-* 'measure', Gk μῆτις id., OE *méd* id. derived from IE **mē-* 'to measure' and, in particular, to Iran **mātya-* 'day': Sogd *myδ*, Yagn *mēt*, Yazg *mīθ*, and also Osset *met, mīt* 'snow' (TRUBAČEV *Ètimologiia 1965* 14). Semantically, *mot* is also close to Lith *mētas* 'time, year' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 263, *Alb. St.* III 23, 63, 87) which, however, displays a

short vowel in the root, and to Hisp-Celt *maTuś* '(favorable) period of time' reflecting a zero-grade. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 33, 40, 326, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; LA PIANA *Studi* I 114; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; FRAENKEL 445; FRISK II 232-233; MAYRHOFER II 638; POKORNY I 703-704; MORGENSTIERNE *Frontier* II 24, 229 (Baltic ~ Iranian comparison); ABAEV II 124 (isolates the Ossetic word from the rest of Ianian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 252; HULD 95; ESKA *Botorrita* 75-76; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motër f, pl. *motra* 'sister'. From PAlb **māter* going back to IE **māter-* 'mother': Skt *mātár-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 72; MEYER *BB* VIII 190 ('mother' > 'elder sister'), *Wb.* 287-288, *Alb. St.* III 24, 64, 72, 82). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197, *Stratificazione* 118; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 390; FRISK II 232; CHANTRAINE 699; MAYRHOFER II 619-620; WALDE-HOFMANN II 49-50; PISANI *Saggi* 99; BARIÇ *Hymje* 38, 71; POKORNY I 700; HULD 95-96 (reconstructs the Omaha-kinship system for Proto-Albanian); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

motovile f. pl. *motovile* 'reel, spool'. Borrowed from Slav **motovidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *motovila*, SCr *motovilo* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 306; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 46, 252.

mpij ~ mpîj aor. *mpiva ~ mpîva* 'to benumb, to make stiff'. Goes back to PAlb **en-pāginja* related to Gk πήγνυμι 'to make firm, to make stiff', Lat *pangō* id., Goth *fāhan* 'to catch' and the like (CAMARDA II 157; MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◊ FRISK II 525-526; WALDE-HOFMANN II 245-246; FEIST *Goth.* 134-135; POKORNY I 787; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354-355 (reconstructs **en-pāginja*).

mraz m, pl. *mraze* 'rain-storm, bitter frost'. Borrowed from Slav **morzъ* 'cold, frost', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mraz*, SCr *mraz* (SVANE 174, 237).

mrekull f, pl. *mrekull, mrekullra* 'miracle'. A singularized plural of **mrakull* borrowed from Lat *mirāculum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

41-42; MEYER *Wb.* 288). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; ÇABEJ *St.* I 355; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 86, 141-142.

mret m, pl. *mreta* 'arbutus, wild strawberry'. Derivative of *mare* id.

mrezhë f 'net'. Borrowed from Slav **merža* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *mreža*, SCr *mreža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 288). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 153.

mti ~ mtî m 'churn'. Other variants are *bëti, pëtî, muti, tpî.* Borrowed from Rom **patīna* for Lat *patina* 'broad dish, pan'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 295 (based on Slav **męsti* 'to sweep' or **mǫtiti* 'to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 355-356 (to *tirë* 'barrel').

mu ~ mû adv. 'just, right, exactly'. Borrowed from Lat *immūne* 'freely, absolutely'. ◊ CAMARDA I 311 (to *me*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 356 (to *më* 'more').

muaj ~ muej m, pl. *muaj ~ muej* 'month'. From PAlb **māsnja*, derived from an earlier **mēsn-*, metathesis of IE **mēns-* 'moon, month': Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí* and the like.The same metathesis may be supposed for Slav **měsęcь* < **mēsen-ko-* id. ◊ BOPP 467 (direct comparison with reflections of IE **mēns-*); CAMARDA I 58 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 288, *Alb. St.* III 64; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 247, *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *IF* XLIX 276, *WuS* XII 81, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 194-195; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 44; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 398; FRISK II 227-228; MAYRHOFER II 631-632; WALDE-HOFMANN II 71-72; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 24; VENDRYES [M] 46; POKORNY I 731-732; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 127; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVIII 192-194; HULD 96 (treats *-j* in *muaj* as a suffix similar to *-i* in *ari*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 279-280.

muf adj. 'unripe'. From PAlb **muska* (with *-f* < *-h*) related to IE **meu-* 'wet', cf. Latv *maût* 'to plunge, to swim', Slav **myti* 'to wash' and, formally, Lat *muscus* 'moss' belonging to the same root. ◊ POKORNY I 741-742.

mufas aor. *mufata* 'to puff up, to swell, to inflate'. From **mpufas*, a prefixal derivative of *puhas*.

mug m, pl. *mugje* 'twilight'. From PAlb **smuga* related to OE *smoca* 'smoke', OIr *múch* id., Arm *mux* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◊ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk μυχός 'inside'); MEYER *Wb.* 272-273 (to *mëngoj*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to Gk ἀχλύς 'mist, gloom' < IE **m̥gh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* III 353; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45 (to ON *mykr* 'dung'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41; VENDRYES [M] 69-70; POKORNY I 971.

mugull m, pl. *muguj* 'shoot, bud, sprout'. Another variant is *mungull*. From PAlb **mugula* identical with Lith **mugulas* on which *muguliúoti* 'to move' is based. The latter is further related to *mugóti* 'to go through the mud', *mùginti* 'to touch, to move' and the like. Borrowed to Rum *mugur*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 288 (quotes the non-existent Skt *mulula-* 'bud'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *mu-* and a cognate of Gk βλαστός 'sprout, shoot'); JOKL *LKUBA* 267 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 468; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; IONITA *SCL* XL 485 (from an unattested Rom **muculus*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

muj ~ muej aor. *mujta, mufta* 'to be able, to prevail'. From PAlb **mundnja*, a secondary formation based on *mund*.

mujoj aor. *mujova* 'to disprove'. Derived from *muj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Lat *mūniāre* 'to defend, to protect').

mullë f 'stomach'. Borrowed from Rom **mula* > OFr *mule* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 285; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Skt *mūrdhan-*).

mulli ~ mullî m, pl. *mullinj* 'mill'. Borrowed from Lat *molīnum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Ital *molino* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; JOKL *IF* L 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 199; ERNOUT-MEILLET 411; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 55; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 137, 158.

mund aor. *munda* 'to be able'. Continues PAlb **munda*, a nasal present related to Lith *mudà* 'possibility', *mudúoti* 'to try, to attempt', Skt *módate y* 'to rejoice, to be merry'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 291 (to OHG *muntar*

'fresh', Lith *mundrùs* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 80; JOKL *Studien* 58 (adds Lith *mandrùs* 'high-spirited', Slav **mǫdrъ* 'wise' to MEYER's parallels), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91, *IF* XXXIII 127, XXXVI 131; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 37; LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; FRAENKEL 467; CHANTRAINE 664; MAYRHOFER II 693; POKORNY I 741-742; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (adduces Lith *išmintìs* 'to be able'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 357-358 (to OHG *magan* 'to be able' or to Gk μόγος 'trouble, distress'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 281-283 (follows ÇABEJ).

mungoj aor. *mungova* 'to lack'. A more archaic variant is *mëngoj*. Borrowed from Rom **mancāre* > Ital *mancare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

murg ~ mung m, pl. *murgj ~ mungj* 'monk'. Borrowed from Lat *monachus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 49; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 45-46; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 138-139.

murg adj. 'dark, grey'. From PAlb **murga* related to Lith *márgas* 'multicolored', *mirgúoti* 'to sparkle, to shine', Latv *mirga* 'gleam', *mùrgs* 'fantastic image'. The word for 'mould', *murgjan*, is derived from *murg*. Borrowed to Rum *murg* 'brown'. ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *amurca*); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to ON *myrkr*); FRAENKEL 410-411; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; PISANI *Saggi* 122; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279.

murgë f 'lees of oil'. Borrowed from Lat *amurga* id. ◊ CAMARDA II 163 (from Gk ἀμόργη id.).

murmë adj. 'dark, grey'. Related to *murrët*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 286 (related to *muer ~ mor* id. borrowed from Turk *mor* id.).

murmuroj aor. *murmurova* 'to murmur'. Borrowed from Lat *murmurāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 292).

murtajë f 'plague'. Another variant is *mortajë*. Borrowed from Rom **mortālia*, based on Lat *mortālis* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 147.

murrash m, pl. *murrashë* 'sparrow'. Identical with *murrash* 'dark, dark grey', cf. *mëllenjë*.

murrelë f, pl. *murrela* 'horsefly, gadfly'. Related to *murrët*.

murrë ~ murrâ m 'North wind'. Borrowed, with an assimilation of the initial *b-*, from Rom **boreānus*, an adjectival formation of *Boreas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358-359 (to *murrët*).

murrët adj. 'dark'. A derivative in *-ët* based on **murr* continuing PAlb **mura*. The latter is etymologically related to Lith *mùras* 'mud', *mùrinas* 'dirty', Latv *murît* 'to besmirch' and other reflexes of **meu-ro-* 'dirt'. ◊ FRAENKEL 419; POKORNY I 742.

murriz m, pl. *murriza* 'brier, hawthorn, whitethorn'. Since it is also translated as 'Schwarzdorn' by MEYER, *murriz* may be linked to *murrët*. ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (connected with Ital *marruca* 'Christ-thorn'); MEYER *Wb.* 292 (from **mburniz-* connected with NGk προυνελιά 'briar'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 148 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); TREIMER *Slavia* III 455 (from a compound **mollë drizë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 359 (to *morr*).

mushicë f, pl. *mushica* 'midge'. Another variant is *mushiqe*. Borrowed from Slav **mušica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mušica*, SCr *mušica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 155.

mushk m, pl. *mushqe* 'mule'. Together with Bulg *mъsk* id., ORuss *mъskъ* id. and other Slavic forms (presumably, spreading from the South), *mushk* forms an areal Balkan word for 'mule'. Rum *muşcoi* id. is derived from **muşcu* borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 158; STIER *KZ* XI 149; HIRT *IF* XII 225 (to Lat *mūlus* id., Gk μυχλός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 293-294 (to Lat *mūlus* id. < **muslus*; adduces Ital dial. *musso* 'ass'), *Alb. St.* III 64; BARIĆ *ARSt* 56; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; ERNOUT-MEILLET 420; PISANI *Saggi* 129; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; CHANTRAINE 720; HAARMANN 137; CLACKSON *LR* 231.

mushk m 'shoulder'. Results from the recomposition of *mushkull*. ◊

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 549 (borrowed from Lat *musculus* 'muscle'); CAMARDA II 158; MEYER *Wb.* 294 (follows MIKLOSICH); BARIĆ *ARSt* 56 (to Lat *umerus* 'shoulder'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 200; ÇABEJ *St.* I 359-360; HAARMANN 137.

mushkëllyer adj. 'dun, grey-brown, red-brown'. A parallel form is *mushkylluar*. Borrowed from Rom **muscellārius* 'colored like a mouse', cf. Lat *muscellārium* 'mouse-trap'.

mushkëri ~ mushkni f, pl. *mushkëri ~ mushkni* 'lung, liver'. As *mëlçi*, this word may be used in phrases *mushkëri e bardhë* 'lung' and *mushkëri e zezë* 'liver'. Derived from *mushk* 'shoulder'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Lat *musculus*).

mushkuar ~ mushkuer m 'buffalo steer'. A prefixal derivative of *shkuar*, participle of *shkoj*. Here a wide-spread pattern of calling cattle as 'walking' is used (cf. BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 145). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (somehow related to Gk μόσχος 'young bull').

mushkull f 'muscle'. Borrowed from Lat *musculus* id.

mushllinzë f, pl. *mushllinza* 'clambering vetch'. A parallel (secondary) form is *bushllizë*. Based on **mushllî* borrowed from Rom **mustēlīna*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *mustēla* 'weasel'. For the semantic development cf. Russ *myšij gorošek* 'mouse vetch'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (from **mbështëllizë*, to *mbështjell*).

musht m 'must, new wine'. Borrowed from Lat *mustum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 294). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1046, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137.

mushtëkohem refl. 'to settle down'. Borrowed from Rom **domesticāre* based on Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

mushtuar ~ mushtuer adj. 'adult, ripe (of human beings)'. A participial form of *mushtoj* 'to train, to accustom, to make ferment (of wine)', derived from *musht*.

mut m, pl. *mutra ~ mutna* 'excrement'. Continues PAlb **mukta* for-

mally identical with Skt *muktá-* 'released' (MEYER *Wb.* 294, *Alb. St.* III 5, 64). The latter is derived from *muñcáti* 'to loose, to free', cf. also Lith *mùkti* 'to get free, to flee' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 418; MAYRHOFER II 649-650; POKORNY I 744.

muz m 'corn-measure'. A rare word from a Shkodran document in Turkish reflecting a Latin loanword from *modius* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360).

muzg m 'dusk'. From PAlb **muzga* borrowed from to Slav **mъzga* 'rainy weather'. The position of *muzgë* 'mud' is not clear: it may be related to *muzg* or, less probably, to represent a borrowing from Slav **muzga* 'sap, mud' (but neither Bulgarian, nor Serbo-Croatian preserve the meaning 'mud').

(T) mvrojtur adj. 'dark'. A secondary phonetic form of *mvrëjtur*, a participle of *mvrëj* 'to cloud over'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *vrër*.

mycë f, pl. *myca* 'brushwood'. Derivative in *-cë* of *myjë*.

myjë f 'hardwood interior of trees, medulla'. Another variant is *my* ~ *mi, mî* id. Borrowed from Lat *medulla* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (related to *mëllenjë* and based on IE **melə-* 'black').

myk m 'mould, slime'. Borrowed from Lat *mūcus* 'slime' (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

mykë f 'back edge (of knife)'. From PAlb **mūkā* etymologically related to Gk μυχός 'innermost part', Arm *mxem* 'to put into, to insert'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (identical with *pykë*); FRISK II 279; POKORNY I 745.

myll m 'mule'. Borrowed from Lat *mūlus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

mys m 'clod (of earth); bread crust'. From PAlb **mūtja*, based on IE **meuə-* 'wet, dirty, to wash'. For the development of meaning, cf. LGerm

moder 'mould', Dutch *modder* 'slime, mud' continuing the same root. ◊ POKORNY I 741-743; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

myshk m, pl. *myshqe* 'moss, musk'. Another forms is *mushk*. Borrowed from Lat *muscus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360-361). As to *myshnjë* 'moss', it is derived from *myshk*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 280 (from Turkish *misk*); SKOK *ZfslavPh* VIII 409 (< **mus + ko-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 138, 140.

mzith m 'ankle'. Derived from an unattested **zi*. The latter continues PAlb **džija* etymologically identical with the Indo-European word for 'tendon, bow-string': Skt *jyá*, Av *ǰyā*, Gk βιός. ◊ FRISK I 237-239; POKORNY I 481.

N

na interj. 'here you are!' Borrowed from Slav **na* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *na*, SCr *na* (MEYER *Wb.* 296).

napë f, pl. *napa* 'cloth, napkin, towel, kerchief'. Borrowed from Rom **nappa* > Fr *nappe* 'table-cloth' (MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 138.

naplungë f, pl. *naplunga* 'cheese-cloth (used as strainer)'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg *napl'unka*, cf. *napl'unčvam* 'to smear (with saliva)', *pl'unka* 'saliva'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

nartë adj. 'bright, clear'. A derivative of *nartoj* 'to polish, to clean, to make bright'. Borrowed from Rom **inauritāre* replacing Lat *inaurāre* 'to cover with gold' ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

natë f, pl. *net, netë* 'night'. From PAlb **nakti-* corresponding to IE **nok̑ʷt-* id.: Skt *nákt-*, Gk νύξ, Lat *nox* and the like (BOPP 460; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 65) and particularly to the Balto-Slavic *i*-stem reflected in Lith *naktìs*, Lett *nakts*, OPrus *naktin*, Slav **noktʼь* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 254). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; JOKL *LKUBA* 65 (ablaut in pl.), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; TRAUTMANN 193; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; POKORNY I 762-763; TAGLIAVINI

Dalmazia 204; PISANI *Saggi* 98; FRISK II 327-328; FRAENKEL 481-482; MAYRHOFER II 121-122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 181-182; VASMER III 86-87; ANTTILA *Schw.* 111; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 254-256; HULD 96-97; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283-284.

natyrë f 'nature'. Borrowed from Lat *nātūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 298 (from Ital *natura* id.).◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1047; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 138.

ndaj prep. 'among, with; towards'. Based on *ndanë* 'near'. The latter is a compound of *ndë* and *anë* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 58-59 (*ndaj* < **nd-anį* explained as an old locative in a sandhi position).

ndaj ~ ndâj aor. *ndava, ndajta* 'to divide, to separate'. From PAlb **danja* etymologically related to Skt *dáyate* id., *dā́ti* 'to cut, to divide', Gk δαίομαι 'to divide' (CAMARDA I 37; MEYER *Wb.* 59). ◊ FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21, 31; POKORNY I 175.

ndal aor. *ndala* 'to stop, to hold up'. Another morphological variant is *ndaloj* id. Originally, an antonym of *dal*, this verb goes back to PAlb **en-dala*, a prefixal form derived from *dal*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (from Slav **dal'ь* '(long) distance'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202 (against MEYER); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361 (to W *dal, dala* 'to hold'

ndej ~ ndêj aor. *ndeva, ndejta* 'to stretch out, to spread'. Other morphological variants are *nder, ndër* and *ndeh*. This stem is used as a suppletive aorist stem of *rri*. Continues PAlb **en-tenja* related to Gk τείνω 'to stretch', ἐν-τείνω 'to stretch out' and, further, to Skt *tanóti*, 'to expand', OHG *denen* 'to stretch' and other reflexes of IE **ten-* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 299-300, *Alb. St.* III 24). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 101; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107; FRISK II 863-865; MAYRHOFER I 475; POKORNY I 1065-1066; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 243; DEMIRAJ *AE* 284-285.

nder m 'honor, fame, name, reputation, worth'. A suffixal derivative of *ndej ~ nder* depicting 'fame' as '(wide)spread'. ◊ BOPP 497 (to the non-existent Skt *dar-* 'to respect'); CAMARDA I 81 (to *njeri*); MIKLOSICH

Rom. Elemente 31 (borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 298-299 (continues an unattested **ner* borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202-203 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 366; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 402 (prefixal formation in *nd-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361-363 (to *ëndërr*); LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 101.

ndes aor. *ndesa* 'to have troubles', refl. *ndeset* 'to get tangled up (of threads)'. Goes back to PAlb **en-datša* reflecting IE **dekʷ-* and closely related to the isolated Lith *dàkyti* 'to mix up, to put in disorder', *dàknyti* id., *dàkanoti* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 80-81; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndesh aor. *ndesha* 'to meet'. Continues PAlb **en-da-sja* etymologically related to Gk δήω 'to find' (OREL *Orpheus* VI 69). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (to Slav **desiti* 'to meet' - but it continues IE **dek̂-*); JOKL *Studien* 60-61 (follows and compares *ndesh* with *ndieh*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; FRISK I 383; POKORNY I 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 285.

ndez aor. *ndeza* 'to set alight, to ignite'. From PAlb **en-dadžja*, a causative formation based on *djeg* and continuing **-dogʷhei̯ō* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 333; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208; LA PIANA *Studi* I 74, *St. Varia* 33; ÇABEJ *St.* III 124, VII 217, 219; HULD 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286.

ndë prep. 'in, into'. A frequently used parallel form is *në*; in Old Albanian the initial vowel was still preserved in *ende* (BUZUKU). Goes back to PAlb **en-da* composed of IE **en* 'in' (cf. Gk ἐν, Lat *in* and the like) and IE **do*: Slav **do* 'to', Gmc **tō* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201; MANN *Language* XVII 22; FRISK I 508-509; WALDE-HOFMANN I 687-688; ONIONS 927; POKORNY I 181-183, 311-313; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 59-66; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 37-38; HULD 97-98 (separates *ndë* from *në* and derives the latter from IE **eni*).

ndër prep. 'under, between'. Borrowed from Lat *inter* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ BOPP 500 (related to Lat *inter*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 213; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (reconstructs **Henter*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286-287.

ndërgoj aor. *ndërgova* 'to suck'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Lat *integrāre* 'to restore, to refresh'.

ndërliq aor. *ndërliqa* 'to tangle up threads; to interlace, to weave'. Another variant is *ndërlik* preserving the original form of the auslaut velar. Derived from *liq* (KRISTOFORIDHI 271). The dialectal form *ndrëliks* id. < **ndërliks* is derived from *ndërlik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 364). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk ἐντυλίσσω 'to roll, to wrap up'); MEYER *Wb.* 301 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

ndërtoj aor. *ndërtova* 'to build, to construct'. A derivative of Rom **directāre*, cf. Lat *directus* 'straight' (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 123 (derived from *drejt*); WEIGAND 60 (follows CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* I 364-365 (to *trajtoj*).

ndërzej aor. *ndërzeva* 'to mate'. A prefixal derivative of *zë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 300 (borrowed from Slav **drazniti* 'to irritate, to arouse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250.

ndërroj aor. *ndërrova* 'to change, to alter'. Borrowed from Lat *alterāre* id., with an irregular change of the sonorant (MEYER *Wb.* 300, *Alb. St.* IV 15). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (to *tjetër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365 (to Skt *ántara-* 'other' and the like); MANN *Comp.* 27 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndëshkoj aor. *ndëshkova* 'to punish'. A prefixal derivative of **dëshkoj* borrowed from Lat *dēspicārī* 'to despise'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365-366 (from Lat *castīgāre* 'to correct, to chastise, to punish'); HAARMANN 116 (same as ÇABEJ).

ndiç adv., conj. 'well, at any rate'. Another form is *ndish*. Goes back to *në diç* 'if you know' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 366).

ndiçëm adj. 'old, withered, stale'. Another form is *ndishëm*. Historically identical with *ndishëm* 'sensitive', an adjectival derivative of *ndiej*.

ndiej aor. *ndjeva* 'to feel, to perceive, to hear'. A prefixal derivative of *di* (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk νοέω 'to see, to perceive'); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* (to *gjegj*, variant of *dëgjoj*); JOKL *Studien* 60, *IF* XXXVI 112; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 33-34; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to

dëgjem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; ÇABEJ *St.* I 366-367 (related to Goth *þagkjan* 'to think'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 287-288.

ndih ~ ndif aor. *ndiha ~ ndifa* 'to help'. Continues PAlb **en-diska* related to Gk δίεμαι 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar' and the like. For the semantic development cf. Russ *s-po-speš-estvovat'* 'to assist, to help' ~ *spešit'* 'to hurry'. ◊ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk τεῖχος 'wall' or τύχη 'luck, fortune'); MEYER *Wb.* 300 (to Goth *þeihan* 'to thrive, to flourish'), *Alb. St.* III 6-7; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208-209 (to the non-existent Skt *dāy-* 'to take care'); FRISK I 389-390; ÇABEJ *St.* I 367-368 (continues IE **deiḱ-* 'to show'); MAYRHOFER II 46; POKORNY I 187.

ndikoj aor. *ndikova* 'to influence'. Borrowed from Lat *indīcāre* 'to impose, to inflict'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257-258.

ndjej aor. *ndjeva* 'to pardon, to forgive'. More archaic forms are *ndëjej* and *ndëlej*. Borrowed from Lat *indulgēre* 'to be indulgent, to concede' (MEYER *Wb.* 299). Note the development of the group *-lg-* as in *mjel*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 130.

ndjek aor. *ndoqa* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue'. From PAlb **en-teka*, a prefix formation related to IE **tekʷ-* 'to run, to flow': OIr *techim* 'to flee', Lith *tekù, tekėti* 'to run', Slav **tekǫ, *tekti* 'to flow, to run' (MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 300-301, *Alb. St.* III 3, 24). Another verb, **awa-teka*, is reclected as *vdjek* 'to pursue' instead of **ftjek* under the influence of *ndjek*. ◊ FRAENKEL 1074-1075; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 291; VENDRYES [T] 40; VASMER IV 37; POKORNY I 1059; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Gk διώκω 'to pursue'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 96; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (on *v-* in *vdjek*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269; HULD 97; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288.

ndjell aor. *ndolla* 'to entice, to lure; to call (to an animal)'. Continues PAlb **en-delna*, a denominative related to the Balto-Slavic word for 'palm (of the hand)': Lith *délna*, Slav **dolnь*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lith *délka* 'fishing-rod'); FRAENKEL 87-88; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 63-64.

ndodh aor. *ndodha* 'to happen, to take place, to occur'. From PAlb

**en-tādza* continuing IE **tāĝ-* (or **tāg-* as implied by Baltic): Gk τάσσω 'to arrange, to put in order', τᾱγή 'ordering, array', Lith *pa-togùs* 'comfortable', *su-tógti* 'to marry'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lat *tangō* 'to touch' or to Goth *tekan* id.), *Alb. St.* III 17; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 57-58 (to Lat *cadō* 'to fall'); FRISK II 845-846, 859; FRAENKEL 551; POKORNY I 1055; ÇABEJ *St.* I 369-370 (to Gk τεύχω 'to prepare').

(T) ndohtë adj. 'dirty, foul'. Based on *ndoh* 'to make dirty', an inchoative derivative of *ndyj* (MEYER *Wb.* 301; KRISTOFORIDHI 229). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 61-62 (to *dhjes*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 290-291.

ndorë f 'charge, tutelage, patronage'. A back-formation based on *ndoroj* 'to manage, to control, to protect'. A metathesized borrowing from Rom **pantōrāre* < **patrōnāre*, cf. Lat *patrōnus* 'protector, defender'.

ndormë adj. 'unleavened; ordinary'. Derived from *dorë* with the original meaning 'handy, easy to make' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 370). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321 (to Skt *táruṇa-* 'young, fresh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 242.

ndorrina conj. 'although'. Other variants are *ndorina* and *ndori*. More frequent variants use the adverbial element *-na* but the original conjunction is *ndori*, a form of *ndor* ~ *ndorë*. The underlying meaning is '(even) with the protection of'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from *ndo rri* 'although you are sitting').

ndoshta adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. Derived from *ndosh* 'to happen', a secondary formation based on *ndodh* (KONITZA apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 371). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 260 (from *në do të ishte*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from SCr *doista* 'truly'); MURATI *Probleme* 92.

ndrag aor. *ndraga* 'to make dirty'. From PAlb **en-traga*, a denominative verb related to OHG *drec* 'dirt, dung', ON *þrekkr* id., Gk στεργάνος 'dung' (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◊ KLUGE 141; FRISK II 790; POKORNY I 1032.

ndreq aor. *ndreqa* 'to put in order, to arrange'. Derived from *ndreq* ~ *ndrejt*, adv. 'straight, direct', cf. *drejtë*.

ndrikull f, pl. *ndrikulla* 'godmother; midwife'. Borrowed from Lat *mātrīcula* used in the sense of Rom **mātrīna* id. > Ital *madrina* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 301).◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1054 (from Lat *nutrīcula*); HAARMANN 135.

ndrizë f, pl. *ndriza* 'band, bandage'. Continues **n-dridh-zë* related to *dredh* (JOKL *Studien* 18).

ndrydh aor. *ndrydha* 'to press, to squeeze, to twist'. From PAlb **en-trūda* etymologically connected with Lat *trūdō* 'to thrust, to push, to press on', Goth *us-þriutan* 'to burden' and the like. The verb *ndrydh* is a source of secondary expressive forms *ndryp* 'to press, to squeeze' and *ndrys* 'to massage' (the later may be a derivative in **-tja*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (from Rom **intrūdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (to *dredh*).

ndryj aor. *ndryva* ~ *ndryna* 'to lock'. Derived from *dry*. MANN *Language* XVII 16 (from *dru*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ndryqem ~ **ndriqem** refl. 'to stretch oneself'. Continues PAlb **en-truka* related to W *trychu* 'to cut', OHG *drucken* 'to press', Lith *trúkti* 'to get torn, to come off', Latv *trūkt* 'to break, to get torn'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 181 (from Rom **intuberculāre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58 (to Lat *dūrus* 'hard' and IE **dreu-*); FRAENKEL 1130-1131; POKORNY I 1074; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (a secondary formation based on *ndreq*).

ndryshkull m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'boil, abscess'. Derived from *ndryshkë* 'rust', cf. *dryshk*.

ndryshkull m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'kind of large scented plant'. Derived from *dushk* ~ *dyshk* 'oak' with an epenthetic *-r-*.

ndryshoj aor. *ndryshova* 'to differentiate, to differ, to vary'. Based on *ndryshe* 'otherwise', derived from *ndërroj*.

nduk aor. *nduka* 'to pluck out, to pull out, to tear'. Continues PAlb **en-duka* related to Goth *tiuhan* 'to pull', Lat *dūcō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301-302). ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite');

ERNOUT-MEILLET 186; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; KLUGE 885; FEIST *Goth.* 478-479; WALDE-HOFMANN I 377-378; POKORNY I 220-221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 373-374; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291.

ndulkem refl. 'to ripen'. From PAlb **en-tulka* etymologically linked to Lith *telkiù, tel̃kti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav **telkti* 'to beat, to pound'. MEYER *Wb.* 313 (derived from Lat *dulcis* 'sweet'); VASMER IV 73-74; FRAENKEL 1078; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (to *tul*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ndyj ~ **ndyej** aor. *ndyra* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse'. From PAlb **en-dūnja* related to Gk δύω 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (to OHG *tūhhan* 'to immerse'); FRISK I 427-428; POKORNY I 217-218.

ne pron. 'we'. From PAlb **nō(s)* etymologically related to Skt *nas-*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs* id. and other continuations of this stem in Indo-European (BOPP 464; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 216-217; MEYER *Wb.* 296, *Alb. St.* III 63, 65). Oblique cases have *na* from the Indo-European form of accusative with a short vowel. In some dialects, *na* appears in nom. sg. while *ne* represents oblique cases. ◊ JOKL *Sprache* IX 142; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85, 90; ERNOUT-MEILLET 445; MANN *Language* XVII 18, XXVIII 37; PISANI *Saggi* 130; WALDE-HOFMANN II 175-176; MAYRHOFER II 148; POKORNY I 758; HULD 96; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291-292.

ne prep. 'to, at'. A parallel and more authoritative form is *nek* from which *te* evolved as an allegro variant (cf. *te*). Both *nek* and *tek* require nominative - an unusual feature that can only be explained by its etymology below. It continues PAlb **anai ka* 'to that which' consisting of a dative of a demonstrative comparable with Skt *ana-* 'this', Lith *anàs* 'that', Slav **onъ* id. and of a relative pronoun **k^uo-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 10; VASMER III 141; MAYRHOFER I 32; POKORNY I 319-321; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (etymologically identical with *te* ~ *tek*).

nemak adj. 'dumb, stuttering'. Derived from **nem* borrowed from Slav **němъ* 'dumb', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *n'am*, SCr *nijem, nem*.

nemec m, pl. *nemeca* 'dumb, stuttering person'. Borrowed from Slav **němьсь* id. also denoting Germans, cf. in South Slavic Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nijemac, nemac* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). The form *nemc* 'German' goes back to the same source. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195, 286.

nepërkë f, pl. *nepërkë* 'adder, viper'. A more archaic form is *nepërtkë*. Borrowed from Slav **nepъrtkъ* attested in Bulg *neprъtъk* 'buttercup, yellowgold' (its other name being *žabun'ak* 'related to toads') connected with some other marginal Slavic forms such as **jьzportъkъ* 'miscarried fetus' and **vyportъkъ* id. The original form being the source of *nepërkë* described a freshly hatched snake. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *năpîrcă*.◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (from Lat *vīpera* 'viper'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; VASMER I 369; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 204; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXXII/2 204 (borrowed from Rum *năpîrcă* continuing Rom **natricipertica*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

nesër adv. 'tomorrow'. From PAlb **natšōr* continuing **nok^{u}tįōr*, an adverbial derivative of **nok^{u}t-* 'night', cf. W *neithiwr, neithwyr* 'last night', Bret *neizœr, neizür* id. (MANN *Hist. Gr.* 204). ◊ CAMARDA I 309 (to Gk ὑστεραία 'the day after tomorrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (to Goth *nehva* 'near' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 13, 65; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 236-237, *KZ* XXXVI 336 (from an earlier **nati herë* 'at the hour of night'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58-60 (from **en auso-* 'at dawn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204 (supports PEDERSEN); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41, 109; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45-46 (compound of *nes-* < **en ōk̑u-* 'swift' and *herë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 374-375 (from *në esëll herë* 'at the time of morning fast'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 292-293.

neveris aor. *neverita* 'to desert, to neglect'. Borrowed from Slav **ne věriti* 'not to believe' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 246.

nevojë f, pl. *nevoja* 'need'. Borrowed from Slav **nevol'a* 'lack of freedom, necessity', cf. South Slavic parallels: Bulg *nevol'a*, SCr *nevolja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 222

nëmë ~ namë f, pl. *nëmë ~ namë* 'curse'. From PAlb **namā* related to *nëm ~ nam* 'to curse' from PAlb **nama*. Etymologically connected with Gk νέμω 'to distribute', Goth *niman* 'to take' and the like, with the semantic shift justified by the development in Greek, cf. νέμεσις 'wrath' (CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 64-65). ◊ FRISK II 302-304; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; POKORNY I 763; ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 184; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 293.

nëmëroj aor. *nëmërova* 'to number, to count'. Borrowed from Lat *numerāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 312, *Alb. St.* IV 19). Other similar forms, such as *numër* 'number', are of Italian or learned Latin origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 384). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

nën prep. 'under'. A more conservative variant is *ndën*. An extended form of *ndë* (MEYER *Wb.* 299).

nënë ~ nanë f, pl. *nëna ~ nana* 'mother'. An onomatopoeia comparable with that of SCr *nana* id., Rum *nană* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27 (from Slavic); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201, *Stratificazione* 118; HULD 98 (traces *nënë ~ nanë* back to Indo-European); JANSON *Unt.* 97-98; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294.

nënëris aor. *nënërita* 'to murmur'. An onomatopeia.

nëng ~ nang adv. 'not'. A difficult form. Probably, a Latin loanword, cf. Lat *numquam* (MEYER *Wb.* 304), but then the vowel remains unexplained. Is it a double negation from **ne nuk* developed to **nenk* > *nëng*? ◊ HULD 99.

nëngj m 'knot'. Borrowed from Rom **nodunculus* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054).

nëntë ~ nand num. 'nine'. The Tosk form is an analogical innovation that has replaced **nëndë*. Continues PAlb **neunti-* representing a *ti*-derivative of IE **neu̯n̥* id.: Skt *náva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun* and the like (BOPP 459; MEYER *Wb.* 304, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 85; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 61; LA PIANA *Studi* I 84; PISANI *Saggi* 106;

MANN *Language* XVII 20; MAYRHOFER II 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 179-180; FEIST *Goth.* 378-379; POKORNY I 318-319; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 43-44 (to Illyr *Neunt(i)us*), *Numerals* 915-916; HULD 154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294-295.

nëpër prep. 'through'. A compound of *në* and *për*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

nëse conj. 'if'. A lexicalized sequence of *në* and *se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 375).

nga prep. 'out'. Goes back to PAlb **en-ka*, a compound consisting of **en-* identical with IE **en* 'in' and **ka* (also preserved as dialectal *ka* 'out'), a reflex of IE **kom*, cf. Slav **kъ* 'to, towards' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 150). A particularly interesting parallel of PAlb **en-ka* is found in Slav **vъn-kъ* (Czech *venků*, Ukr *vonka*) < IE **en-kom*. The unusual semantic shift of *nga* is a part of a general transformation of prepositional meanings in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ◊ CAMARDA 84; MEYER *Wb.* 304-305 (*ka* < Gk κατά 'down' with an inexplicable loss of the second syllable); POKORNY I 311-312, 612-613; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 105-106 (on Slavic prepositions); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211.

ngac aor. *ngaca* 'to check, to halt'. A denominative based on **ngalcë* derived from *ngalem*.

ngacmoj aor. *ngacmova* 'to incite, to tease'. A form parallel to *ngall-moj* and based on **ngacmë*, derivative of **ngacë* - ultimately, to *ngas*.

ngaj aor. *ngava, ngajta* 'to run'. Another variant is *nga(h)*. From PAlb **en-ganja* related to the reduplicated Skt *jáhāti* 'to leave, to abandon', OHG *gān, gēn* 'to go' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 305, *Alb. St.* III 6-7). Other morphological variants of the verb are *nga(h)* < **en-gaska* and *ngas* < **en-gatja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to NGk ἐγγίζω 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to prompt, to urge'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 205; KLUGE 241; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (to Slav **kotiti* 'to roll'); MAYRHOFER I 426; POKORNY I 418; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *quatiō* 'to shake'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 295 -296.

ngalem refl. 'to be limping, to be lame, to be paralyzed'. From PAlb **en-gala*, a denominative based on an unattested **gala* 'end, obstacle' related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id., OPrus *gallan* 'death'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incagliare* 'to halt'); HELBIG 23-24 (from Rom **incalleāre*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-168 (to *gul* 'hornless');

FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 375-376 (to Lat *callum* 'hardened, thick skin').

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to sprout, to shoot'. Another morphological variant is *ngalloj*. Denominative based on *ngallë* 'flowering head of an onion' <*'sprout, shoot'. The latter is derived from **ngall* 'to sprout, to shoot', a prefixal verb built from *kall* ~ *kalli* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376-377 with differences in details). A related form with a different prefix *c-* is *ckalloj* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 51). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to *shkal*, *shqelm*).

ngallis aor. *ngallita* 'to annoy, to irritate'. A derivative of *ngas* based on an unattested nominal form **ngall(ë)*.

ngallmoj aor. *ngallmova* 'to urge, to irritate, to arouse'. Based on **ngallmë*, a deverbative noun in *-më* related to **ngall*, see *ngallis* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incalmare* 'to inoculate' or Rom **incalamāre*); JOKL *LKUBA* 269 (to *akull* and Slav **kaliti* 'to temper [iron]'); HAARMANN 130.

ngardhulíqe f, pl. *ngardhulíqe* 'goldfinch'. Borrowed, with a secondary *n-* and an additional suffix *-iq-*, from Lat *carduēlis* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (reconstructs Rom **cardellicula*).

ngarend aor. *ngarenda* 'to run fast'. A univerbation of *nga rend* or *ngas rend* still preserved in Old Albanian (ÇABEJ *St.* I 377).

ngarkoj aor. *ngarkova* 'to load, to charge, to burden'. Borrowed from Rom **incaricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incaricare* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2]I 1048 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 130.

ngarmoj aor. *ngarmova* 'to drive away, to incite, to irritate'. A phonetic variant of *ngallmoj*. Cf. also *ngërmoj* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 12 (from Ital *angheria* 'oppression, tyranny'); KRISTOFORIDHI 261 (to *gërmoj*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 378-379 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI).

ngas aor. *ngava* 'to urge, to incite, to annoy'. From PAlb **en-gatja*, a causative related to *ngaj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 221 (to *qas*); PEDERSEN *KZ*

XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav **nukati* 'to urge, to say *nu*'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 154, 218.

ngastër f, pl. *ngastra* 'piece, part, section; block, quarter'. Another variant is *ngasër*. Derived from *ngas* (MEYER *Wb.* 221). Note a secondary cluster *-st-* < *-s-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 377 (from NGk γάστρα 'wide part of a jar').

ngashërej aor. *ngashëreva* 'to touch, to move, to affect'. Another variant is *ngashëroj*. The Geg form is preserved in *ngashnjej* 'to incite, to rouse'. Built on the basis of Rom **incausinãre*, cf. Lat *causa* 'cause'.

ngatërroj aor. *ngatërrova* 'to entangle, to complicate'. The antonym is *shkatërroj* 'to undo, to disentangle'. Derived from *ngatërr* 'hair ribbon' <*'thread'. The latter is based on *ngas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (to *ngathet* and/or Ital dial. *ingattiar* 'to entangle'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 325 (from Rom **inquaternãre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 60-61 (to *shtie* and *shtri*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 377-378 (back-formation of *shkatërroj* based on *katër*).

ngathem refl. 'to grow numb, to grow stiff'. From **ngalth* related to *ngalem*.

nge f, pl. *nge* 'time, leisure, chance, opportunity'. Goes back to *ngae* preserved in dialects. From PAlb **en-gadã* etymologically related to Slav **godъ* 'time, year' with which it shares the temporal meaning (JOKL *Studien* 62-63). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305-306 (to Lith *gaivùs* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 39; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 191-192; MURATI *Probleme* 92-93.

ngec aor. *ngeca* 'to get stuck, to halt, to hesitate'. A morphonological variant of *ngac*.

ngel aor. *ngela* 'to get stuck, to remain'. A morphonological variant of *ngalem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238-239.

ngeq aor. *ngeqa* 'to become worse, to get bad'. Derived from *keq*.

ngërç m 'cramp, stiffness'. Derived from *kërç*.

ngërdhej aor. *ngërdheva* 'to mock, to sneer, to mimic'. Another variant is *ngërdhesh*. Derived from *ngrydh*.

ngërhis aor. *ngërhita* 'to snore, to snort'. Another variant is *ngërhas*. A prefixal derivative of *gërhas*.

ngërthej aor. *ngërtheva* 'to press, to encircle'. A prefixal derivative of *k(ë)thej* with an epenthetic *-r-*. Cf. *kthej*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (to *gardhë*).

ngërzis aor. *ngërzit* 'to annoy'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **gërzis* borrowed from Slav **groziti* 'to threaten', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *groz'a*, SCr *groziti*.

ngij ~ ngîj aor. *ngiva ~ ngina* 'to sate, to suckle'. Dialectal forms preserve *gl-* and *gj-*. From PAlb **gleinja* related to Lith *gliejù, gliēti* 'to smear', OHG *klënan* id. and the like. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 62 (from **ni-g^ur̥no-* 'swallowed down'); FRAENKEL 157; POKORNY I 362-363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

ngojoj aor. *ngojova* 'to mention; to slander'. Derived from *gojë* 'mouth'.

ngoloj aor. *ngolova* 'to try, to taste'. Historically identical with *ngojoj*. Derived from *golë*, a phonetically archaic variant of *gojë*.

ngollar m 'sodomite; sodomite sexual act'. Derived from *golle* on the basis of an intermediate verb **(n)golloj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Slav **gǫzlarь*, to **gǫzъ* 'anus, bottom'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 61 (prefix *n-* followed by a cognate of Gk κήλη).

ngop aor. *ngopa* 'to sate, to cram'. Related to *gop* 'greedy, gluttonous'. The latter continues PAlb **gāpā* probably related to IE **ĝep-/*ĝebh-* 'to eat'. A parallel form *ngos* 'to sate' goes back to **en-gāptja* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LV* 194). ◊ POKORNYI 382; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (*ngos* borrowed from NGk **ἀγχώνω* 'to choke').

ngordh aor. *ngordha* 'to die (of animals), to stiffen, to become erected (of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*. Continues PAlb **kār(i)da* going back to IE **kēr dhē-* 'to take a root', hence - 'to stiffen' and, finally, 'to die'. For the first component cf. Lith *kẽras* 'root', Slav **korenь* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Rom **incordāre*, cf. *kordhë*); KRISTOFORIDHI 265 (to NGk κορδόνομαι 'to show off'); FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 572-573; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 62-65; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80, VII 184.

ngratë adj. 'wretched, miserable, unhappy'. Borrowed from Lat *ingrātus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 306). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; HAARMANN 131.

ngre aor. *ngrita, ngrejta* ~ *ngrêjta* 'to lift, to raise'. A parallel form is *ngreh* ~ *ngref* reflecting an inchoative in *-*sk̂*-. Continues PAlb **en-grada* and **en-gradska* related to Lat *gradior* 'to step, to walk', Goth acc. *grid* 'step', OIr *in-grenn-* 'to pursue', Slav **grędǫ*, **gręsti* 'to walk'. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐγείρω 'to rouse, to stir up'); MEYER *Wb.* 306 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545; JOKL *Sprache* IX 128; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; WALDE-HOFMANN I 615-616; FEIST *Goth.* 222; POKORNY I 456-457; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 76; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VII 123-124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 296-297 (to Lat *crēscō* 'to grow').

ngrij ~ **ngrîj** aor. *ngriva* ~ *ngrina* 'to freeze'. From PAlb **en-kreinja*, a denominative verb related to Lith *krenà* 'film, thin skin (on milk)', Latv *kriena* id. For the semantics cf. another Baltic cognate - Lith *krygà* 'floating pieces of ice'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306-307 (to Gk κρύος 'frost'); JOKL *Studien* 63-64 (to Slav **čьrstvъ* 'hard, dry'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 245 (to Frioul *criure* 'cold'); FRAENKEL 297; POKORNY I 618; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ngroh ~ **ngrof** aor. *ngroha* ~ *ngrofa* 'to warm'. From PAlb **en-grāja* etymologically identical with Slav **grějǫ*, **grěti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46), continuing IE *g^{u}*her-* 'to burn'. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 324-325, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows MEYER); VASMER I 456 (*ngroh* from **en-grēsk̂o*); POKORNY I 493-495; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 77; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *kárštas* 'warm'); HULD 98 (on *sk̂*-formations in Albanian), *KZ* CVII 169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 298.

ngrydh ~ **ngridh** aor. *ngrydha* ~ *ngridha* 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in heat (of horses)'. From PAlb **en-krūda* etymologically related to Lith *grūžiu, grūsti* 'to stamp, to punch', Latv *grûst* id. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Slav **sьrditi sę* 'to get angry'); FRAENKEL 173-174; POKORNY I 460-462; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684 (to Skt *gŕ̥dhyati* 'to wish').

ngrys aor. *ngrysa* 'to darken'. Goes back to PAlb **en-krūtja* further

connected with Slav **kryti* 'to cover', Lith *kráuju, kráuti* 'to pile'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 64 (to Lat *creper* 'dusky, dark'); BARIĆ *Glasnik SND* II 167-170 (to Gk γνόφος 'darkness, gloom'); FRAENKEL 291; POKORNY I 616-617; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379-380 (to IE **kers-* 'black'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 71-72.

nguc aor. *nguca* 'to rouse, to incite'. A phonetic variant of *ngus.*

ngujoj aor. *ngujova* 'to enclose, to lock up'. A prefixal derivative of *kunjoj.* ◊ WEIGAND 62 (denominative based on *kunj* 'peg, wedge'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 380 (follows WEIGAND).

ngul aor. *ngula* 'to thrust in, to stick in'. From PAlb **en-kula*, a zero grade etymologically related to Lith *kùlti* 'to thresh', Latv *kul̃t* 'to strike' and further connected with IE **kel(ə)-* 'to strike' (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MANN *Language* XVII 14; FRAENKEL 211; POKORNY I 545-546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

ngulmoj aor. *ngulmova* 'to insist'. Derived from *ngulmë* 'insistence', a deverbative of *ngul.*

nguq aor. *nguqa* 'to redden'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (MANN *HAED* 322).

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to growl, to howl'. Based on an unattested noun **gur* etymologically related to Skt *gavate* 'to sound', Gk γόος 'lamentation', Latv *gaura* 'chatter', Lith *gáuti* 'to howl' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (onomatopoeia comparable with Germ *gurren* 'to coo' and similar); FRAENKEL 141-142; MAYRHOFER I 445; FRISK I 317-318; POKORNY I 403.

nguroj aor. *ngurova* 'to harden, to petrify'. Derived from *gur.* Another form based on *gur* is *ngurr* 'to stiffen'.

ngurroj aor. *ngurrova* 'to hesitate, to falter, to stop'. From late Lat *incurrere* 'to commit (a fault)', see WEIGAND *BA* I 259. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 380-381 (to *gur* and *nguroj*).

ngus aor. *nguta* 'to urge, to force'. From PAlb **en-kutja* related to Lith

káuti 'to strike', Slav **kovati* 'to forge', Lat *cūdō* 'to strike', OHG *houwan* id. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46-47; BŪGA II 153; FRAENKEL 232; WALDE-HOFMANN I 300-301; POKORNY I 535; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to annoy, to irritate'. Continues PAlb **en-kuša* related to Lith *kùšti* 'to move', Latv *kustinât* 'to move, to touch'. ◊ FRAENKEL 321-322.

ngush aor. *ngusha* 'to embrace, to neck'. Derived from *gush*.

ngushtë adj. 'narrow'. Borrowed from Lat *angustus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 61; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 307). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 111; HULD 98.

ngushulloj aor. *ngushullova* 'to comfort, to give consolation'. Another variant is *ngushëlloj* ~ *ngushëllonj*. Based on an unattested **kushulloj* borrowed from Lat *consōlāre*. id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307) ◊ HAARMANN 119.

ngjalë f, pl. *ngjala* 'eel'. A back-formation of **ngjelë* understood as an umlauticized plural. The latter is borrowed from Lat *anguilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 36 (to Gk ἔγχελυς id.); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 283; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 381-382 (from Illyr **engella* related to Lat *anguilla*).

ngjat adv. 'near'. Derived from *gjatë*, cf. Ital *lungo* 'along, beside', Fr *le long de* 'along' and similar coinages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 382-383). ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *ngas*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (to *qas*); WEIGAND *BA* I 254 (to *ngjis*).

ngjelmët adj. 'salty, briny'. Another variant is *ngjelbët* < *ngjelmët*. The source of this word is PAlb **en-salma* related to IE **sal-* 'salt': Gk ἅλς, Lat *sāl*, OIr *salann*, Arm *aɫ* and the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 64-65, *LKUBA* 231; AČAREAN *HAB* I 114-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRISK I 78-79; VENDRYES [S] 17-18; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; OREL *IF* XCIII 106 (reconstructs PAlb **en-salima*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 298-299.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to gird'. From PAlb **en-jāuša* etymologically connected with Av *yåŋhayeiti* id., Gk ζώννυμι id., Lith *júosti* id., Slav **jasati* 'to tear clothes' <*'to tear into bands', **po-jasъ* 'belt' (MEYER *Wb.* 308, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). The development of PAlb **-s-* to *-sh* is explained by the "ruki" rule rather than by derivation of *-sh-* from **-sj-*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; PISANI *Saggi* 102, *REIE* IV 10; POKORNY I 513; FRAENKEL 198; VASMER III 351; FRISK I 617-618; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; BARBER *JIES* III/4 294-320; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219; HULD 99, *KZ* CVII 169; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 299-300.

ngjesh aor. *ngjesha* 'to knead'. Derived from *gjesh*.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to try, to sample, to taste'. The corresponding Geg form is *gjinonj*. Borrowed from Lat *jējūnāre* 'to fast', with the further semantic development from 'not eat' to 'taste only'. The meaning 'to fast' is preserved by Geg *ngjinoj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to *gjër*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

ngjëroj aor. *ngjërova* 'to encircle; to jump over, to wade through'. Another variant is *gjeroj*. Derived from *gjer*. A relatively rare case of a verb based on a preposition/adverb.

ngjir m, pl. *ngjire* 'whirlpool'. Another form is *ngjirr*. Derived from *gjerë*. ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 241-242 (to Skt *sirā* 'stream').

ngjirem refl. 'to get hoarse'. The same verb is attested without prefix as *qirem* 'to get hoarse', cf. also *shqirem* id. An onomatopoeia (HERMANN *KZ* XLI 47). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Gk κέρχνος 'hoarseness' or E *hoarse*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329 (to Gk κέρχνος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 383 (to *shqerr*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300-301.

ngjis aor. *ngjita* 'to stick to'. Continues PAlb **en-gleitja* related to Lith *gliejù, gliẽti* 'to smear', *glitùs* 'sticky', Gk γλοιός 'sticky stuff' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). ◊ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk ἔγκειμαι 'to press upon'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 62-63 (to Skt *sájati*); FRAENKEL 157; FRISK I 312-313; POKORNY I 363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 243.

ngjizem refl. 'to clot, to curdle'. Derived from *gjizë*.

ngjok aor. *ngjoka* 'to knock'. Derived from *qok* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 192 (derived from *klokë* 'hooked stuff' of Romance origin).

ngjyej aor. *ngjyeva* 'to dip, to plunge, to dye, to color'. Borrowed from Lat *unguere* 'to smear, to anoint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk χέω 'to pour'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; HAARMANN 156.

ninë f 'cradle'. Borrowed from Rom **ninna* id.: Ital *ninna* 'lullaby', Sard *ninna* 'cradle' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). The lack of rhotacism may be explained by a specific development of the geminate. Derived from *ninë* is *ninullë* 'lullaby'.

nip m, pl. *nipa, nipër* 'nephew, grandson'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōs* 'grandson' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 310). A rare case of a Latin loanword based not on the oblique stem *nepōtem* but on the restructured nom. sg. **nepos*. The vocalism of *nip* may reflect a relatively late borrowing from Dalm Lat *nepo* < Lat *nepōs*. ◊ CAMARDA I 200 (treats *nip* and Lat *nepōs* as cognates); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 99 (from IE **nepōt-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; BARTOLI *Dalm* II 414; JOKL *LKUBA* 15-28; SKOK *AArbSt.* I 221 (from Dalmatian Romance); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207 (agrees with PEDERSEN), *Stratificazione* 118-119; HULD 99 (follows PEDERSEN); LANDI *Lat.* 51, 143-145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; BEEKES *CIEL* 139 (same as PEDERSEN); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 226; DEMIRAJ *AE* 301-302.

nis aor. *nisa* 'to start, to begin, to prepare for journey'. Continues PAlb **neitša* going back to IE **neik̑ʷi̯ō* and related to Lith *su-nìkti* 'to set upon, to attack', Slav **niknǫti* 'to rise, to grow'. If this comparison is accepted, the dubious Greek parallel in νεῖκος 'quarrel, struggle' should be dropped. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310 (from Gk ἐκίνησα 'to set off, to start out' - not without doubt); LAMBERTZ - PEKMEZI *Lesebuch* 107 (follow MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 63 (to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν); FRAENKEL 503; FRISK II 297; VASMER III 74-75; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

noçkë f, pl. *noçka* 'knuckle, joint'. There exists a close form *noçë* id. Unclear.

nofkë f, pl. *nofka* 'nickname'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic

**novъka* 'new (name)', cf. SCr *Novka*, a feminine proper name.

nofull f, pl. *nofulla* 'jaw, jawbone, cheekbone'. Back-formation based on the borrowing of Lat *in offulae*, cf. *offula* 'small piece, little bit' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383-384), with a semantic evolution opposite to that of *bukë*, cf. Ital dial. *gnoffele* 'jaw' of the same origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310-311 (compares *nofull* with Ital *ganascia* 'jaw, jowl'; similarity with *offula* is accidental); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 150-151 (compound of *no-* related to Lat *gena* 'face, cheek' and of *-full* compared with Slav **čel'ustь* 'jaw'); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 114 (to Skt *snāpayati* 'to make wash'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93-94.

nokër adj. 'small, tiny'. Derivative of **nokë* borrowed from Lat *innocuus* 'harmless. innocent'. ◊ CAMARDA I 137 (to Gk μικρός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 311 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

noshtër f, pl. *noshtra* 'sprout, young plant, sapling'. Borrowed from Rom **nóvaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id. (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 98-100, *LKUBA* 212-213). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 129, 136.

notoj aor. *notova* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Rom **notāre* replacing classical Lat *natāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43-44; MEYER *Wb.* 311). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (from IE **snē-* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

nozikë f 'knife worn at the belt'. An early loanword from Slav **nožikъ* unattested in South Slavic, a diminutive of **nožь* 'knife' (MEYER *Wb.* 311). Note a peculiar substituion of Slav **-ž-*. ◊ SVANE 85.

nu adv. 'when'. Continues PAlb **nu* etymologically identical with IE **nu* 'now': Skt *nú*, Gk νῦν, Goth *nu*, OHG *nŭ* and the like. ◊ FRISK II 325; KLUGE 515-516; FEIST *Goth.* 380; MAYRHOFER II 175; POKORNY I 770.

nuhar m, pl. *nuharë* 'lair of young deer'. Derivative of *nuhas*, cf. also its derivative *nuhuris* 'to track (of hounds)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 311 (*nuhuris* from Slav **n'uxati* 'to smell').

nuhas aor. *nuhata* 'to smell, to sniff'. Another variant is *njuhas*. Bor-

rowed from Slav **n'uxati* id., otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The same root is attested in SCr *njušiti* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ SVANE 257.

nuk adv. 'not'. From PAlb **nuka* composed of **nu* < IE **ne* colored under the influence of the following labiovelar and **ka* < **kʷo-*, a pronominal stem (JOKL *AArbSt* I 34-35), cf. such negatives in Skt *naca*, Lat *neque*, Goth *nih*, OIr *na-ch*, MW *na-c*, OBret *na-c* 'and not'. ◊ BOPP 490 (analyzes *nuk* as *ne* + an element identical with Gk οὐκ 'not'); CAMARDA I 312 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (from Lat *nunquam* 'never' - phonetically impossible as Lat *-nqu-* may not yield *-k-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (to Lat *nec*); CLACKSON *LR* 158; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 99-100.

nulë f 'grandmother'. Borrowed from Rom **anulla* based on Lat *anus* 'old woman' (JOKL *LKUBA* 40-41). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413 (against JOKL in view of the unrhotacized *n-*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 45 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* I 384 (from *nunël* 'grandmother' based on *nun* 'grandfather, godfather' < NGk νουνός 'godfather').

nullë f 'gum'. Borrowed from Lat *alveolum* in its later meaning as a word for a dental alveole. The Albanian form implies an earlier **lullë* with dissimilation of sonorants.

(G) nus m. 'thread, string'. Continues PAlb **snutja* related to Skt *snā́van-* 'band, sinew' and other continuants of IE **snĕ̄u-* 'to turn, to spin' (JOKL *Studien* 65), cf. in particular Skt *snuta-* 'of sinew'. ◊ POKORNY I 977; DEMIRAJ *AE* 302 (to *nyej*).

nuse f, pl. *nuse* 'bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law'. Singularized plural of **nusë*. Borrowed from Rom **nūptia*, a local variant of Lat *nūpta* 'married woman, wife, bride'; for the formation cf. *nūptiae* 'wedding' (MEYER *Wb.* 312). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *snuṣā́* 'daughter-in-law'); CAMARDA I 52 (links *nuse* to the continuants of IE **snusos* 'daughter-in-law'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (follows CAMARDA and reconstructs **nusjā*), *Alb. St.* IV 89, V 97 (accepts PEDERSEN's interpretation); PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology and supposes a dissimilation of sibliants leading to the preservation of the inlaut *-s-*), *KZ* XXXVI 279, 283, 339; WIEDEMANN *BB*

XXVII 214 (reconstructs **nuk̑ā*); JOKL *LKUBA* 14, *Balkangerm.* 132; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207-208, *Stratificazione* 119 (reconstructs **snusi̯ē*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 452; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 319; CHANTRAINE 760; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 137-138 (to Mingr *nosa, nis* 'daughter-in-law'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 89; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 100 (derives *nuse* from IE **nubh-ti̯ā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 302-303 (to dialectal Rom **nunta* 'bride', **nuntiae* 'marriage').

nxeh aor. *nxeha* 'to heat, to warm'. Another variant is *nxej*. Continues PAlb **en-dzerska* related to *zjarr* (MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (to *dhez*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 308; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239.

nxit aor. *nxita* 'to urge, to stimulate, to hurry'. There also exists *zit* id. From PAlb **džita* related to IE **gʷī-* 'to live': Skt *jī́vati*, Lat *vīvō* and similar (MANN *Language* XXVIII 36). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 302 (to Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar'), 485 (from SCr *zatka*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 150-151 (to *nxeh* and *ndez*); MAYRHOFER I 439; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808-810; POKORNY I 467-469; ÇABEJ *St.* I 385-386, II 327 (prefixal derivative of *cys*); HAMP *SGI* 89 (from **gʷīu̯Vt-*, semantically cf. E *quick*).

nxjerr aor. *nxorra* 'to pull out, to draw out'. A prefixal derivative of *çjerr* (CAMARDA I 43). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 70 (derived from *djerr*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (derived from *bie*); HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 157 (follows PEDERSEN), *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 ; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 303-304 (to *ngre*).

nyç adj. 'hard, strong; gnarled'. Derived from *nyell*.

nyell m, pl. *nyej* 'ankle, gnarl, knot'. Borrowed from Lat *nōdulus* 'little knot'.

nyje f, pl. *nyje, neje* 'knot'. Singularized plural (originally, *nye*) of *ne* borrowed from Lat *nōdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 302). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 60 (on *-y-*), *LKUBA* 64-65; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272, 276; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65.

nytëroj aor. *nytërova* 'to murmur, to whisper'. Borrowed, with a dis-

similation of sonorants, from Lat *reiterāre* 'to repeat'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 386 (onomatopoeia).

Nj

njegull f 'fog, mist'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *mjegull* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (from Lat *nebula* 'fog'); JOKL *Studien* 57.

njeh ~ njef aor. *njeha ~ njefa* 'to count, to consider'. From PAlb **nemska* further connected with IE **nem-* 'to divide, to take, to arrange, to count', cf. Gk νέμω 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money' (OREL *IF* XLIII 113-114). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 314 (identifies *njeh* with *njoh* which is not very plausible semantically); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 81; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; WALDE-HOFMANN II 186-187; FRISK I 302-304; POKORNY I 763-764.

njeri m, pl. *njerëz* 'man, person, human being'. A more archaic form of sg. *njer* is preserved in Geg dialects. Goes back to PAlb **nera* further connected with Skt *nár-* 'man', Gk ἀνήρ id., Arm *ayr* id. (BOPP 461-462; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 186; MEYER *Wb.* 313, *Alb. St.* III 66, 71). Note a rare plural in *-ëz* < **-adja* (JOKL *LKUBA* 89). ◊ PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 242; JOKL *Studien* 102; AČAREAN *HAB* I 173-174; FRISK I 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208-209; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; PORZIG *Gliederung* 155; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 148-149; POKORNY I 765; HULD 100-101; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 304-305.

njerkë f, pl. *njerka* 'stepmother'. Borrowed from Lat *noverca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 313). The masculine form *njerk* is built on the basis of *njerkë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

njethet refl. 'to fertilize, to be fertile, to grow, to bud'. From **ngjethet*, derivative of *gjethe*.

një ~ nji num. 'one'. From PAlb **ainja*, a derivative of IE **oi-no-* id.: Lat *ūnus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains* and the like (CAMARDA I 169). ◊ MEYER

Wb. 313-314 (prefers an erroneous comparison with Skt *anyá-* 'other', Gk ἔνιοι 'some'), *Alb. St.* III 66; BARIĆ *ARSt* 64-65 (from **n̥-sem-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *një* with Messap *ennan*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 296-297; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 24; WALDE-HOFMANN II 821-823; POKORNY I 286; HULD 101 (without any serious reason, postulates a back-formation from fem. **smi̯eH*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; HAMP *Numerals* 903-904; CLACKSON *LR* 175.

njicë f, pl. *njica* 'big fishing net'. From **ngjicë*, derived from *ngjis* in view of the expression *(peshku) ngjis* '(the fish) sticks to the net' = 'gets into the net' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386-387).

njilë f, pl. *njila* 'tench'. A dialectal form of *ngjalë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 387).

njoh ~ **njof** aor. *njoha* ~ *njofa, njova* 'to know'. From PAlb **gnāska* related to IE **ĝenə-* ~ **ĝnō-* id., cf. particularly, Gk γιγνώσκω, Epidaur γνώσκω, Lat *(g)nōscō* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 47; MEYER *Wb.* 314, *Alb. St.* III 17, 66). The vocalism of present was changed under the influence of aor. *njova* which is identical with OE *cnáwan* id. < **ĝnē-u̯-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82-83). ◊ ASCOLI *KZ* XVII 351; BARIĆ *ARSt* 65-66; FRISK I 308-309; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 339 (reconstructs **ĝnē-sk̂-*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 547; LINDEMAN *IF* LXXI 283 (to ON *kná, knégum* < Gmc **knē-jan*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 54; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; WALDE-HOFMANN II 176-177; POKORNY I 376-378; ANTTILA *Schw.* 71; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HULD 101-102 (clumsy reconstruction of a causative **ĝnoH-ēsk̂oH*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 130; OREL *IF* XCIII 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 305-306 (similar vocalism in Hitt *ganēš-* 'to know').

njollë f, pl. *njolla* 'spot, mark, stain'. Dialects preserve a more archaic form *ngjollë*. From PAlb **en-sālā* related to ON *sǫlr* 'dirty', OIr *sal* 'dirt' (JOKL *Studien* 65-66). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 47 (to *njoh*); VENDRYES [S] 16; POKORNY I 879; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387 (to *ngjyej*).

njomë ~ **ngjomë, nglomë** adj. 'wet'. The verb *njom* 'to make wet' is derived from the adjective. Based on PAlb **glāima* related to OE *clám* 'clay', Lith *gléimės* 'slime' and other continuants of IE **glēi-* (JOKL *Studien* 66). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (borrowed from Lat *unguō* 'to spread, to smear'); POKORNY I 364; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387-388 (verbal adjective of

ngjyej); DEMIRAJ *AE* 306-307 (to Goth *hnasqus* 'soft, fine' or to OHG *naz* 'wet').

O

oborr m, pl. *oborre* 'yard, court'. Borrowed from Slav **obvorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *obor*, SCr *obor* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150-151; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 58.

ofiq m, pl. *ofiqe* 'service, function'. Borrowed from Lat *officium* id.

ofsh m 'glow, heat'. Variant of *afshë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 3 (to *afë* 'breath').

ofshë f, pl. *ofsha* 'curse'. Derived from *ofsh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

ograjë f, pl. *ograja* 'pasture'. Borrowed from Slav **ogordja* 'fencing', cf. SCr *ograđa*. As to Alb *-j-*, it may either reflect an early South Slavic **-dj-* or, rather, go back to **-gj-* < SCr *-dj-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (to SCr *ograda* 'fence, yard'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306 (from Chakavian *ograja*); ; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; RUSAKOV *LIs 1982* 195; SVANE 58.

okër f 'kind of grain, Einkorn'. Borrowed from Gk ὦχρος 'birds' pease, Lathyrus Ochrus' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389) or, rather, from substantivized ὠχρός 'pale-yellow'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk ὤκιμον).

okitë f 'frost or snow (on tree branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)kytь* id., cf. SCr *okit* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 14).

okoll adv. 'around'. Borrowed from Slav **okolъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *okol*, SCr *oko*, *okolo* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◊ BERNEKER I 548; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 303; ÇABEJ *St.* I 389 (local borrowing from Serbo-Croatian); SVANE 271.

opingë f, pl. *opinga* 'sandal'. Other variants are *opangë, opengë*. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)pьnъkъ* 'sandal, shoe', cf. SCr *opanak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

lenie 175-176; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; FLORESCU *REF* IX/6 594 (on the Dacian origin of this type of sandals); SVANE 100.

orendi pl. 'equipment, utensils'. An early borrowing from Slav **orǫdьje* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 316 (from Ital *arredo* 'fittings, furnishings'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 192; SVANE 65.

orok m 'time, term, limit, appointment'. Borrowed from Slav **ob(ъ)rokъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *obrok*, SCr *obrok*. Note that *oroqe* 'wish' is a singularized plural of *orok.* ◊ SVANE 176.

orrl m 'eagle, buzzard'. Borrowed from Slav **orьlъ* id., cf. Bulg *orel*, SCr *orao* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◊ SVANE 148.

osh adv. 'trailing, along the ground'. A fossilized form of a rare *osh* 'harrow'. Thus, the original meaning of the adverb was 'trailing as a harrow'.

oshtë f, pl. *oshta* 'pole, drawbar'. Borrowed from Slav **ojište* id.: Bulg *oište*, SCr *ojište* (MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◊ SVANE 29.

otavë f 'second crop of hay'. Borrowed from Slav **otava* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *otava*, SCr *otava* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ SVANE 41.

P

pa prep. 'without', conj. 'before, then', particle 'let' (in imperative). From PAlb **apa* reflecting IE **apo*: Skt *ápa* 'away, off', Gk ἀπό 'from', Goth *af* 'from' and, in particular, Lith *pa-* (prefix), Slav **po* 'on, along' (BOPP 500; CAMARDA I 320; MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* III 30). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108 (*pa* 'before' < **parj* related to *prej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; FEIST *Goth.* 3; POKORNY I 53-55; MAYRHOFER I 37; FRAENKEL 519-520; VASMER III 292-293; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5 (against JOKL), apud DEMIRAJ (to Osc *perum* 'without'); HULD 156; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 151-152; DEMIRAJ *AE* 307-308 (to Goth *fawai* 'few, little').

padis aor. *padita* 'to accuse'. Borrowed, with a semantic change, from

Slav **padati* 'to fall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pada*, SCr *padati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 317). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 294; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 303 (from Slav **pǫditi*); SVANE 238.

pagëzoj aor. *pagëzova* 'to baptise'. A parallel form is *pakëzoj*. Borrowed from Lat *baptizāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* IV 25). The unusual development of **bapt-* > **pagt-* is a combination of a dissimilation and shift of voicedness. ◊ CAMARDA I 139 (to Gk βαπτίζω id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Italian); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5-6.

pah m 'scab, dust'. From PAlb **pauja* connected with IE **peu-* 'to blow up' and, in particular, with Arm *hogi* 'breath' < IE **pou̯i̯o-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 304 (to Gk πάχνη 'frost'); AČAREAN *HAB* III 107-108; POKORNY I 847; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

pajë f 'side, party, dowry'. Also attested as *palë*. Historically identical with *palë* 'pair'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 318 (in the meaning 'dowry', borrowed from Lat *pallium* 'cover, coverlet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212 (*pajë* 'dowry' from Ital *palio* 'prize, reward'); HAARMANN 140.

pajt prep. 'thanks to'. Borrowed from Lat abl. *pactō*, cf. *hoc pactō* 'this way', *aliō pactō* 'otherwise' and the like. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 6 (from **për anë të* 'from the side of').

pajtoj aor. *pajtova* 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage'. Other variants are *paqoj, paqtoj*. Borrowed from Rom **pāctāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 319) in which derivatives of Lat *pāx* 'peace' and *pāciscor* 'to make a bargain' have converged (CAMARDA I 105). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 324 (on *-jt-* < Lat *-ct-*), *RIEB* II 64 (Albanian derivative in *-toj* of *paq*); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 56-60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 6-7 (follows JOKL *RIEB*); HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

pak adv. 'a little, few'. Borrowed from Lat *paucus* 'few, little' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 318). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HULD 102; HAARMANN 59, 141; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

pakë f, pl. *pakë* 'side of ham, buttock'. Borrowed from West Gmc **bakkon* 'ham, flitch' (Frankish *bako*, OHG *bahho*), derivative of Gmc **bakan* 'back' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 7).

palavi f, pl. *palavi* 'obscenity; pus'. Two historically unrelated homonyms of which one *palavi* 'pus' is a compound of *pa-* 'not' and *laj*, cf. *palarë* 'unwashed' (MEYER *Wb.* 237) and another *palavi* 'obscenity' continues NGk παλάβρα 'talking big', of Romance origin. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (treats both words as one compound *pa-lav-* 'dirty, unwashed').

palcë f 'marrow, pith'. Note that the same word appears as *palsë* and *palëz* (JOKL *LKUBA* 115, 284). Derived from *palë* 'pair; fold'. Semantically, an important *tertium comparationis* is found in Slavic parallels of *palë* - **polъ* 'half' and **polъ* 'hollow', since *palcë* designates a substance with which hollow spaces in a bone or a plant are filled (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430-431). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 47-48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213.

pale part. 'even so, anyway' (in request or indirect speech). A sequence of two particles, *pa* and *le* (KRISTOFORIDHI 299). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (to Slav **le*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

palë f, pl. *palë* 'pair; fold; group, class, party'. Goes back to PAlb **palā* further related to Slav **polъ* 'half; hollow', Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly', Hitt *palḫi-* 'wide' (JOKL *Studien* 66-67, 83; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (to Gk πέλομαι 'to turn' but the Greek word belongs to IE **kʷel-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; JOKL *Studien* 83 (compares with *shpall* 'to declare' but this verb is a phonetic variant of *shpërrall*, derived from *përrallë* < Lat *parabola*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Gk δι-πλόος); POKORNY I 803-805, 985-986; WALDE-HOFMANN II 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *pāla*); HULD 143, 147 (from **polteH*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 308-309 (to ON *fel* 'fold').

palnjë f, pl. *palnja* 'maple'. Other variants are *panjë, pënjë*. Borrowed from Rom **plátania* derived from Lat *platanus* 'plane-tree', with a metathesis in the first syllable. As shown by an Albanian loanword in Rum *paltin* 'maple' < **paltën*, the form *platanus* was also borrowed.

◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from SCr *panj* 'stump'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 109; JOKL *LKUBA* 188-190 (to Lat *palpāre* 'to stroke, to pat'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9 (cognate of Gk πλάτανος, Lat *platanus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 309-310.

pall aor. *palla* 'to bray, to bellow'. A variant of *përrall* 'to jest, to trifle' with compensatory long [a:] reflecting the fall of an intervocalic consonant. For the phonetic development cf. *shpall.* ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly'); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10 (adds non-existent Tokh *pal-* 'to celebrate').

pallë f, pl. *palla* 'pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet'. Borrowed from Lat *pāla* 'spade, shovel' (MEYER *Wb.* 319-320). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 111.

pallë f 'rest, quiet'. In a phraze *bëj pallë* 'to rest, to be quiet'. Borrowed from Gk παῦλα 'rest, pause'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (from NGk παῦλα).

pam particle. A synonym of *pa*, it is a compound of *pa* and *më* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 10).

pamëta adv. 'again'. A parallel form is *pameta.* A compound of *pa* and *meta* 'again', from NGk μετά 'afterwards' (CAMARDA I 310; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 295; ÇABEJ *St.* II 10.

panderë f 'apron, embroidered sash'. Borrowed from Rom **panticārium* based on Lat *pantex* 'paunch', cf. a semantically different but formally close Rum *pîntecaraie* 'diarrhea' (MEYER *Wb.* 320). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 10-11 (borrowed from Ital dial. *bandiera* ~ *bandera* 'flag').

paq m 'peace'. Borrowed from Lat *pacem* id. (CAMARDA I 305; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 318-319). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 47, V 97; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041, 1048, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 11; HAARMANN 139.

paqyll adj. 'dull, limited, stupid'. Derived from *pak.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 11 (a prefixal derivative in *pa-* < **po-* of *qull, qullët*).

par m, pl. *par* 'pair'. Borrowed from Lat *parem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 321).

◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

para adv., prep. 'before'. A parallel form is *parë*. From PAlb **para* related to IE **per-* 'before, forward': OHG *furi*, Lat *prae* and the like (CAMARDA I 303; MEYER *Wb.* 321-322). This word appears as a first element in such compounds as *paravesh* 'slap in the face' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12), *pardje* 'the day before yesterday' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214) and the like. ◊ BOPP 503 (to *parë*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* 213; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; WALDE-HOFMANN II 351; POKORNY I 812; WATKINS *IER* 49-50; ÇABEJ *St.* III 193; HAMP *Numerals* 904-905 (reconstructs IE **pr̥H-u̯o-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 310.

pare f, pl. *pare* 'fish scale'. A singularized plural of **par* continuing PAlb **para*, a deverbative related to Lith *periù, per̃ti* 'to strike', Slav **pьrǫ, *perti* 'to press'. ◊ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 818-819.

parë adj. 'first'. From PAlb **para* etymologically identical with and derived from the adverb *para* (CAMARDA I 303). The adjective *parmë* 'front' is derived from *parë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 321-322 (connection with *para* and Indo-European words for 'first': Lith *pìrmas* and the like), *Alb. St.* III 30, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 108 (to Skt *pū́rva-* id.), *Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; PORZIG *Gliederung* 186; MANN *Language* XVII 18; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI 223, *LB* XXIV/3 48; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 133; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; HULD 68; DEMIRAJ *AE* 311.

parmëndë ~ parmendë f, pl. *parmënda ~ parmenda* 'plow'. Borrowed from Rom **perarāmentum*, cf. Lat *perarāre* 'to plow through, to scratch' (MEYER *Wb.* 322). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155, *LKUBA* 136 (agrees with MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 12 (from Rom **parāmentum* or Lat *apparāmentum* 'preparation').

parzëm f, pl. *parzma* 'breast'. A parallel form, *parmëz*, reflects the original structure of the word, a derivative in *-ëz* of *parmë*, cf. *parë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (to Slav **pьrsi* 'breast'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 48 (from Lat *parma* 'kind of shield'); SKOK *RIEB* I 298

(against MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 215-216 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 204.

parriz m 'paradise'. Borrowed from Lat *paradīsus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 593). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (from Ital *paradiso* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214-215 (follows MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 13-14 (loss of the intervocalic *-d-* as characteristic of Latin loanwords); HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

pas adv., prep. 'after, behind'. A parallel form is *mbas*. Goes back to PAlb **(en) apa tši* continuing IE **(en) apo kʷid*. For the etymology of components see *pa* and *çë*. ◊ BOPP 500 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (same as BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (same as BOPP), *Alb. St.* III 13, 30; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (to *pa* and *-s* as in *mos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33; ERNOUT-MEILLET 527; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk ποτί 'against, towards'), XXVIII 32; HAMP *KZ* LXXV 23 (to Lith *pãskui* 'behind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 311-312.

pash m, pl. *pash* 'fathom, pace, outstretched arms'. Borrowed from Lat *passus* 'step, pace' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 323). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

pashkë f, pl. *pashkë* 'Easter'. Borrowed from Lat *Pasqua* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 147.

pashnik m, pl. *pashnikë* 'cloth, cover, towel'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **pašьnikъ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 323 (from Turk *başlık* 'hood'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 14 (derived from *parcë* segmented from *përparcë*).

pashtrak m 'pasture rent, pasturage money'. Borrowed from Rom **pastūrācus* based on Lat *pastūra* 'pasture'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 14-15 (from Rom **pastūrāticus*); HAARMANN 140.

patë f, pl. *pata* 'goose'. A cultural *Wanderwort* attested in Slavic as well as in Romance, cf. Spanish *pata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *pata-ga-* 'bird'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28

(from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216 (from Slavic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from SCr *patok*).

patkua ~ patkue m, pl. *patkonj* 'horseshoe'. Borrowed from Slav **podъkovъ* id., a morphological variant of the more widespread **podъkova* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349-350 (from Slav **podъkova*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 306, 326; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 641 (from Slav **podъkova*); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 85.

pe ~ pê m, pl. *penj, penjë, pêjna* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *pānus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin' (MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 44; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **petino-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

pec adj. 'shortsighted, blind'. Continues PAlb **paitsa* (with the preserved affricate as in some other cases) related to ON *feigr* 'close to death', Lith *paĩkas* 'stupid' from IE **peik̂-*. ◊ POKORNY I 794.

pecë f, pl. *peca* 'cloth, rag, napkin'. From PAlb **paitsā* related to Gk ποικίλος 'multicolored', OHG *fēh* id., Slav **pьstrъ* id. For the semanic development cf. Slav **gun'a* 'cloth' borrowed from Iran **gaunya-* 'multicolored'. ◊ POKORNY I 795; VASMER III 251.

(G) pêjnë f 'fringe'. Singularized plural of *pe* (MANN *HAED* 358). ◊ CANDREA-DENSUŞIANU 1378 (borrowed from Rom **pedinus* > Rum *piedin* 'fringe' > Alb *pedim* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 16 (repeats MANN's etymology).

pejzë f, pl. *pejza* 'muscle, sinew, string'. Derivative of *pe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

pek m, pl. *peqe* 'worry, concern'. Based on Slav **pekti sę* 'to worry, to care' (MEYER *Wb.* 324).

pelenë f, pl. *pelena* 'diaper'. Borrowed from Slav **pelena* 'cover, napkin', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pelena*, SCr *pelena* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ SVANE 96.

pelë f, pl. *pela* 'mare'. From PAlb **pōulā* related to Gk πῶλος 'foal', Goth *fula* id. (XYLANDER 279; CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 147; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 88; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs **pōlnā* with **-ln- > -l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 139; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; BARIÇ *Hymje* 22; FRISK II 634; CHANTRAINE 961; POKORNY I 843; FEIST *Goth.* 170-171; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; SCHMIDT *Sybaris* 134; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 153, *St.* II 16; HULD 102 (beware of the inaccurately summarized literature!); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

pelin m 'wormwood'. Borrowed from Slav **pelynъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pelin*, SCr *pelin* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 163; SVANE 109.

pelq aor. *pelqa* 'to stir up (water)'. Goes back to PAlb **pelkja* related to Lith *pelkė́ti* 'to become marshy', *pélkė* 'marsh, swamp', Latv *pel̃ce* 'puddle', *pelcêt* 'to urinate'. ◊ FRAENKEL 567; POKORNY I 805.

pellë f, pl. *pella* 'comb'. From PAlb **petslā*, a derivative in **-l-* related to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pèšti* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◊ FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

pellg m, pl. *pellgje* 'pond, pool, depth'. In Old Albanian the word is preserved as *pellëg* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Borrowed from Gk πέλαγος 'high sea' (ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (unspecified connection with Gk πέλαγος); LOEWENTHAL *WuS* X 176 (related to Gk πέλαγος); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 24 (related to Lith *pélkė* 'marsh, swamp'), *Wb.* 326 (borrowed from NGk πέλαγος); BARIĆ *AArbStar* I 151-152 (from **pō-leugā* compared with *lëgatë* and Slav **luža*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 151; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* 273 (related to Rum *bîlc* 'marsh'); GINDIN *Form. SN* 60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 16-17; OREL *RRL* XXX/2 105-106 (agrees with LOEWENTHAL).

pemë f, pl. *pemë* 'fruit-tree, fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *pōmum* 'fruit', *pōmus* 'fruit-tree' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ CAMARDA II 190 (to Gk πέπτω 'to ripen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; MANN *Language* XXVI 387;

MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

pendar m, pl. *pendarë* 'watchman'. An early borrowing from Slav **pǫdarь* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pъdar*, SCr *pudar* (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 291; SVANE 197.

pendë f, pl. *pendë* 'feather; pair (of oxen)'. Borrowed from Lat *pinna, penna* 'feather' (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 326). The second meaning 'pair of oxen' seems to be a metaphoric derivative of Lat *penna* 'plumage' or the like. Note *pendull* id. and *penëll* derived from *pendë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1050; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 178 (to Lith *spándau* 'to stretch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 199 (*pendull* from Lat *pinnula* 'little plume'); JOKL *LKUBA* 302 n. 1 (*penëll* borrowed from Lat *pinnula*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21, XXVI 386; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314-315.

pendoj aor. *pendova* 'to repent'. Borrowed from Lat *poenitere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 143.

penez m, pl. *peneza* 'silver coin (used as ornament)'. Borrowed from Slav **penęďzь* 'coin', preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *penez*, SCr *penez* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

peng m, pl. *pengje* 'pledge, pawn'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 327).◊ JOKL *Studien* 68 (to *pendë*); SKOK *AArbSt* II 341-344; MEYER-LÜBKE *AArbSt* III 205-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-g*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 130, 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

pengë f, pl. *penga* 'fetters (for horse)'. Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle, fetter' with a secondary inlaut nasal (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 141.

perëndoj aor. *perëndova* 'to set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from which *perëndi* 'god' is derived. Borrowed from Lat *parentāre* 'to bring

a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy' or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentārī*. ◊ BOPP 341(*perëndi* < Lat *imperantem*, phonetically difficult, cf. *mbret*); CAMARDA I 341-342 (unsuccessful attempt of segmenting the word as *per-ëndi*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32 (agrees with BOPP); JOKL *LKUBA* 13 (derives *perëndoj* from *anë*); MEYER *Wb.* 328 (parallelism between *dielli perëndon* and NGk ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει leading to the derivation of *perëndi* from Lat *imperantem*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 229 (to Slav **perunъ*); LOEWENTHAL *ANF* XXIX 99 (same as PEDERSEN); HASDEU *EMR* II 495; HESSELING *Neophilologus* V 165-169 (*dielli perëndon* as a calque from Greek); PISANI *IF* LXXIX 152-153, *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 54; FRAENKEL 635; GINDIN *Onom.* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* II 17-20; NEROZNAK *BF* 84-87; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 148-160 (same as HESSELING); HAARMANN 130; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 151-152 (derived from *rëndë* ~ *randë*).

pesë ~ **pêsë** num. 'five'. From PAlb **pentše* going back to IE **penk"e* 'five': Skt *páñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quīnque* and the like (BOPP 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 169 without explanation of *-së*; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 307-309). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 47-48, *Wb.* 329 (from **penk"tịā*), *Alb. St.* III 5, 25, 30; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 37; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Mélanges Pedersen* 157-158, *Sprache* IX 123; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218-219 (follows PEDERSEN); LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 506-507; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; MAYRHOFER II 187; WALDE-HOFMANN II 407-408; POKORNY I 808; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109-110; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79, *Numerals* 910-911; HULD 102-103 (admits the conflation of **penk"e* and **pn̥k"ti*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 126, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 315-316.

peshë f, pl. *pesha* 'weight; stone, boulder'. Borrowed from Lat *pensum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (*peshë* 'stone' - to Skt *pāṁsú-* 'crumbling soil' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 20-21; HAARMANN 141.

peshk m, pl. *peshq*, *pishq* 'fish'. Borrowed from Lat *piscem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 125, *Wb.* 329). In singular, *-k-* (instead of *-q-*) may result from the restructuring of the Albanian paradigm or from a morphological change in Romance. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043 (from Italian); TAGLI-

AVINI *Dalmazia* 219; HAARMANN 46; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 256-257 (*peshk* as an indigenous form!), *JIES* I 512; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 21-22 (the morphological development and the original paradigm of *peshk*); HULD 103; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 120, 144.

peshkop m, pl. *peshkopë* 'bishop of the Orthodox church'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* 'bishop'.

petë f, pl. *petë, peta* 'layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone'. From PAlb **pati-* 'flat object' to be compared with IE **pet-* ~ **petə-* 'to stretch': Gk πετάννυμι id., Lat *pateō* 'to stretch, to be spread' and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). One of the derivatives of *petë* is *petull* 'small flat stone' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153). Note also *patë* 'plectrum' < PAlb **patā*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 330; POKORNY I 824-825; FRISK II 520; WALDE-HOFMANN II 262.

petk m, pl. *petka* 'clothes, garment'. A parallel form is *petkë*. From PAlb **patika*, derivative of *petë* (CAMARDA 180; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 330 (related to Goth *paida* χιτών, Gk βαίτη 'peasant leather clothes'); JOKL *LKUBA* 215-216, *RIEB* II 73-75 (derived from *pjetë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 88-89; XHUVANI *BShkSh* VI/2 32; POKORNY I 92-93; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); OREL *Balcanica* 114 (with unvoicing from **baitā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

pezëm m 'inflammation, irritation, sorrow, anger'. Derived from an unattested **pezë* (cf. *buzëm* from *buzë*), itself a form in *-zë* related to *pjek*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (reconstructs **për-zëm-* to be compared with Slav **sъ-mętǫ* 'to sweep away'); KRISTOFORIDHI 305 (from Gk πεῖσμα 'persuasion, confidence'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 22 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

pëgëj ~ pugâj aor. *pëgëva ~ pugana* 'to make dirty, to soil'. An early borrowing from Slav **poganiti* id. The adjective *pëgërë ~ pëgan* 'filthy' goes back to Slav **poganъ* 'pagan, unclean, filthy' while the Geg form *pëgam* 'soiled' is a regular participle of *pëganj* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *pāgānus* 'pagan'); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; THUMB *IF* XXVI 55-57; JOKL *LKUBA* 132 (from

Balkan Romance); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 213; HAARMANN 139, 210; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 80.

pëlcas aor. *plasa, pëlcita* 'to burst, to explode'. Derived from *plas*. Preserves an archaic *-c-* < **-tj-*. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337 (to Germ *platzen*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 324 (from **plasas*).

pëlhurë f, pl. *pëlhura* 'cloth, stuff'. Other variants are *plëhurë, plihurë, pluhurë*. Derivative of *plah*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *plaf*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (follows MEYER and links *plaf* and *pëlhurë* to Lat *plectō* 'to plait'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215, 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

pëlqej aor. *pëlqeva* 'to please'. Borrowed from Lat *placēre* id. (CAMARDA I 55; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 331-332); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142.

pëlqyer m, pl. *pëlqerë* 'thumb'. A phonetic variant of *pulqyer*.

pëllas aor. *palla, pëllita* 'to bray'. A morphological variant of *pall*.

pëllas m 'palace'. Borrowed from Lat *palātium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (from Ital *palazzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2]I 1041 (follows MIKLOSICH); CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 1330 (same as MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 93-94 (follows CANDREA-DENSUŞIANU); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 22-23; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 111, 125.

pëlle f, pl. *pëlla* 'milch cow, ewe or goat'. A suffixal derivative of *pjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Another derivative is *plle* ~ *pllê* 'fertile domestic animal'.

pëllëmbë ~ pëllambë f, pl. *pëllëmbë ~ pëllambë* 'palm (of the hand)'. Borrowed from Gk παλάμη 'hand, palm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 23). The cluster *-mb-* < **-m-* is a secondary feature. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *palma*); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (borrowing from NGk παλάμη id.), *Alb. St.* IV 93; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from IE **pl̥mā*); HULD 103 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

pëllumb m, pl. *pëllumba* 'pigeon, dove'. Borrowed from Lat *palumbes,*

palumbus 'wood-pigeon' (CAMARDA II 160; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 93, 115.

pëqi ~ **pëqî** m, pl. *pëqinj* 'seam, hem'. A parallel form *spëlqi* may reflect an earlier **pëlqi* borrowed from Rom **plicīnus* 'fold', cf. Lat *plicō* 'to fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 331).

për prep. 'for'. The reflexes of PAlb **peri* and **pra* related to Skt *pári* 'round, about', Gk πέρι 'around' and Gk πρό 'before, forward', Lat *prō* id. correspondingly (BOPP 503-504; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 320-321; MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Alb. St.* III 30) were contaminated with PAlb **per* borrowed from Lat *per* 'for' (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1057 (from Latin); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *IF* XXXVII 106; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213-214; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; FRISK II 512-513, 596-597; CHANTRAINE 886; MANN *Language* XVII 22; MAYRHOFER II 216-217; WALDE-HOFMANN II 364-365; POKORNY I 811-816; ÇABEJ *St.* II 23-25 (of Indo-European origin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316-317.

përbalcë f 'contest, tournament'. A suffixal derivative of *përball* 'to face, to defy' similar to *përballje* 'contest'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (to Ital *balzare*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (to *përbalt* 'to bespatter with mud').

përcëlloj aor. *përcëllova* 'to roast'. A prfixal drivative from *sjell* with a secondary *c-* < *s-* (CAMARDA I 88). The original meaning must have been 'to roast by rotating on a spit'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (from Slav **pьrskati* 'to sprinkle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (follows CAMARDA).

përç m, pl. *përça* 'uncastrated he-goat'. Borrowed from South Slav **pьrčь*, cf. Bulg *prъč*, SCr *prč* (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◊ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 43-44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

përçlam m 'ivy'. Other variants are *përçllan* and *berçlen*. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *brъšl'an*, SCr *bršljan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 25).

përdëlej aor. *përdëleva* 'to pity'. Another form is *përdëllej*. Borrowed from Rom **per-indulgēre*, cf. *ndëlej* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ LA PIANA *Vocale* 23 (from Lat *perdolēre* 'to grieve greatly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (follows LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25-26 (Albanian forma-

tion based on Lat *dolēre* 'to grieve, to deplore'); HAARMANN 141.

përgjëroj aor. *përgjërova* 'to swear'. A prefixal formation based on **gjëroj* borrowed from Lat *jūrāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

përgjoj aor. *përgjova* 'to pry, to peep, to spy'. A prefixal derivative of *gjuaj* (CAMARDA I 113; WEIGAND 68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from Lat *pervigilāre* 'to remain awake, to watch all night'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (based on an erroneous segmentation of *ndëgjoj* in which *ndë-* is treated as a prefix); HAARMANN 141.

përkas aor. *preka, përkita* 'to touch'. Derivative of *prek.*

përkorë ~ përkuer adj. 'temperate, moderate (in food)'. Derived from *kuaj.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from **përkoj,* borrowed from Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HAARMANN 140.

përkul aor. *përkula* 'to bend'. From PAlb **per-kula,* a prefixal derivative of IE **kʷel-* 'to turn' in zero grade, cf. *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 229). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14; POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 81; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317.

përkund aor. *përkunda* 'to swing, to sway, to rock (a cradle)'. Another variant is *përkun.* A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kund,* see *lëkund.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from *kunë* 'cradle', an Italian loanword).

përligj aor. *përligja* 'to pay off, to avenge, to requite'. A denominative derivative of *ligj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 27). ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 83-85 (to Lith *lygùs* 'equal' and its cognates).

përlim m, pl. *përlime* 'duty, obligation'. A prefixal deverbative based on *lë.* ◊ XHUVANI *Minerva* III/27 22 (from **për-ligjim,* to *ligj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 27-28 (to *lyej*).

përmbi prep. 'over'. Goes back to PAlb **per-ambi,* with the first element identical with *për* and the second representing *mbi.*

përmbys aor. *përmbysa* 'to overturn, to overthrow', adv. 'upside down'. Other variants are *përmys, përmis, përmbis.* The verb is a secondary

formation based on the adverb whose first part is identical with *përmbi*. As a whole, *përmbys* goes back to PAlb **per-ambi-uptja*, the third component **uptja* 'under, lower' connected with Skt *úpa* 'toward, near to', Gk ὑπό 'under', Goth *uf* 'under' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 268 (identical with *përmbys* 'to flood', cf. *mbys*); JOKL *Studien* 56 (follows MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 105; FRISK II 971-972; FEIST *Goth.* 509; POKORNY I 1106-1107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (to *mys*).

përmend aor. *përmenda* 'to mention, to recall, to nominate'. Derivative of *mend* (WEIGAND *BA* I 260). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (follows WEIGAND).

përmëles aor. *përmëleta* 'to break a fast, to season with butter'. Other variants are *përmbles, përbules, burbules*. A denominative based on **përmbletë*, the latter unattested form must have been borrowed from Rom **praeambulātus* 'premature', to Lat *praeambulāre* 'to walk before'. ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to Gk παρα-μελέω 'to disregard, to neglect'); MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *izmeljati* 'to besmear'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 28-29 (considers *burbules* to be the original form).

përmjerr aor. *përmorra* 'to urinate'. Goes back to PAlb **per-medzra* related to IE **meiĝh-* id.: Skt *méhati*, Gk ὀμείχω, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga* (CAMARDA I 70). Note the irregularities in the development of the root vowel and the consonantal cluster. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 335 (to Skt *mála-* 'dirt', *marṣati* 'to sprinkle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 74 (to Skt *madati* 'to be inebriated, to boil'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 49-51; MAYRHOFER II 690; WALDE-HOFMANN II 60-61; FRISK II 385; POKORNY I 713; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

përpjetë adj. 'rising, uphill', f 'rise, slope', adv. 'up, uphill'. Continues PAlb **pra-peta* compared with Gk προπετής 'prominent', προπέτομαι 'to fly forwards' and further connected with Skt *pátati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk πέτομαι 'to fly' (CAMARDA I 304; MEYER *Wb.* 333-334, *Alb. St.* III 23, 30, 84). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 548 (adduces dialectal *përpjelta* = *përpjetë* as an argument against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 14, *LKUBA* 164 (repeats PEDERSEN 's arguments); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (to Lith *pùlti* 'to fall' and the like); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 521-522; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825-826; ÇABEJ *St.* II 29-30 (explains *përpjelta* as a metathesis of *përpjetëlë*).

përposh adv. 'below, underneath'. A parallel form is *përposht*. A prefixal derivative of *poshtë* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (*-posh* from loc. sg. **-pēd-su* 'at the foot'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

përpush aor. *përpusha* 'to poke, to stir up'. From **për-prush*, cf. *prush* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30).

përqell aor. *përqella* 'to deride, to mock'. Derived from *qell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30-31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Lat *percellere* 'to beat down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538-539 (against MEYER as Lat *-ll-* cannot yield Alb *-ll-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 188, 258.

përqi f, pl. *përqi* 'dowry'. Borrowed from MGk προικίον id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *prćija* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 78 (follows MEYER).

përskas aor. *përskita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav **prъskati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prъskam*, SCr *prskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 334).

përshesh aor. *përshesha* 'to crumble, to break up, to raze to the ground'. A prefixal denominative of *shesh*. From the verb, the noun *përshesh* 'sop of bread, milk and butter' has been derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 329 (noun *përshesh* - from Turkish *parça* 'piece' and *aş* 'soup'), 355 (noun *pshesh* < **mshesh*, from Slav **měšati* 'to mix'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 31- 32 (deverbative of *shij*).

përshpjetem refl. 'to arrive unexpectedly'. An active form *përspjes* (with dialectal *-s-*) means 'to train, to drill, to rear'. Corrupt forms of **përshpejt* based on *shpejt*. ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 31 (from SCr *prispjeti* 'to be on time').

përshtat aor. *përshtata* 'to fit, to adapt'. A denominative prefixal verb based on *shtat*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 250 (to IE **sthā-* 'to stand'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 32 (univerbation of *për shtat* 'for stature').

përtoj aor. *përtova* 'to be lazy'. Borrowed from Lat *pigritārī* 'to be slow, to be sluggish' (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142.

përtyp aor. *përtypa* 'to chew'. Derived from **typ*, see *typth*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 59 (to Lat *stīpō* 'to squeeze tightly'); JOKL *Studien* 85-86 (to Gk τραπέω 'to press (grapes)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 11; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317-318.

përvëloj aor. *përvëlova* 'to boil down, to boil, to ignite, to kindle'. A phonetic variant of *pravulloj*.

përvjel aor. *përvola* 'to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut fleece on sheep's belly'. A prefixal derivative of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 32), probably, influenced by a partial synonym *përvesh* 'to roll up (sleeves)'.

përzhis aor. *përzhita* 'to scorch, to roast, to bake'. Borrowed from Slav **pьržiti* 'to roast', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *prъža*, SCr *pržiti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; SVANE 238.

përrallë f, pl. *përralla* 'tale, story'. Borrowed from Lat *parabola* 'proverb, speech' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◊ CAMARDA II 72 (to Gk παραβολή 'proverb, parable'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1055; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 33; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 80, 130.

përrua ~ përrue m, pl. *përrenj, përronj* 'brook; river-bed'. Early borrowing from Slav **porovъ ~ *parovъ*, cf. Pol *parów* 'ravine', name of a source in Greece Πορόβος (of Slavic origin), see OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70-71. Alb *përrua* was borrowed to Rum *părău*. ◊ CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 335 (reconstructs **per-rēn-* connected with **rē(i)-* 'to flow'); JOKL *Studien* 282-284, *LKUBA* 277 (explains **per-rēn-* as a formation etymologically close to OHG *rinnan* 'to flow', Slav **roniti* 'to drop'), *IF* XXXVII 90-91, *ZONF* X 189-190, *Sprache* IX 130; SPITZER *MRIW* I 296; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 152-153 (from IE **per-srouno-*), *Hymje* 70; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from Bulg *poroj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (from IE **per-e̯io-* 'passage'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 280; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk περάω 'to penetrate, to pierce'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318.

pësoj aor. *pësova* 'to suffer, to endure'. Borrowed from Rom **patiāre*,

cf. Lat *patior* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 335). ◊ CAMARDA I 62 (to Lat *patior*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1050 (from Lat *patior*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 140.

pëshkoj aor. *pëshkova* 'to wash up, to rinse'. Borrowed from Rom **persiccāre* 'to dry up', cf. Lat *persiccātus* 'quite dry'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (from **shkëpoj* borrowed from Ital *scopare* 'to sweep out'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 33-34 (from **përshkoj*, derivative of *shkoj*, 'to go again' > 'to rinse').

pështjell aor. *pështolla* 'to wrap up'. From **për-shtjell*, based on *shtjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 416).

pështjerë adv. 'down, low'. An obsolete Old Albanian form representing a deverbative **për shtjerë* based on *shtie*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (from **pēd-s-t-ero-* related to *përposh*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

pëshpëris aor. *pëshpërita* 'to whisper, to sigh'. An onomatopoeia connected with the adverb *pësh pësh* 'in whispers'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

pështyj aor. *pështyta, pështyva* 'to spit'. A denominative descriptive stem continuing PAlb **pistūnja* and similar to those of Lat *spuō* id. and Gk πτύω id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (from Rom **sputīre* 'to spit'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1055 (from Lat *sputāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231-232 (questions MEYER's solution in view of the metathesis in Rum *stupi* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk πτύω); FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

pështym aor. *pështyma* 'to dry wood, to smoke out'. A denominative verb based on the participle of *pështyj* describing the process of wood-drying as 'spitting out' water.

pi aor. *piva* 'to drink, to suck'. From PAlb **pīja* with the regular loss of **-j-* (OREL *FLH* VIII 41-42). Related to IE **pō(i)-* ~ **pī-* 'to drink': Skt *pā́ti* 'to drink', Gk πίνω, Lat *bibō* (BOPP 483; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 17). Note a structural similarity between **pija* and Slav **piję*. Aor. *piva* displays PAlb **-w-* reminiscent of Skt 1 sg. perf. *papáu* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 82-83). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 336, *Alb. St.* III 30, *Gr. Gr.* 105; TOMASCHEK *Thr.* II 18 (participle *pirë* ~ *pinë* < **pīno-*

compared with Thr [?] πῖνον 'beer'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219-222; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; KRAUSE *Corolla linguistica* 137-144; POKORNY I 839-840; MAYRHOFER II 252; FRISK II 540-542; CHANTRAINE 905; WALDE-HOFMANN I 103-104; HULD 103; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs PAlb **pīnō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318-319 (from a reduplication **pipH-* > PAlb **pib-*).

picas aor. *picata* 'to catch mice'. Derived from the stem *pic-*, cf. *picërr*.

picërr adj. 'tiny, small'. Together with *picë* 'little girl', *picël* 'needle-point' and *picak* 'naked', this word is derived from *pic* 'tip, end, top' borrowed from Ital *pizzo* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 34-35). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Ital *picciolo* 'little', *piccino* id.).

pidh m, pl. *pidhëra* ~ *pidhna*, *pidhe* 'female pudenda'. From PAlb **p(e)izda* directly related to Slav **pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* 'bottom' (MEYER *Wb.* 336-337, *Alb. St.* III 16, 30). ◊ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXX 207-209 (reconstructs **peighdh-*); JOKL *IF* XXX 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 94; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 831; HAMP *IJSLP* XI 25-26, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 43; HULD 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 319-320.

pihatem refl. 'to be tired, to be exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav **pyxati (sę)* 'to be short of breath', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pъxam*, Slovene *pihati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ SVANE 257.

pik m 'spotted woodpecker'. Derived from *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce'.

pik aor. *pika* 'to fill holes, to pierce'. A descriptive stem similar to that of Ital *piccare* 'to prick'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 337 (from Romance).

pik aor. *pika* 'to make bitter'. A metaphorical usage of *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce' (MEYER *Wb.* 337).

pikë f, pl. *pika*, *pikë* 'drop'. A descriptive stem similar to Rum *pic* id. The verb *pikoj* 'to sprinkle' is derived from *pikë*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Lat *picca*); MEYER *Wb.* 337 (related to *pik* 'to make bitter'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 114; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044 (from Rom **pica*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ *St.* II 35-36 (derived from *pjek* 'to meet').

pilas pl. 'eyebrows'. Based on sg. **pil* borrowed from Lat *pilleus* 'felt cap, *protective hair' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 35).

pilë f, pl. *pila* 'heap, pile, pebble, group of stones used in a game'. Borrowed from Ital *pila* 'pile' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 36-37). ◊ HAARMANN 142 (from Lat *pīla* id.).

pilikuri adv. 'bare, naked'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *korë*. A fossilized noun *pilikor* 'unconsciousness' is a folk etymology derivative of *pilikuri*. ◊ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 177 (from *për* and *lakur*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 37 (from *për* and *lëkur*).

pilipizgë f, pl. *pilipizga* 'kind of pipe'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *pizgë*.

pilivesë f, pl. *pilivesa* 'dragonfly'. Another variant is *pilivoesë*. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *ve*, *voe* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 37).

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Lat *pīla* 'mortar', in Romance - 'trough', cf. Ital *pila* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 37-38). ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321.

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'flax comb'. Borrowed from an unattested derivative of Lat *pīlō* 'to comb' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 320-321). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 68-69 (from IE **peḱ-lā* related to Lat *pectō* 'to comb' and the like); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145.

pillë f, pl. *pilla* 'small stone (for play)'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'ball, playing-ball' (MEYER *Wb.* 337). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER as **pellë* is expected); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from an Italian dialect); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ *St.* II 38 (agrees with MEYER).

pingë f, pl. *pinga* 'top'. Goes back to PAlb **pinkā* related to Lith *pìnklas* 'wicker-work', Latv *pinka* 'tuft', *pinkât* 'to tousle'. From *pingë*, *pingul* 'downwards, vertically' and *pingël* 'tip, top, point' are derived. ◊ FRAENKEL 594; ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (*pingul* from a compound of *për* and *ngul*).

pingroj aor. *pingrova* 'to twitter, to chirp'. Borrowed from Rom **pinnigerāre* 'to behave as a bird, to bear feathers', cf. Lat *pinniger* 'feather-bearing'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (onomatopoeia).

pip m, pl. *pipa* 'sprout, shoot, pipe, tube'. Borrowed from Rom **pīpa* 'tube, pipe', cf. OFr *pipe*, Spanish *pipa* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 338). ◊ HAARMANN 142.

pip aor. *pipa* 'to peep, to chirp'. A descriptive stem similar to Germ *piepen* id., Lat *pipīre* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 39-40). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 338 (borrowed from *pipīre*); HAARMANN 142.

pir m 'habit, sprite'. A metaphoric usage of *pirë* 'prick, thorn', see *pirrë.*

pirem refl. 'to bend, to bow'. A dialectal form of *prierem*, see *prier* (MANN *HAED* 387).

pirë f, pl. *pira* 'pore'. Goes back to PAlb **pirā*, a zero grade form related to Gk πείρω 'to bore', Slav **perję* id. and the like. Note a derivative *piri* 'funnel'. ◊ FRISK II 491-492; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (*piri* borrowed from Venetian *peiria* or its Greek source).

pirrë f, pl. *pirra* 'couch-grass, rye-grass; hedge'. Another variant is *pirë* 'prick, thorn'. Borrowed from Slav **pyrь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: SCr *pir* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 222). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 216-217 (*pirrë* 'hedge' related to Gk πείρω 'to pierce' and its cognates); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321.

pisë f 'cat, tabby-cat'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Rum *pisă* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 339-340).

piskas aor. *piskata* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav **piskati* 'to peep', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◊ SVANE 261.

pispillohem refl. 'to dress up, to smarten oneself'. An expressive reduplication of *pillohem* id., a reflexive form of *pilloj* 'to hackle (flax)', cf. *pillë.*

pisputh m 'swine, bastard'. A compound of *pis* 'dirty, filthy' (derived from a Modern Greek loanword *pisë* 'hell') and *puth*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (to *purth* and *spurdhis*).

pishë f, pl. *pisha* 'pine'. Continues PAlb **pī-s-a*, with **-s-* > *-sh-* according to the "ruki" rule, related to other Indo-European names of pine with different suffixes: Gk πίτυς, Lat *pīnus* (from **pitsnos* or **pisnos*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 340 (related to Lat *pīnus*), *Alb. St.* III 30, 61 (to Gk πεύκη id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 32 (reconstructs **pĭt-s-i̯a*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 95 (to Lat *picea* id.), *Hymje* 50; FRISK II 545-546; CHANTRAINE 908; WALDE-HOFMANN II 308; POKORNY I 794; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 34; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212; HAMP *IF* LXVI 51; HULD 142, *KZ* XCV 303 (from **pīt-so-* related to Lat *pīnus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321-322 (old collective in **-s(i̯)o-*).

pishkulloj aor. *pishkullova* 'to whisper'. A parallel form is *pishtëlloj*. Borrowed from Rom **fistulāre* 'to sound like a pipe', cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'. Note the irregular substitution of Lat *f-* > Alb *p-*.

pitas ~ pîtas adv. 'numb, numbly (of cold)'. Derived from *pij* 'to benumb', cf. *mpij*.

pite f, pl. *pite* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed, with phonetic irregularities, from Lat *pecten* 'comb'. The immediate source must have been Rom **pectum* > **pejtë*.

pite f, pl. *pite* 'gruel'. A singularized plural of **pitë* continuing PAlb **pītu-* further related to Lith *piẽtus* 'noon meal, lunch', Skt *pitú-* 'feeding', OIr *ith* 'grain, corn' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 587-588; MAYRHOFER II 278; POKORNY I 794.

pitë f, pl. *pita* 'kind of bread, cake'. A Mediterranean cultural *Wanderwort* present in South Slavic (Bulg *pita*, SCr *pita*), Turk *pita*, Hbr *pîtā* and NGk πήττα, πίττα as well as in Romance where it seems to continue Rom **picta* (MEYER *Wb.* 340).

pitër adj. 'frequent'. Based on PAlb **pim(i)ta* related to OIr *éim* 'quick, fast', ON *fimr* id. ◊ POKORNY I 795.

pizgë f, pl. *pizga* 'kind of wind instrument'. Borrowed from Slav **piska*, cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piska* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 339). Note the unusual

substitution of Slav **-sk-* > *-zg-* , probably, reflecting an early date of borrowing when there were no unvoiced sibilant in the Albanian consonantal system. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193; SVANE 218, 261.

pizgull f, pl. *pizgulla* 'piece, splinter'. Derived from *pizgë* 'chip, splinter, loop', a phonetic variant of *pisk*.

pjalm m 'dust, thin dust, fine flour'. From PAlb **pelma* related to Gk πάλη 'fine flour', Skt *palala-* 'ground sesamum', Lith *pelenaĩ* 'ashes', Latv *pęlni* id., Slav **polmę* 'flame', Lat *pollen* 'dust, fine flour' (SCHMIDT *KZ* L 243, 248). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Osset *fælm* 'fog' < **pelmn̥*); VASMER III 273; FRAENKEL 566-567; WALDE-HOFMANN II 331-332; MAYRHOFER II 232; FRISK II 467; POKORNY I 802; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40-41.

pjavicë f, pl. *pjavica* 'leech'. Borrowed from Slav **pijavica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *pijavica*, SCr *pijavica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). A parallel form *piskavicë* results from an influence of *piskoj* 'to pinch' (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 324; JOKL *Studien* 113; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 99; SVANE 157.

pjek aor. *poqa* 'to bake, to cook'. Goes back to PAlb **peka* etymologically continuing IE **pekᵘ-* id.: Skt *pácati*, Gk πέσσω, Lat *coquō*, Slav **pekǫ*, **pekti* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 341). ◊ MEYER *IF* V 181 (on the *ē*-grade in aorist), *Alb. St.* III 3-4, 30; JOKL *Studien* 11; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 129; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ERNOUT-MEILLET 141; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; BARIÇ *Hymje* 20; FRISK II 519-520; CHANTRAINE 890; MAYRHOFER II 185-186; WALDE-HOFMANN I 270-272; POKORNY I 798; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239; HULD 103-104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 322.

pjek aor. *poqa* 'to touch, to meet'. From PAlb **peka*, related, with an irregular development of IE **-k̂-*, to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pešù, pèšti* 'to pull, to pluck' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 113 (to Gk πήγνυμι 'to stick, to fix in'); MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Gk πλέκω 'to plait'), *Alb. St.* III 4, 32; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 580-581; FRISK II 492-493; POKORNY I 797.

pjekë f, pl. *pjekë* 'eyelash'. From PAlb **pekā* related to *pjek* 'to touch, to meet' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 41-42) < *'to comb', cf. for the semantic development Skt *pákṣma-* 'eyelash' derived of the same root (JOKL *Studien* 69). ◊ MAYRHOFER II 184.

pjell aor. *polla* 'to beget, to produce, to bear'. From PAlb **pelna* connected with Lat *pellō* 'to drive, to push' (OREL *Alb.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323), Gk πάλλω 'to poise, to swell, to swing'. Note important derivatives **en-pelna* > *mbiell* 'to sow' and **pelā* > *pjellë* 'child'. For the semantic development of this root in Albanian cf. Germ *werfen* 'to bear (of animals)' and Slav **kotiti* 'to roll; to bear (of animals)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 342 (to Goth *fula* 'foal' and - at the same time - to IE **pelə-* 'to fill'), *Alb. St.* III 30; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; FRISK II 469; WALDE-HOFMANN II 276-277; POKORNY I 801; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 39, 99; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HULD 104 (follows MEYER and reconstructs **pelō*).

pjepër ~ pjepën m, pl. *pjepra ~ pjepna* 'sweet melon'. Borrowed from Rom **pepinem* id., cf. Lat *pepōnem* 'kind of large melon, pumpkin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 44 (from Greek); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43.

pjerdh aor. *pordha* 'to fart'. From PAlb **perda* etymologically identical with Skt *párdate*, Gk πέρδομαι id., OHG *ferzan* id., Lith *pérdžiu, pérsti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* III 28, 30, 72). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 230-231 (zero grade), *Sprache* IX 130; ERNOUT-MEILLET 493; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (medial form); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; FRAENKEL 577; FRISK II 511-512; MAYRHOFER II 225; POKORNY I 819; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323.

pjergull f, pl. *pjergulla* 'vine-arbor, pergola'. Borrowed from Lat *pergula* 'shed, booth, vine-arbor' (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48 (from Ital *pergola*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 135, 137.

pjerk adj. 'hanging (down)'. A derivative in *-k* from *pjerr*.

pjerr aor. *pora, porra* 'to bend, to incline'. Continues PAlb **pera* related

to Lith *periù, perti* 'to strike', Slav **pьrǫ, *perti* 'to press'. ◊ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 819; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 243.

pjesë f, pl. *pjesë* 'part'. Borrowed from Rom **petia* id. (Ital *pezza*, Fr *pièce*), see MEYER *Wb.* 342. ◊ CAMARDA I 112 (comparison with Fr *pièce*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Ital *pezza*, *pezzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53.

pjeshkë f, pl. *pjeshkë, pjeshka* 'peach'. Borrowed from Rom **pesca* < Lat *persica* id., cf. Ital *pesca* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* IV 102). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 114.

pjetem refl. 'to be ruptured, to have hernia'. Based on PAlb **peta* 'to be ruptured' < *'to widen', related to Gk πετάννυμι 'to widen', Lat *pateō* 'to be open' and the like. This word may be the first element of *pjetëposhtë* 'downwards' (for the second element see *poshtë*). ◊ FRISK II 520-521; WALDE-HOFMANN I 262; POKORNY I 824-825.

plaf m, pl. *plafë, plëfënj* 'wool blanket, rug'. A deverbative based on *plah* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 324) and, apparently, of Geg origin. There existed also an older form *plah.* From the Proto-Albanian plural form **plaskai tai* > **plaxai tai* the Balkan and Carpathian Slavic **plaxъta* 'sack, underskirt' was borrowed. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *pëlhurë*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (to Lat *plectō* 'to plait' and its cognates); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 51-52 (to MHG *vlies* 'fleece'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11 (from Slav **plaxъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

plagë f, pl. *plagë* 'wound'. Borrowed from Lat *plāga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (from early Ital **plaga* > *piaga*); ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041 (from Italian), 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 113, 134.

plah ~ plaf aor. *plaha ~ plafa* 'to cover'. Goes back to PAlb **p(e)laska*, inchoative formation related to Gk -πέλας 'skin', Lith *palà* 'linen kerchief', *plėnė̃* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *fjall* 'skin' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 615; FRISK II 499-500; POKORNY I 803; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323-324 (from IE **pl̥H-sk̂o/e-*).

plak m, pl. *pleq* 'old man'. From PAlb**p(e)laka* < **peləkos* etymologically close to Lith *pìlkas* 'grey' < **pḷəkos* (SOLTA *Sprache* II 122-124). Further parallels may be grouped under IE **pelə-*, cf. Gk πολιός 'grey, grizzled' and the like (BOPP 491; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (compares *plak* with Gk παλαιός 'old, ancient' but the latter has π- < **k*ᵘ-); MEYER *Wb.* 344 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328; PORZIG *Gliederung* 204; FRAENKEL 591; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115 (suffix *-k*); HAMP *Language* XXXIII 530-531 (interprets *-k-* as a continuant of **H*); SOLTA *Sprache* II/1 122-126; FRISK II 575-576; POKORNY I 804-805; HULD 104-105; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324.

plang m 'board, plank'. Borrowed from Lat *planca* 'board, slab'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (from early Ital **planca* > Piem *pianca* 'plank').

plang m, pl. *plangje* 'property, building site, house, farm'. Borrowed from Rom **planticus* derived from Lat *plantō* 'to set, to plant'. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114.

plas aor. *plasa* 'to burst, to split'. From PAlb **platja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *pṛthú-* 'broad, wide', Gk πλατύς id., Lith *platùs* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (to Lith *plė̃šti* 'to tear', Slav **pleskati* 'to splash'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 32; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (to *plis*); FRAENKEL 606-607; FRISK II 553-554; MAYRHOFER II 333; POKORNY I 833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324-325.

pleh ~ plêh m, pl. *plehra ~ plêhna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'. Derivative of *plah.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from Slav **pelva* 'membrane, skin'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 129, *IF* XLIX 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223.

pleme f, pl. *pleme* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Bulg *plemna* id. < Slav **pelvьna* (MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER).

pleng m 'bandage'. Borrowed from Slav **pel(e)nъka* id., deminutive of **pelena* 'cover'. ◊ VASMER III 228-229.

pleng m 'baseness, disgraceful act'. Metaphorically used *pleng* 'heavy object'.

pleng m, pl. *plengje* 'heavy object'. A related form is *plengë* 'catapult'. Borrowed from Lat *phalanga, palanga* 'roller or pole for moving heavy objects'.

plep m, pl. *plepa* 'poplar'. Borrowed from Rom **plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 522; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

pleq m 'council, congress'. Singularized plural of *plak* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 42-43). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (from Rom **placium*, cf. Lat *placitum* 'order, opinion').

plesht m, pl. *pleshta* 'flea'. From PAlb **pleusta*, a taboo transformation of IE **bhlusā*, cf. Lith *blusà*, Slav **blъxa*, Gk ψύλλα, Arm *lu* < **plus-* (MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 32, 62). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 244; BUGGE *Beiträge* 11; PEDERSEN *IF* V 33, *KZ* XXXIX 347; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223, *Stratificazione* 139; AČAREAN *HAB* II 299-300; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 121; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 129-131; FRISK II 1140-1141; FRAENKEL 51-52; POKORNY I 102; DEMIRAJ *AE* 325 (reconstructs **-ou-* in the root).

plevas aor. *plevata* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Slav **plyvati* id., cf. Bulg *plivam*, SCr *plivati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ SVANE 258.

plevicë f, pl. *plevica* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Slav **pelvьnica* id.: Bulg *plevnica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 160; SVANE 60.

plëndës ~ plandës m, pl. *plëndësa ~ plandësa* 'paunch, stomach (particularly, of a ruminant animal)'. Other variants are *blëndës ~ blandës, blënx ~ blanx, plënc ~ planc*. Of those, the latter is more archaic as it reflects Venet *panza* 'paunch' influenced by old Venet **splenza* 'spleen' (HELBIG *JbIRS* X 83). Other forms reflect a secondary interpretation of *plënc ~ planc* as a deverbative in *-ës*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 39 (from Lat *panticem* 'paunch, bowels' and its Romance reflexes); JOKL *LKUBA* 291 (follows HELBIG); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

plim ~ plym m 'mass, crowd', adv. 'in heaps, in piles'. A deverbative in *-(i)m* based on an unattested verb **plyej* continuing PAlb **plānja* 'to fill'. The latter is related to IE **plē-* 'full, to fill', cf. *plotë*.

pliq m, pl. *pliqe* 'twisted woollen cord'. Borrowed from Lat *plecta* 'border of interwoven lines in relief, *plait'. Note the development of *-ct-* > **-jt-* > *-q-*.

plis m, pl. *plisa* 'clod of earth, sod, piece of turf'. Continues PAlb **plitja*, a zero grade derivative in **-to-* related to Skt *phálati* 'to burst, to split', Lat *spolium* 'stripped skin or hide, spoil' and other reflexes of IE **(s)pel-* (JOKL *Studien* 70-71, *LKUBA* 215). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from NGk πλίνθος 'brick'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 43 (follows MEYER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 577-578; MAYRHOFER II 393; POKORNY I 985-987; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 82 (to *plasë*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (same as ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 325-326.

plis m, pl. *plisa* 'felt'. From PAlb **p(i)litja* related to OHG *filz* id., Lat *pellis* id., Gk πῖλος id., Slav **pьlstь* id. ◊ FRISK II 536; VASMER III 318; WALDE-HOFMANN II 275-276; POKORNY I 830.

plish m, pl. *plisha* 'kind of reed, Phragmites communis'. Continues PAlb **plūši-* connected with Lith *pl(i)ūšis* 'reed' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 32-33, 215-216 (to *plis*), *Slavia* XIII 309 (from **(s)phel-* 'to split'; reconstructs **pl̥si̯o-* > *plish*); FRAENKEL 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114; JANSON *Unt.* 183; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 285, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < **-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 326.

plitë f, pl. *plita* 'sun-dried brick'. Borrowed from Slav **plita* 'plate, slab', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plita*, SCr *plita* (SVANE 63).

plog m, pl. *plogje* 'granary, barn, heap'. From PAlb **plāga* related to Gk πλάγιος 'placed sideways, sloping, leaning', Lat *plaga* 'quarter, region'(OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantic development, cf. Slav **klětь* 'barn' < IE **k̂lei-* 'to lean, to be inclined'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 71-72 (from IE **plē-g-*, to **plē-* 'full'); FRISK II 547; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (related to *plotë*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 314; POKORNY I 832-833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 326 (borrowed from Bulg *blog*).

plogë adj. 'lazy'. Historically identical with *plog*, the meaning 'lazy'

developping from 'leaning, lying without moving'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 71 (from **pë-log-*, a prefixal form related to Lat *neglegō* 'to slight, to neglect' - but *-ë-* of the first syllable left no traces), *LKUBA* 155; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114, 122; SEILER *KZ* CVI 2 (to Gk ἀλέγω 'to take account of'); SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 144-160; BEEKES *Laryngeals* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 327.

ploje f, pl. *ploje* 'slaughter, carnage'. From **ploe* < PAlb **plāga* related to Gk πληγή 'blow', Lat *plāga* 'blow, slaughter'. ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 315; FRISK II 561-562; POKORNY I 832.

plotë adj. 'full'. From PAlb **plāta* identical with IE **plēto-* 'full' derived from **pelə-* 'to fill': Skt *prātá-*, Lat *com-plētus* (CAMARDA I 59, 138; MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 23, 32). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 71, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XVII 22; WALDE-HOFMANN II 322; POKORNY I 799; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; ANTTILA *Schw.* 145; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 327-328 (related to MLat *plovum*).

pluar ~ pluer m, pl. *plorë* 'plowshare; prow'. Borrowed from NGk πλώρη 'prow' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43-44). ◊ MAKUŠEV *Varš. Univ. Izv.* 1871 122 (from Slav **plugarь*); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (adduces MLat *plovum* 'plow' borrowed from Germanic but prefers MAKUŠEV's explanation); OŠTIR *AArbSt.* II 377 (to OHG *pflug* id.); MERINGER *IF* XVII 113 (borrowed from Germ dial. *pflua* 'plow' < *Pflug* id.); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 130-141 (suggests a segmentation **pë-luar* 'divider'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 229 (against JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 327-328.

plug m, pl. *plugje* 'plow'. Borrowed from Slav **plugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *plug*, SCr *plug* (MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 156; SVANE 28.

pluhur ~ pluhun m 'dust, powder'. A phonetic development of **plëhur ~ *plëhun* derived from *pleh.* ◊ CAMARDA I 70 (related to Lat *pulvis* 'dust, powder'); MEYER *Wb.* 346 (from Rom **pluverem* < Lat *pulverem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1053 (same as MEYER); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 239, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 144.

plumb m, pl. *plumba* 'lead'. Borrowed from Lat *plumbum* id. (CAMARDA I 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 115, 141.

plusk m 'blizzard; fine flour; dust'. Other variants are *pluskë, plluskë, plyskë*. Borrowed from Slav **pl'uska* 'bubble, hull, husk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pl'uska*, SCr *pljuska* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◊ SVANE 174.

pllajë f, pl. *pllaja* 'upland, gentle slope'. Borrowed from Rom **plagius* id. (Rum *plai*, Ital *piaggia* and the like), cf. JOKL *LKUBA* 174-175.

pllangë f, pl. *pllanga* 'supporting beam, support, lever; spot, mark'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *pëllangë* which is a dialectal form of *pëllëmbë ~ pëllambë*.

pllashicë f, pl. *pllashica* 'whitefish'. Borrowed from Slav **plašica* 'kind of fish', cf. Bulg *plašica*. ◊ SVANE 152.

pllaz m 'sole of plow'. Borrowed from Slav **polzъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plaz*, SCr *plaz* (SVANE 28).

pllenoj aor. *pllenova* 'to make pregnant (of animals)'. A recent derivative of *plle ~ pllê* (see *pëlle*).

plloçë f, pl. *plloça* 'flat stone, slab'. Borrowed from Slav **ploča* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ploča* id., SCr *ploča* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 343).

plloskë f, pl. *plloska* 'flat wooden bottle, wooden vessel'. Other variants are *pllockë* and *plloçkë*. Borrowed from Slav **ploska* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *ploska*, SCr *ploska* (MEYER *Wb.* 343). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 69; MURATI *Probleme* 132.

pllymëz f, pl. *pllymëza* 'kind of fishing net'. From **për-lym-ëz*, see *lym*.

po ~ por adv. 'yes; so, well', conj. 'but'. Borrowed from Lat *porrō* 'then, moreover; but' (MEYER *Wb.* 346). The loss of the final *-r* seems to be explained by the permanent unstressed position of the conjunction.

The same adverb is used as a particle of progressive forms. ◊ CAMARDA I 314 (comparison with Skt *ápara-* 'posterior, later' or with Lat *porrō* 'further'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225.

pobratim m 'friend, adopted brother'. Other variants are *probatim, probotim, probatin*. Borrowed from Slav **pobratimъ* 'adopted brother', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pobratim*, SCr *pobratim* (MEYER *Wb.* 354). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 187.

poç m, pl. *poçe, poça* 'pot, vase, vessel'. A cultural term derived from *pot*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 350 (to Fr *pot*, Spanish *pote* 'pot').

pod m, pl. 'story, floor, cellar'. Borrowed from Slav **podъ* 'bottom, ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pod*, SCr *pod* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; SVANE 55.

pohoj aor. *pohova* 'to admit'. A derivative of *po*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

pojak m, pl. *pojakë* 'field guard'. Another variant is *polak*. Borrowed from Slav **pol'akъ* 'man related to the field', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *poljak* 'field guard' (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 302; SVANE 197.

pojatë f, pl. *pojata* 'cabin, shack, cattle-pen, porch'. Borrowed at an early stage from Slav **polata* 'palace, building, tent', cf. OCS *polata*. From Albanian, this word - as a shepherding term - was passed to Rum *poiată* and other Carpathian and Balkan languages. ◊ *OKDA Voprosnik* 38; SVANE 63.

pokrovë f, pl. *pokrova* 'cloth, sheet'. Borrowed from Slav **pokrovъ* 'cover', cf. Bulg *pokrov*, SCr *pokrov* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174, 325.

pol m, pl. *pola* 'fold; door-hinge'. Another variant is *polë*. Borrowed from Slav **pola* 'fold', cf. Bulg *pola*, SCr *pola* (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SVANE 49.

policë f, pl. *polica* 'shelf, ledge'. Borrowed from Slav **polica* id., cf.

South Slavic continuants: Bulg *polica*, SCr *polica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149; SVANE 66.

pollë f, pl. *polla* 'apron'. Historically identical with *pol.*

ponicë f, pl. *ponica* 'flower pot; oven, stove'. Borrowed from Slav **podьnica* 'pot, oven', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *podnica, ponica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 347-348). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 153-155; SVANE 72.

ponis aor. *ponita* 'to honor, to respect'. Borrowed from Slav **pomьniti* 'to remember', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pomn'a*, SCr *pomniti.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 347 (from SCr *poniziti se* 'to let oneself down').

pop m, pl. *popa* 'Orthodox priest'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *pop* id., SCr *pop* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30).

popël f, pl. *popla* 'boulder, pebble'. A descriptive stem similar to that of OE *popel* 'pebble' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk πομφόλυξ 'water bubble'); JOKL *Studien* 72, *LKUBA* 215 (to IE **(s)phel-* 'to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 222-223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329.

popull m, pl. *popuj* 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 107, 130, 145.

pordhë f, pl. *pordhë* 'fart'. Continues PAlb **pārdā* related to *pjerdh.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

porend m, pl. *porenda* 'thorn hedge'. Borrowed from Slav **porędъ* 'order, row' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.*12). ◊ SVANE 59.

porez m, pl. *poreza* 'tax'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *por'az, porez*, SCr *porez* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348).

porosit aor. *porosita* 'to order, to demand'. An early loanword from Slav **poročiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348) with Slav **-č-* > PAlb **-tš-* > *-s-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 93; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

lenie 181, 293; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; SVANE 239.

portë f, pl. *porta* 'door'. Borrowed from Lat *porta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 114.

porriq m 'leek'. Borrowed from Rom **porricium* derived from *porrum* id. Another derivative Rom **porrīnum* is the source of *porri* ~ *porrî* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◊ HAARMANN 143.

porrc m 'honeycomb stomach, reticulum'. Derive from *porr* 'stove, oven' continuing PAlb **pārā* related to Gk fut. πρήσω 'to burn, to set on fire', Slav **parъ* 'vapor, steam'. ◊ POKORNY I 809; FRISK II 538-539; VASMER III 203.

porris aor. *porrita* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *pobrisati* 'to blur, to efface' (MEYER *Wb.* 349). Note the development of the cluster *-br-* > *-rr-*.

porropi f 'devastation, ruin, misadventure'. Other variants are *poropi, perupi*. The word is identical with *përrëpi* 'precipice, drop', *përrëpirë* ~ *përrëpinë* id., deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal **për-rjep*, cf. *rjep*. ◊ XHUVANI apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ἀπρέπεια 'inconvenience'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ῥοπή 'inclination, decline').

posaçe adv. 'especially, separately'. A compound of *posa* ~ *porsa* 'just, hardly, scarcely' (from *po* and *sa*) and *çë*. Its synonym *pos* is an allegro form of *posa*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (*pos* from SCr **po se*, cf. *na po se* 'separate, singular'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (agrees with MEYER).

postaf m 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Slav **postavъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *postav*, and in a different meaning SCr *postav* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 67.

postafat adv. 'on purpose, deliberately'. Based on **postavë* borrowed from Slav **postava* 'something set'.

postahe f, pl. *postahe* 'blanket, quilt used for sitting'. Borrowed from Slav **postaja* 'bed cover', cf SCr *postaje*. The meaning of the word may have been influenced by a Turkism *postiqe* id. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from SCr *postav* 'cloth, kerchief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; JOKL *IF* XLIX 288 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 45 (on *postiqe*); SVANE 48.

postas aor. *postata* 'to weaken, to exhaust'. Borrowed from Slav **postati*, cf. Bulg *postan* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16: reconstructs **po-ustati*). ◊ SVANE 263.

postat m, pl. *postate* 'garden plot, bed'. Borrowed from Slav **postatь* id., cf. SCr *postat* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ SVANE 59.

postre ~ postrê f, pl. *postre ~ postrê* 'shelter, porch'. Another variant is *postrehë*. Borrowed from Slav **postrěxa*, a prefixal derivative of **strěxa* 'roof' reflected in Albanian as *strehë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148). Cf. SCr *postrešiti* 'to thatch'. ◊ SVANE 54.

posullë f 'bill, slip, note, letter'. Other variants are *pusullë, pusollë, pustull*. An early borrowing from Slav **posyla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Slav **posъlъ* 'messenger').

poshtë adv. 'down, below', prep. 'under'. Borrowed from Lat *post, poste* 'behind, back' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 349) with a radical change of meaning corresponding to other similar shifts in the Albanian system of prepositions and adverbs. The adjective *poshtër* 'mean; lower' is derived from *poshtë*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paśćá-* 'back, posterior'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (to *përposh* and, further, to loc. pl. **pēd-su* 'down, at the feet'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50, 181; JOKL *Studien* 59-60, *LKUBA* 32-33, *Festschr. Kretschmer* LXXXVIII; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; ÇABEJ *St.* II 45-46 (follows PEDERSEN), III 114; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIV 20-22; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329-330.

pot m, pl. *pota* 'mill-hopper, flour-bin; little boy'. Borrowed from Rom **pottus* 'pot' > Fr *pot*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Turk *pota* id. of Romance origin).

potere f 'noise, din, crash, pursuit of robbers'. Borrowed from South

Slavic **poter'a* id., cf. Bulg *potera*, SCr *potera* (MEYER *Wb.* 349).

potkë f, pl. *potka* 'scarecrow, boundary mark, landmark'. Borrowed from Slav **potъka* 'landmark', cf. SCr *potka* 'kind of boundary mark' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182). ◊ SVANE 206.

pothuaj ~ pothue adv. 'nearly, almost'. A univerbation of 2 sg. *po thuaj* 'you say' (MANN *HAED* 397). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (repeats MANN's explanation).

pra adv. 'so, therefore'. Results of an erroneous segmentation or of the allegro reduction of Old Albanian *prashtu* id., *prato* id. (BUZUKU) continuing **për ashtu*, **për ato*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to OCS *proče* 'therefore').

praf m 'dust, powder'. Borrowed from Slav **porxъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prax*, SCr *prah* (SVANE 164, 239).

prafullimë f, pl. *prafullima* 'spark (thrown out of an engine)'. Deverbative of *prafulloj* 'to toast, to singe' derived from *praf.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

prag m, pl. *pragje* 'threshold'. A parallel form is *prak*. Borrowed from Slav **porgъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prag*, SCr *prag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 53.

pranë adv. 'alongside, beside, nearby', prep. 'near, by'. Goes back to *për anë*.

prandaj conj. 'therefore, thus'. Goes back to **për andaj* (CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46-47.

prangë f, pl. *pranga* 'fetter, chain, handcuff'. Borrowed from Gmc **pranga-* 'constriction, cramping', cf. Germ *Pranger* 'pillory' (MEYER *Wb.* 350-351). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *spranga* 'bolt'); KLUGE 562-563.

pranoj aor. *pranova* 'to admit, to accept'. Derived from *pranë* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

prapa adv. 'back, backwards, beyond', prep. 'behind'. Another form of the same word explained by accentual modifications in Proto-Albanian is *prapë* 'back, again, the other way round'. Continues **për apa* ~ **për apë*, the second component being historically identical with *pa* (BOPP 502; CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 351). The Proto-Albanian form must have been **per apa* or **pra apa.* ◊ JOKL *MRIW* I 302, *IF* XXXVII 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187-188; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 111; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to *hap*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 330-332.

praqe pl. tantum 'stirrups'. Semantically modified plural of *prak*, variant of *prag.*

praroj aor. *prarova* 'to gild'. From **për-aroj*, denominative of *ar* (MEYER *Wb.* 14).

prashis aor. *prashita* 'to hoe over, to rake over, to cultivate'. Borrowed from Slavic **poršiti* 'to turn into dust, to cover with dust, to hoe', cf. Bulg *praša*, SCr *prašiti* (MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; SVANE 77, 239.

pravulloj aor. *pravullova* 'to boil down, to boil, to wash in hot water'. Continues **për-avulloj*, a denominative based on *avull.*

pre f, pl. *preja* 'prey, booty, plunder'. Borrowed from Lat *praeda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 71.

pregjim m 'party on the occasion of child-birth; visit paid to mourners after a death'. Other variants are *përgim, përgjim.* A regular deverbative of *përgjoj.* ◊ ENDZELIN *KZ* XLV 230 (to Lith *gim̃ti* 'to give birth', Latv *dzìmt* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 47-48 (from MGk πρωτογέννημα 'first birth'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 332 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

preh ~ pref aor. *preha ~ prefa* 'to sharpen'. Continues **për-eh*, a prefixal derivative of *eh* (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

prehaluq adj. 'emaciated'. A suffixal derivative of *preh.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (contamination of *preh* and *halë*).

prehër ~ prehën m 'bosom, lap; apron'. From PAlb **prōjena* *'front',

originally, an adjective built (as Gk πρώϊος 'early') on the basis of the locative Gk πρωΐ 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruoi* id. derived from IE **prō* 'forward, in front of, before' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 353 (to Slav **pręgǫ* 'to tighten'), *Alb. St.* III 31, 72; ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (compares with Lith *spriñgti* 'to choke, to swallow' connected with Slav **pręgǫ*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 95 ; FRISK II 607-608; POKORNY I 814.

prej prep. 'to, towards; from, out of'. In fact, from disillabic PAlb **prei* identical with the locative Gk πρωΐ 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruoi* id. derived from IE **prō* 'forward, in front of, before', cf. *prehër*.

prek aor. *preka* 'to touch'. From PAlb **praka*, a derivative of an adverbial **pra-k-* related to Gk πρόκα 'forthwith, straightaway', Slav **prokъ* 'remainder, remaining' and similar formations of **pro* 'forward'. ◊ CAMARDA I 242 (analyzes *prek* as **pre-k-*); MEYER *Wb.* 352 (to Gk πράσσω 'to do, to work'); FRISK II 599; VASMER III 373.

prell m 'sunny side'. Borrowed from Gk παρήλιος 'near the sun'.

premte ~ prëmte f 'Friday'. Other variants are (T) *prempte*, (G) *prende*. Deverbative based on *premtoj* in its unattested meaning 'to forebode, to prepare in advance' and representing a translation of Gk παρασκευή 'getting ready, preparing; Friday'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrëmë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227.

premtoj aor. *premtova* 'to promise'. Borrowed from Lat *prōmittere* 'to forbode, to promise'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *promettere* 'to promise'); MEYER *Wb.* 352 (same as MIKLOSICH).

pres aor. *preva* 'to cut'. From PAlb **p(e)retja* related to Lith *perù, peřti* 'to beat, to thump', Gk πρίω 'to saw' (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 72). ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 243-244; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227; FRAENKEL 578; FRISK II 596; POKORNY I 819; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 135; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 332-333 (to *eh*).

pres aor. *prita* 'to wait, to expect'. Continues PAlb **pratja* etymologically related to Goth *fraþjan* 'to think, to understand', Lith *prantù, pràsti* 'to get used, to understand'. ◊ CAMARDA I 143 (a prefixal verb related to IE **es-* 'to be'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169 (a prefixal verb related

to Lat *emō* 'to buy, to purchase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 90 (to OIr 3 sg. *frith* 'is found'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; FRAENKEL 646-647; FEIST *Goth.* 165-166; POKORNY I 845; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 135 (from IE **pr̥k̂to-*, to **prek̂-* 'to ask').

presh m, pl. *presh* 'leek'. Borrowed from Gk πράσον id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 19). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 278, 281.

prevë f, pl. *preva* 'open way, track, ford'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvum (iter)* 'private (road, passage)'. ◊ CAMARDA I 27 (identical with *trevë*); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (repeats CAMARDA's identification); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52-54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 233.

prëj ~ prâj aor. *prëjta ~ prâjta* 'to incline, to cling to, to lean; to infect'. The semantic development 'to cling' > 'to infect' is quite frequent, cf. E *to stick*. The original meaning of PAlb **per(i)-anja* appears to be 'to incline, to bend to the side'. It is derived from *anë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (separates *prëj* 'to infect' and connects it with *ëj*).

prëj ~ prâj aor. *prëjta ~ prâjta* 'to comfort, to soothe'. Goes back to PAlb **prainja* related to Skt *prīṇā́ti* 'to please', Goth *frijon* 'to love', Slav **prijati* id. and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (to *ëj*); FEIST *Goth.* 168; MAYRHOFER II 380; VASMER III 369; POKORNY I 844.

prëndverë ~ prandverë f 'spring'. Borrowed from Rom **prīma vēra* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primăvară*), cf. MEYER *Wb.* 466. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *primavera*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 108.

prënjkë f, pl. *prënjka* 'freckle, sunspot'. A derivative in *-kë* of PAlb **priknjā* related to Skt *pŕ̥śni-* 'spotted, speckled', Gk περκνός 'dark, spotted', W *erch* 'spotted' and the like. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 336; FRISK II 515-516; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 43; POKORNY I 820-821; ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (derived from *prëj ~ prâj*).

prier aor. *prora* 'to incline, to lean, to turn aside'. Goes back to PAlb **per(i)-era*, a prefixal verb etymologically related to Hitt *arnumi* 'to move, to shift', Skt *r̥ṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk ὄρνυμι 'to stir up', Lat *orior* 'to rise'. ◊ CAMARDA I 56-57 (a prefixal verb to be com-

pared with Gk ἀείρω 'to raise'); MEYER *Wb.* 354 (a prefixal verb related to Gk ἐλάω 'to drive, to set in motion'); FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 222-223; POKORNY I 326-328.

prift m, pl. *priftër, priftërinj ~ priftna, priftinj* 'priest'. Borrowed from Lat *presbyter* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 287 (on the Dalmatian Latin source); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; ERNOUT-MEILLET 534; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *SCL* XXXII/4 425-428; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121, 130.

prij ~ prîj aor. *prina, priva* 'to lead'. Borrowed from Lat *praeīre* 'to lead, to precede' (MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ HAARMANN 143.

prije f, pl. *prije* 'drainage ditch'. A derivative of *prij*, probably representing a calque of South Slavic **vada* 'irrigation ditch' (Bulg *vada*, SCr *vada*) related to **vedǫ, *vesti* 'to lead'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 345 (from **për-ijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 85.

prijë f, pl. *prija* 'onion-bed'. Usually, in a phrase *prijë qepësh* id. Borrowed from Lat *porrīna* id.

prik m 'slope'. Goes back to **prier-k*, a derivative of *prier*.

prikë f, pl. *prika* 'dowry'. Derived with the suffix *-kë* from *prij*. ◊ SKOK *ŽA* II 103-110 (from Gk προίξ 'gift, present').

prill m 'April'. Borrowed from Lat *aprīlis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 118, 177.

prime pl. 'folk remedies'. Deverbative of *proj* 'to guard, to defend' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 48).

prind m, pl. *prindë, prindër ~ prindën* 'father, parent'. Borrowed from Lat *parentem* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1047, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 116, 143-145.

pringj m 'chief, prince'. Borrowed from **prince(s)* < Lat *prīnceps* 'chief' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; HAARMANN 144.

priqe pl. 'arthritis'. Another variant is *priç* ~ *prîç*. A suffixal derivative of *prij*.

priskoj aor. *priskova* 'to besprinkle'. A relatively recent denominative formation based on **prisk(ë)*. The latter was borrowed from Slav **pryskъ* 'sprinkling' otherwise unattested in South Slavic where its variant **prъskъ*, **prъskati* is attested.

prish aor. *prisha* 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste'. From PAlb **prīša* related to Gk πρίω 'to saw' (MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61, 72). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 72-73 (adds Germanic parallels: OHG *freisa* 'danger, destruction' and the like), *LKUBA* 24; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49-50; FRISK II 596 (doubts the validity of the Greek - Albanian comparison); POKORNY I 846; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49, VII 206, 228; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < **-s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 333-334 (to IE **per-* 'to strike').

privoj aor. *privova* 'to rob'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvāre* id.

prizë f, pl. *priza* 'gutter'. Derived from *prije*.

probateshë f, pl. *probatesha* 'adopted sister'. An innovative feminine in *-eshë* based on the recomposition of *probatin*, see *pobratim*.

prodhoj aor. *prodhova* 'to produce'. Borrowed from Lat *prōdāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrodh*).

profkë f, pl. *profka* 'splitting fruit; water spray; twaddle, bluff'. Another variant is *proçkë* 'blunder, slip of the tongue'. From Bulg *pročka* 'wicket-gate' in various metaphoric meanings. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 9 (to *prëj*), *Slavia* XIII 289.

prog m, pl. *progje* 'nail'. A secondary fonetic variant of *prokë*.

proj aor. *prova* 'to guard, to defend; to precede, to anticipate, to take precaution'. Borrowed from Lat *parāre* 'to make ready; to defend',

the meaning 'to defend' being typical of Romance languages (Ital *parare*, Fr *parer*), cf. ÇABEJ *St.* II 48. A noun *projë* meaning at the same time 'defense' and 'booty' is a deverbative. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (to *ruaj* or from Lat *prohibēre* 'to hold back, to prevent').

prokë f, pl. *proka* 'nail, fork'. Borrowed, with an unusual unvoicing of the anlaut, from Rom **brocca, *broccia* 'fork, roasting-spit', cf. Ital dial. *brocca*, Fr *broche*) < fem. **brocca* 'projecting (of teeth)' (MEYER *Wb.* 354).

prosek m, pl. *prosiqe* 'hut for cattle to be rounded up'. Together with *proseqe* 'chips, chippings (from pruned tree)' is a Slavic loanword from **prosěkъ* 'kind of axe; opening, cutting (in a forest)', cf. Bulg *prosek*, SCr *prosijek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 50). The meaning represented in Albanian is not attested in South Slavic. It has obviously developed from 'section, something cut out'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151 (from Bulg *prosek* 'section in a barn').

prozhëm m, pl. 'small wood, community forest'. Another, and more phonetically archaic, variant is *proshëm*. This word for the *'nearest forest' > 'community forest' is borrowed from Lat *proximus* 'nearest'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from South Slav **šuma* 'forest'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (from **kseumā* related to Slav **šuma*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 50-51 (borrowed from Slav **brъstъ* 'brushwood').

prozhmoj aor. *prozhmova* 'to slander, to libel'. As in *prozhëm*, a more conservative variant is *proshmoj*. It is borrowed from Lat *proximāre* 'to come near, to approach' with a complicated semantic development, presumably: 'to get close' > 'to know intimately' > 'to slander'. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Gk *προ-σιμόω, cf. σιμόω 'to turn up the nose, to sneer at' - but Greek loanwords are not adapted as verbs in *-oj*); MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from Slav **šumъ* 'noise'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 51 (identical with *përçmoj* 'to despise' derived from *çmoj*).

prridh aor. *prridha* 'to suffocate'. Continues a prefixal verb **për-ridh* with a root unattested in an unbound form and continuing PAlb **reida* related to Gk ἐρείδω 'to prop, to push'. ◊ FRISK I 551; POKORNY I 860.

prroskë f, pl. *prroska* 'brook, mountain stream'. Derivative in *-skë* of *përrua* (JOKL *LKUBA* 220, 327).

prush m 'ember, glowing coal'. From PAlb **prušā* etymologically related to Lat *prūna* id. < **prusnā*, Skt *ploṣati* 'to burn' (MEYER *Wb.* 355, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61). ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk πῦρ 'fire'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 479; POKORNY I 846; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Latv *pìrksts* 'hot ash'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 334-335.

psherëtij aor. *psherëtiva* 'to sigh, to moan'. Other variants are *psherëtoj* and *psherëtis*. Borrowed, with a metathesis in the phonetically complicated anlaut, from Rom **suspīritāre*, cf. Lat *suspīrāre* 'to sigh' (MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

pshikëlloj aor. *pshikëllova* 'to beat with a cane'. Another variant is *fshikulloj*. Derived from *fshikull* 'whip' borrowed from Rom **fisticula*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'reed, cane'.

pshoj aor. *pshova* 'to sigh, to moan'. A back formation of **pshirë* < Lat *suspīrium* 'sigh', cf. *psherëtij*.

pshurr aor. *pshurra* 'to urinate'. From **për-shurr*, a prefixal derivative of *shurrë*.

puçërr f, pl. *puçrra* 'blister, pimple'. Together with *puç* 'hair parting' and *puçis* 'to contort (face)', goes back to SCr *pučiti* 'to split'.

pufkë f, pl. *pufka* 'bubble, blister'. A derivative of **pufë* ~ *puhë* borrowed from SCr *puha* id. The latter is connected with SCr *puhati* 'to blow (up)' which, in its turn, has been borrowed to Albanian as *puhas* id. Finally, *puhi* 'light breeze' also belongs here (MEYER *Wb.* 356).

puftë adj. 'empty, hollow'. Appears only in a context *arrë pufte* 'empty nut'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *puncta* 'punctured, having a hole'.

puk adj. 'foolish'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblicus* 'public; common, ordinary, bad'.

pukë f 'promenade, public way'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblica (via)* 'public

way' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1054; HAARMANN 144.

pulegër f, pl. *pulegra* 'dwarf bustard'. Based on **pulegë* borrowed from one of Italian or Dalmatian continuations of Rom **pullicus*, cf. *pullus* 'young fowl, chick'.

pulendër ~ pulandër f, pl. *pulendra ~ pulandra* 'maize porridge'. Another variant is *pullëndër ~ pullandër*. Based on **pullënd* borrowed from Lat *polenta* 'peeled barley, pearl-barley'.

pulë f, pl. *pula* 'hen'. Borrowed from Rom **pulla* 'hen' (cf. Fr *poule*), see CAMARDA I 172; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356-357. As to *pulkë* 'turkey; pullet', it is borrowed from Bulg *pulka* 'pullet'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046, 1050, 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 219; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 232; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

pulisht m, pl. *pulishta* 'donkey's colt'. Another variant is *polisht*. Derived from **pul* borrowed from Lat *pullus* 'foal' (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

pulpë f, pl. *pulpa* 'calf (of leg)'. Borrowed from Lat *pulpa* 'flesh' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

pulqyer m, pl. *pulqerë* 'thumb; dwarf'. Another variant is *pulqer*. Borrowed from Lat *pollicāris* 'belonging to a thumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◊ CAMARDA I 345 (reconstructs Rom **pollicer*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 83.

pullëndër ~ pullandër f 'washing water, lye'. A singularized plural of **pulland* borrowed from Lat *perlavantem* 'washing thoroughly'.

pullaz m, pl. *pullaze* 'roof'. A secondary variant of *pëllas* 'palace' (ÇABEJ II 51-52), with the hypercorrect voicing of the auslaut. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (variant of *lëpozë* 'roof, roof-timbers', cf. *lëpizë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 86-88 (follows MEYER).

punë f, pl. *punë* 'work, thing'. A participle in *-në* of an unattested verb

**puaj* continuing PAlb **pānja*. The latter is related to Gk πένομαι 'to strain, to work on' and its deverbative πόνος 'work, labor' (HAHN I 251, II 28) with uncertain further links. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 188-189 (borrowed from Gk πόνος); MEYER *Wb.* 357, *Alb. St.* III 29, 58 (to Gk σπουδή 'haste, speed'), IV 45 (against BUGGE); JOKL *Studien* 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 200 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; THUMB *IF* XXVI 81-82 (criticizes BUGGE); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6 (to Slav **pǫditi* 'to push, to press'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 86 (from **oposnā*, to Lat *opus* 'work'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225 (disputes BARIĆ's view); LA PIANA *Studi* I 73; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 94 (to Lat *pugnō* 'to fight'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 46; FRISK II 504-506; CAMAJ *Alb.Wortb.* 65 (to **spend-* 'to pull'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; ÇABEJ II 52-53 (two possibilities are suggested: HAHN's etymology or comparison with Lat *pondus* 'weight'), IV 58; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 212; HULD 156, 165; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 335-336.

punjashe f. pl. *punjashe* 'purse'. Deminutive of **punjë* borrowed from East Germanic, cf. Goth *puggs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

pupë f, pl. *pupa* 'breast, teat; tassel, bud'. Borrowed from Rom **puppa* 'teat' (cf. OFr *poupe*, Ital *poppa*), see MEYER *Wb.* 358. Derived from *pupë* is *pupërr* 'boil, furuncle' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◊ DURIDANOV *Trakite* 80 (to Thr **pupa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 336.

pupë f, pl. *pupa* 'hoopoe'. Borrowed from Lat *upupa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357-358). From its derivative *pupëzë* id. Rum *pupăză* was borrowed. ◊ HAARMANN 156.

pupë f, pl. *pupa* 'stern'. Borrowed from Lat *puppis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◊ HAARMANN 144.

puprroj aor. *puprrova* 'to hoe over'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Lat *preparāre* 'to prepare', in this case - 'to prepare the field (for sowing)'.

pupurriqem refl. 'to tremble'. An emphatic formation built on the basis of *puprroj*.

puq aor. *puqa* 'to fit together'. From PAlb **pukja*, a denominative related

to Gk πύκα adv. 'thickly, strongly', πυκνός 'thick, strong'. ◊ FRISK II 622-623; POKORNY I 849.

puroj aor. *purova* 'to calm, to pacify, to defend'. Borrowed from Rom **parāre* 'to defend' (JOKL *Studien* 112). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom **barrāre* 'to bar').

purtekë f, pl. *purteka* 'rod, stick'. Borrowed, with a metathesis of *-ru-* > *-ur-*, from one of the South-East continuants of Slav **prǫtъkъ* 'rod, bush', cf. Bulg *prъtak*, SCr *prutak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 358-359). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from Lat *pertica*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

purth m 'diarrhea'. Derivative in *-th* of PAlb **purwa* related to Lith *pur̃vas* 'filth, dirt', Latv *pùrvs* 'swamp, marsh'. ◊ FRAENKEL 675.

purrë f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Slav **pyr'ь* id. (Czech *pýř*, Pol *perz*). An early loanword with Slav **-y-* rendered as Alb *-u-* (JOKL *AArbSt* I/1-2 45-46). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 298; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 291; KRISTOFORIDHI 286 (from NGk πυρός); SVANE 57; OREL *ZfSlaw* XXX/6 913, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362.

pus m, pl. *puse, pusa* 'well, fountain'. Borrowed from Lat *puteus* 'well' (MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic), *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *pozzo* id.); ; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; SVANE 144; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 139.

push m 'fluff, down, nap, pile'. Continues PAlb **puša* < **puksja* etymologically connected with Skt *púccha-* 'tail' < **pukskо-*, Slav **puxъ* 'down' < **poukso-* (ÇABEJ II 53, IV 219) going back to IE **puk-* ~ **peuk-* 'covered with hair, bushy'. ◊ CAMARDA I 345; MEYER *Wb.* 359 (borrowing from Turk *puş* 'to cover; cover'); POKORNY I 849; MAYRHOFER II 298-299; VASMER III 414; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 71-72; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (on the "ruki" rule in *push*).

pushkë f, pl. *pushkë* 'rifle, gun'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. Bulg *puška*, SCr *puška* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 204.

pushoj aor. *pushova* 'to have a rest'. Borrowed from Lat *pausāre* 'to halt, to rest (in the grave)' (PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 660) developping the meaning of 'resting' in Romance, cf. Ital *posare*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *posare*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (from Latin or from Ital *posare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; HELBIG *JbIRS* X 127 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143.

pushtet m, pl. *pushtete* 'power'. Borrowed from Lat *potestātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 359, *Alb. St.* IV 10). The verb *pushtoj* continues Rom **potestāre*. The dialectal form of the verb *poshtroj* ~ *pështroj* results from an erroneous etymological link with *shtroj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk στρώννυμι 'to spread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (*pushtoj* < **pushtet-oj*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 124 (*pushtoj* < Rom **expeditāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 53-55 (repeats the essence of CAMARDA's etymology: *pushtoj* < **për-shtroj*, to *shtroj*); HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 44.

putë f, pl. *puta* 'sole'. From PAlb **puktā* related to Gk πύκα adv. 'thickly, strongly', πυκνός 'thick, strong', cf. *puq*.

putërë ~ putanë f 'whore'. Borrowed from Rom **puttana* id., cf. Ital *puttana*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Ital *puttana*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (follows MIKLOSICH).

puth aor. *putha* 'to kiss'. From PAlb **putsa*, an onomatopoeia similar to many other words for 'kiss' reflecting *bu-* ~ *pu-* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to Gk πυκάζω 'to cover closely, to protect' so that *puth* 'to kiss' < 'to embrace' similar to Fr *embracer*), *Alb. St.* III 13,31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 55 (follows TAGLIAVINI); HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 336-337.

pyes aor. *pyeta* 'to ask'. From the umlauticized PAlb **pūta* related to Lat *putō* 'to reckon, to ponder', Slav **pytati* 'to ask' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 217). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *prach-* 'to ask'); CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk πυνθάνομαι 'to learn'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom **petiō* based on Lat *petō* 'to demand, to seek'), *Alb. St.* IV 50; DIEFENBACH I 43 (to Lat *poscō* 'to ask, to beg'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I

1044; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX I 211 (from **për-ves*, related to Skt *pravedayati*); WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (follows MEYER); XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VASMER III 421; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256; ÇABEJ *St.* II 55-57 (from **për-v-es* related to Gk αἰτέω 'to ask, to demand').

pylkë f, pl. *pylka* 'wedge; end of the axe-handle'. Another, more frequent, variant is *pykë*. Borrowed from Lat *pavīcula* 'hammer'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom **pīlicum*, cf. Lat *pīlum* 'pestle').

pyll m, pl. *pyje* 'forest'. Borrowed from Balk Rom **padūlem* (cf. Rum *pădure* id.) < Lat *palūdem* 'swamp' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk ὕλη 'forest'?!); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 108; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1046, 1052; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 92; BARIÇ *Hymje* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HULD 105; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 144-146.

Q

qafë f, pl. *qafa* 'neck'. Borrowed from Turk *kafa* 'occiput, head' (HULD 106). The substitution Alb *q-* < Turk *k-* is possible (BORETZKY *Türk. Einfluß* I 77). Rum *ceafă* 'neck, occiput' is an Albanian loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 219). ◊ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk αὐχήν id.); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (comparison with Lat *collum* 'neck' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (against MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (to OHG *warb* 'turn, rotation'), *AArbSt* I 146 (from **ko-oskʷ(h)u-*, cf. Gk ὀσφύς 'hip'); JOKL *LKUBA* 328 (against BARIĆ *ARSt*); TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32 (borrowed from Lat *capsa* 'box, chest'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 92, *Stratificazione* 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; HAMP *Festschr. Schmidt* 39 (from **kepHā*, to Lat *caput* 'head').

qaj ~ qanj aor. *qava* 'to cry, to weep'. Tosk and Greco-Albanian forms preserve the initial *kl-*. Goes back to PAlb **klaunja* cognate with Gk κλαι̯ω < **κλάϝι̯ω* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; FRISK I 865; CHANTRAINE 538; POKORNY I 599; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 47; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 110,*Verbum* 104; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ

St. VII 193; HULD 106; JANSON *Unt.* 178; DEMIRAJ *AE* 337-388 (to dial. *klith* 'to cry').

qapë f, pl. *qapa* 'hobble'. From PAlb **klapā*, a nominal derivative of *qep* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432).

qark m, pl. *qarqe* 'circle'. Despite an irregular treatment of the vowel, this is a loanword from Lat *circus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* II 26-27). A synonym of *qark* - *qarkull* continues Latin diminutive *circulus*. ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (related to Gk κίρκος 'circle, ring'); JOKL *Studien* 42 (supports MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 57 (agrees with CAMARDA); LANDI *Lat.* 85, 98, 139.

qartë adj. 'clear'. Borrowed from Lat *clārus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ CAMARDA I 56; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1040 (from Ital *chiaro* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93 (from Italian).

qartoj aor. *qartova* 'to quarrel'. From Lat *certāre* 'to compete' (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116.

qarr m, pl. *qarra* 'Turkey oak, bitter oak'. Borrowed from Lat *cerrus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 138-140.

qas aor. *qasa* 'to approach'. From PAlb **ketja* etymologically connected with the isolated Lith *kečiù, kẽsti* 'to stretch'. ◊ CAMARDA I 70; MEYER *Wb.* 220-221 (to Slav **kasati sę* 'to touch'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 13; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 246 (contamination of **ked-* and **plet-* in Lithuanian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 231.

qazhnë f, pl. *qazhna* 'rough white woolen cloth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **tęžьna*, fem. 'heavy'.

qeft m, pl. *qefte* 'drinking glass'. Borrowed from Lat *captus* *'container', participle of *capiō* 'to contain, to hold'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 187 (from Gk κεῦθος 'hiding place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 58-59 (to *sqep*).

qefull m, pl. *qefuj* 'mullet'. From MGk κέφαλος id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

qejzë f, pl. *qejza* 'cuticle'. Another variant is Geg *qenëz*. Based on PAlb **kenja* 'new skin' < 'new' etymologically related to Skt *kanína-* 'young', Gk καινός 'new' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 754; POKORNY I 563-564.

qek aor. *qeka* 'to mention, to quote'. Continues PAlb **kaka* or **keka* related to Lith *kankù, kàkti* 'to seize, to reach', Latv *kacēt* 'to grasp', Slav **čekati* 'to expect, to wait'. ◊ FRAENKEL 206; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 36.

qel m, pl. *qela* 'scab'. Borrowed from Lat *callum* 'corn, hard skin'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

qelb m, pl. *qelbra* ~ *qelbna* 'pus'. From PAlb **kalba* related to *kalb* (MEYER *Wb.* 221-222). Note a denominative verb *qelb* 'to fill with stench, to make rot'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (from IE **gu̯ol-bh-* related to Arm *keł* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk κέλεφος); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224-225.

qelë f, pl. *qela* 'priest's house'. Borrowed from Lat *cella* 'room' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13) ◊ HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 158.

qelq m, pl. *qelqe* 'glass'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem* 'bowl, cup' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, shell, pod'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 111-112.

qell aor. *qella* 'to halt, to hold up, to carry'. From PAlb **kela* etymologically connected with Skt *kaláyati* 'to impel', Gk κέλομαι 'to drive on' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329-330; JOKL *IF* XXX 198, *LKUBA* 266 n. 1 (connects *qell* with *sjell* despite the phonetically impossible *q-* < **kʷ-* before a palatal); FRISK I 817-818; MAYRHOFER I 179; POKORNY I 549; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *kélti* 'to raise'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 81; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 126 (follows JOKL), *St.* VII 230; HULD 106-107 (recon-

structs *k^uoleịō*); JANSON *Unt.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 338-339 (to IE **keịə-* 'to move').

qem m 'incense'. Singularized plural of **kam* borrowed from Gk καπνός 'smoke'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to Slav **čadъ* 'smoke'); JOKL *Studien* 34 (related to καπνός < IE **kuep-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

qemër f, pl. *qemra* 'snake's coil'. Borrowed from Lat *camera* 'arch, vault'. ◊ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk καμάρα id.).

qen m, pl. *qen, qenër* 'dog'. A relatively late loanword from Lat *canem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 222) or, rather, from its Balkan continuations (Rum *caine*), reflecting no traces of rhotacism in Tosk. ◊ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 301 (from Indo-European); STIER *KZ* XI 144-145 (reflex of IE **k̂uōn*); CAMARDA I 41 (treats *qen* as a cognate of Lat *canis* and other reflexes of IE **k̂uōn*); JOKL *Erf. Idg.* 128; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82 (of Indo-European origin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HULD 107; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 98, 144.

qendër f, pl. *qendra* 'center, middle'. Borowed from Lat *centrum* id. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (on Old Alb *qendër* 'punch'); LANDI *Lat.* 54, 81.

qengj m, pl. *qengja, shqerra, shtjerra* 'lamb'. Borrowed from the metathesized Rom **ācing(u)lus* < Lat *āgniculus* id. (SKOK *AArbSt* II 344-346). The plural form continues PAlb **sterai* related to Skt *starī́* 'barren cow', Arm *sterǰ* 'sterile, barren', Gk στεῖρα id. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 178 (from Rom **āgnunc(u)lus*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 20 (follows BUGGE); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 344-348 (from Lat *āgniculus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96; AČAREAN *HAB* IV 272; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefix *q-* and further comparison with *enjë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (links *qengj* < **ken-k-* to Gk καινός 'new', Skt *kanī́na-* id.); POKORNY I 1031; MAYRHOFER III 512-513; FRISK II 783; HULD 115.

qengjë f, pl. *qengja* 'beehive'. Another variant is *qëngjë*. Continues PAlb **kenagā* related to Gmc **xunagan* 'honey': ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, OHG *honag*. An Albano-Germanic isogloss reflecting IE **k̥nəko-*. ◊ POKORNY I 564 (Germanic from IE **k̥nəko-* 'golden, yellow'); ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 141.

qep m, pl. *qepa* 'beak, hammer'. Borrowed from Slav **klepъ* 'sharp point' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). Cf. also *qepallë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222-223 (to IE **skep-* 'to split').

qep aor. *qepa* 'to sew (together), to seize'. From PAlb **klepa* related to Slav **klepati* 'to beat, to knock', cf. in particular Russ *klepat'* 'to join together by riveting' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432-433). ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk κάπτω 'to swallow, to gulp down'); MEYER *Wb.* 223 (from IE **skep-* 'to split'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (to Lat *capiō* 'to take'); JOKL *LKUBA* 308 (follows PEDERSEN); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 9 (explains **klepati* as onomatopoeia).

qepallë f, pl. *qepalla* 'eyelid'. Borrowed from Slav **klepadlo* 'hammer, beetle, clapper' (MEYER *Wb.* 223), cf. in particular Maced *klepalo* 'eyelid' (JOKL *LKUBA* 304). ◊ CAMARDA I 90 (from IE **skep-* 'to cover'); SVANE 179, 274.

qepë f, pl. *qepë* 'onion'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpa* id. (CAMARDA I 78; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 81.

qepër f, pl. *qepra* 'beam, roof-beam'. Borrowed from Lat *capra* 'she-goat, *roof-beam', cf. Ital *capro* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ CAMARDA I 90 (to Gk σκέπη 'covering, shelter'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß.* ² I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 268 (from Rom **capreus*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115.

qepule f, pl. *qepule* 'bulb (of a plant)'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpulla* 'onion', cf. *qepë*. Derived from *qepule* is *qepujkë* id.

qer m, pl. *qere* 'round kneading-board'. A Tosk variant of *që* ~ *qê*.

qere f 'tetter, scab (on the head)'. Borrowed from Lat *cariēs* 'rot' (MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 133-134.

qerm m, pl. *qerme* 'higher part of the campfire; raised baulk'. Borrowed, with an irregular *q-* < **tj-*, from Gk τέρμα 'end, boundary,

limit'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 60 (related to Gk τέρμα and Lat *termen* 'boundary'); HAARMANN 153 (from Latin).

qeroj aor. *qerova* 'to ask, to demand'. Other variants are *qëroj* and *qiroj*. Borrowed from Lat *quaerere* id. (HAARMANN 144).

qerpë f 'tuft of hair'. Another variant is *çerpë*. A metathesis of *perçe*, the latter being of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* II 60).

qersë f, pl. 'fallow land'. From PAlb **kerktja* related to Slav **kъrčь* 'stubbed plot', Latv *kùrkt* 'to become empty (of a turnip)', OPrus *Curche* 'the last sheaf in which a deity hides'. ◊ VASMER II 340; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN II 322-323; POKORNY I 568.

qershi f, pl. *qershi* 'cherry'. Based on **qersh* borrowed from Gk κέρασος id. (CAMARDA I 56; THUMB *IF* XXVI 29). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13 (from Lat *cerasus*); MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom **cerasium*, cf. *cerasus* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1051; JOKL *LKUBA* 208 (agrees with THUMB); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31, IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

qerthull m, pl. *qerthuj* 'winch, windlass, circle'. From PAlb **kerts-ula* continuing IE **ker-k̂-* and related to Gk κίρκος 'ring' and Lat *circus* 'circle', *circulus* (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◊ CAMARDA I 162 (to *qark*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 42 (from IE **kert-* 'to turn, to bind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118 (suffix *-ull*); FRISK II 19-20; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; WALDE-HOFMANN I 220-221; POKORNY I 935; DEMIRAJ *AE* 339-340 (borrowed from Lat *circellus* 'little ring').

qerr m, pl. *qerre* 'wagon, cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251.

qesas aor. *qesata* 'to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav **tesati* 'to cut, to hew', with *q-* rendering prepalatal Slavic *t-*, cf. South Slavic

continuants: Bulg *tesam*, SCr *tesati*. Derived from *qesas* is *qeser* 'kind of broad axe'.

qesh aor. *qesha* 'to laugh'. From PAlb **kaksja* related to similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kákhati* id., Gk καχάζω id. and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42-reconstructs **kakhi̯ō*). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χάσκω, χαίνω 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER *Wb.* 224 (to Goth *hlahjan* 'to laugh'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95 (questions BARIĆ's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POKORNY I 634; FRISK I 804; MAYRHOFER I 136; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 221.

(T) qeshër f, pl. *qeshra* 'roof plank'. Borrowed from Rom **casina* derived from Lat *casa* 'house, hut'.

qetë f, pl. *qeta* '(jagged) rock'. From PAlb **klaitā* directly connected with W *clud* 'heap' and Lith *šlaĩtas* 'slope'. Cf. also, with a different vocalism, Gk κλειτύς 'slope', OHG *hlīta* id. and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433). ◊ FRAENKEL 997; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 79-80, *St.* II 61 (singularized plural of *qye*); POKORNY I 601-602; FRISK I 873-875.

qetë adj. 'quiet'. Borrowed from Lat *quiētus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 224). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 145.

qeth aor. *qetha* 'to cut (hair)'. Goes back to PAlb **kaitsa* related to Skt *kéśa-* 'hair (of the head)', Lith *káisti* 'to scrape, to shave'. ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk κείρω 'to cut'); MEYER *Wb.* 221 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 6, 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330; JOKL *LKUBA* 13, 228 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 45; FRAENKEL 204-205; MAYRHOFER I 267; POKORNY I 520; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 144-145, *St.* VII 229; HULD 147; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 340-341 (to *qij*).

qezë f, pl. *qezë* 'breadboard, baking plate'. Derived from *që*.

që ~ qê m 'round kneading board'. Borrowed from Gk κάννα 'wickerwork, basket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 224-225 (from **klen-*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 34-35 (from Rom **clāvanus* derived from Lat *clāva* 'stick, staff' - but Cham *që* excludes the possibility of the initial **kl-*!); ÇABEJ

St. II 58 (to Bret *kant* 'circle' and its Celtic cognates).

që ~ qi pron. 'which, that', conj. 'that'. Borrowed from Lat *quī* 'which' and *quia* 'because, that', *quod* 'that' (MEYER *Wb.* 217-218). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1051; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* XIX I 206-208 (from IE *$k^{u}id$*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (from Lat *quod*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 61-62 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

qëlloj aor. *qëllova* 'to beat, to hit; to gain, to obtain'. Restored from **për-qëlloj* borrowed from Lat *percellāre* 'to beat'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom **cellāre*); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LII 66 (to *qell*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 62-63 (follows LAMBERTZ).

qëmtoj aor. *qëmtova* 'to gather'. Borrowed from Rom **coēmptāre*, cf. Lat *coēmere* 'to buy up'.

qëndroj aor. *qëndrova* 'to stop, to halt'. Borrowed from Rom **centrāre*, derivative of Lat *centrum* (MEYER *Wb.* 225) used to denote an immobile object, in particular, the immobile leg of a compass. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κέντρον 'goad, point').

qëroj aor. *qërova* 'to clean, to sort out'. Borrowed from Lat *carāre* 'to card (linen)'. Hence, 'to sort out'. ◊ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κορέω 'to sweep, to clean'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (from Lat *curāre*).

qërtoj aor. *qërtova* 'to blame, to reproach'. Another variant is *qortoj*. See *qartoj*.

qiell m/n, pl. *qiej* 'sky, heaven'. Borrowed from Lat *caelum* id. (RASK apud HULD 107; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 225-226). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 71-72, 137.

qift m, pl. *qiftë* 'kite, kind of vulture'. Borrowed from Lat *accipiter* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 226). For the loss of the last syllable cf. *mbret* (JOKL *LKUBA* 306). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1055; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 110.

qij aor. *qiva* 'to copulate, to have sexual intercourse'. Borrowed from

Lat *coīre* id. through the intermediate stage **këinj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *inclīnāre* 'to cause to lean'), *Alb. St.* V 90 (to Lat *scindō* 'to cut, to tear'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1054 (same as MEYER); JOKL *Zb. Belić* 49; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (to IE **ken-* 'to rub').

qikël f, pl. *qikla* 'point, spike, peak'. Singularized plural of **qekël*. From PAlb **kekulā* related to Lith *kẽkulas* 'lump, cluster', Latv *cękuls* 'fore-lock, cluster'. ◊ FRAENKEL 234-235; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

qime f, pl. *qime* 'hair'. Another form is *qym*. Borrowed from Lat *cyma* 'young shoots (of cabbage)' (MEYER *Wb.* 226-227). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16 (from Lat *coma*); CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk κῦμα 'wave, billow'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 100.

qind num. 'hundred'. Borrowed from Lat *centum* id. (CAMARDA I 37; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13; MEYER *Wb.* 227). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (related to Skt *śatá-* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 98; HAMP *Numerals* 919.

qingël f, pl. *qingla* 'girth, belly-band (of pack animals)'. Another variant is *qengël*. Borrowed from Lat *cingula* id. (CAMARDA I 165; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 227) ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 111, 117.

qipër f 'copper, bronze'. Borrowed from Lat *(aes) cyprium* 'copper' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (to Lat *cuprum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 121.

qipi f, pl. *qipi* 'stack'. Secondary derivative of PAlb **kūpa* related to OPers *kaufa-* 'mountain', OHG *hufo* 'heap', OE *héap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *káupas* id., Slav **kupa* id. (JOKL *Studien* 43). ◊ FRAENKEL 231; ONIONS 432; VASMER II 418-419; POKORNY I 591-592; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341 (collective of *kup* id.).

qiqër f, pl. *qiqra* 'chick-pea'. Borrowed from Lat *cicerem* id. (CAMARDA

I 68; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 226). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 98, 112.

qiqiriq m, pl. *qiqiriq* 'ground-nut'. Derived from *qiqër*.

qiri m, pl. *qirinj* 'candle'. Borrowed from MGk κηρί id. (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96.

qis aor. *qita* 'to pull out'. From PAlb **kitja* derived from an adjective in **-to-*, **kita*, and further related to Gk κίω 'to go, to move', Lat *cieō* trans. 'to move' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 228 (from Lat *excitāre* 'to call out, to bring out'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 668 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96-97; POKORNY I 538-539; FRISK I 862-863; WALDE-HOFMANN I 213-214.

qitër f, pl. *qitra* 'citron'. Borrowed from Lat *citrum, citrus* 'citrus (tree)'.

qoj aor. *qova* 'to wake up'. Borrowed from Lat *ciēre* 'to move, to agitate'. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjumë*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciēre*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (related to Lat *cieō*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

qok m, pl. *qokë* 'kind of owl'. Another variant is *qukë*. An onomatopoeia.

qok aor. *qoka* 'to seize, to touch, to peck'. Another variant is *quk*. An expressive verb. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 229 (from Slav **kl'ukati* 'to peck').

qokë f, pl. *qoka* 'broody hen'. Derived from *qok* 'to seize'.

qore f, pl. *qore* 'water-hole in the mountains'. Singularized plural of *quar* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 63).

qos aor. *qosa* 'to end, to finish'. From PAlb **klā(u)tja* derived from the Indo-European word for 'key': Gk κληΐς, Lat *clāvis*. Cf. Lith *kliaudýti* 'to stop, to prevent' going back to the same source. ◊ CAMARDA I 39

(to Gk κόσμος 'order'); FRISK I 867-868; FRAENKEL 274; WALDE-HOFMANN I 229-231; POKORNY I 604-605; ÇABEJ *St.* II 63-64 ("expressive shortening" of *qullos*).

quaj ~ quej aor. *quajta ~ quejta* 'to call, to give a name'. From PAlb **klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE **k̂leu̯os* 'glory, word': Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav **slovo* (CAMARDA I 52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (to *gjuhë*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 291, *Studien* 60; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71 (to *gjuhë*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 36; PISANI *REIE* IV 7; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVI 383, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75; FRISK I 869-870; VASMER III 673; MAYRHOFER III 389-390; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 231; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342.

quar ~ quer m, pl. *qore* 'prison, cellar, shelter'. Goes back to PAlb **klā(u)ra* further related to *qos*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 95-97 (to Slav **klětь* 'barn' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to OIr *claidim* 'to empty', Gk κλαδαρός 'fragile').

qudohem refl. 'to persist, to be obstinate'. Borrowed from Ital *chiudere* 'to shut' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to *çudis*).

qull m 'porridge'. The original meaning seems to be 'liquid food' as indicated by the denominative *qull* 'to make wet'. From PAlb **klusla* related to Gk κλύζω 'to rinse', Lat *cluō* 'to clean' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 228, *Alb. St.* III 4 with the reconstruction **kludlo-*). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χυλός 'juice'); FRISK I 876-877; WALDE-HOFMANN I 239-240; POKORNY I 607; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk χυλός); ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (follows MIHĂESCU).

qumësht m 'milk, whey'. In dialects (e.g. in Cham), the initial *kl-* is preserved. Borrowed from Latin. Continues Rom **clomostrum* < Lat *colostrum* 'colostrum, beestings' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 273-276 (to Gk κλύζω 'to pour, to wash', Latv *slàukt* 'to milk'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (from **k-lum-*); HAMP *SCelt* XIV/XV 110; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231.

quploj aor. *quplova* 'to blunt'. Borrowed from Rom **globellāre* derived from **globellus* 'knot'.

qurra pl. 'snot, snivel'. Another variant is *qyrra*. From PAlb **klura* etymologically identical with Lith *šliùrti* 'to become dirty' and going back to an Indo-European localism **k̂leu-r-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Turk *kir* 'dirt, filth'), *Alb. St.* IV 87, V 91; FRAENKEL 1007; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (to Lith *krèkti* 'to coagulate, to clot').

qye m, pl. *qej* 'summit, peak'. From PAlb **klaina* continuing IE **k̂loino-* 'slanting, skew' > Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* 'hill' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 61). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 260-261; POKORNY I 600-602; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433.

qyl m 'slime, mud'. From PAlb **kūla* identical with Lith *kū́la* 'outgrowth', Slav **kyla* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 306; POKORNY I 536-537; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 262-263.

qyr aor. *qyra* 'to look'. Another variant is *këqyr* with a prefix *kë-*. Continues PAlb **kewira* related to Gk κοέω 'to note', Lat *caveō* 'to be aware', Goth *hausjan* 'to hear'. ◊ FRISK I 890-891; WALDE-HOFMANN I 186-187; POKORNY I 587.

qyrë f, pl. *qyra* 'rear side (of a knife)'. Together with *qytë* 'blunt side (of an axe)' this form represents a derivative of an unattested verb **qyej* 'to blunt' < PAlb **kēnja*, further connected with IE **ken-* 'to scratch, to cut'. For the semantic development cf. Lat *obtūsus* 'blunt' ~ *obtundere* 'to beat'. ◊ POKORNY I 559-553; BUCK 1070-1071.

qysh adv. 'how'. Locative of *që*.

qytet m, pl. *qytete* 'city'. Borrowed from Lat *cīvitāte(m)* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65-66 (on the umlaut in the suffix *-et*); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438 (on the evolution of PAlb **-īwi-* and Lat *-īvi-*); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 85, 146.

R

rabeckë f, pl. *rabecka* 'sparrow'. Based on **rabec* borrowed from Slav **vorbьcь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrabec*, SCr *vrabac* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◊ SVANE 145.

rabush m 'hard outer scale of onion'. Another variant is *rapush* 'onion-top, flower of onion'. Borrowed from Bulg *rabuš* 'tally, tag'. ◊ MANN *HAED* 421 (to *lëpush*).

radis aor. *radita* 'to prepare, to make ready (of food)'. Borrowed from Slav **raditi* 'to settle, to arrange, to make ready', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rad'a*, SCr *raditi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◊ SVANE 223, 240.

radhë f, pl. *radhë* 'row'. From dialectal NGk ῥάδα id., cf. NGk ἀράδα (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◊ CAMARDA II 334; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

ragal m 'kennel'. A Tosk hapax registered by JOKL in a phrase *ragāl'a e šenit* 'dog's kennel'. Early borrowing from Slav **rogalь* 'corner', cf. SCr *ragalj* (GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 30-32); note Alb *-a-* < Slav **-o-*. Semantically, cf. Slav **kǫtja* 'house, hut' derived from **kǫtъ* 'corner' (TRUBAČEV *ZfPhon.* XXXIV 477). ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15 (connects *ragal* with Rum *argea* 'shed' and ancient Maced ἄργελλα 'Macedonian baths'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (fantastic comparison with Lat *nebula*); HASDEU *EMR* II 309 -310 (Rum *argea* < ancient Balk **argellā)*; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 149; CIORANESCU I 36 (Rum *argea* < Turk Chag *arγa* 'box'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* 271-272; ÇABEJ *St.* II 94; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342-343.

rangë f 'home work'. From PAlb **wrankā* with an original meaning * 'gathering', etymologically identical with Lith *rankà* 'hand', *parankà* 'gathering', *renkù, riñkti* 'to gather', Slav **rǫka* 'hand'. ◊ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515; POKORNY I 1155; ÇABEJ *St.* II 67-68 (connected with Ital *rangola* 'preoccupation' or Lat *rancor* 'rot').

rapë f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Lat *rāpa* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 232.

(G) raqitë f 'broom (bush)'. Borrowed from Slav **orkyta* id., cf. Bulg *rakita*, SCr *rakita* (MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; SVANE 127.

rasë f, pl. *rasë* 'case'. A phonetic variant of *rast*, a Turkish loanword, influenced by *ra*, aoristic stem of *bie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68).

rasë f, pl. *rasa* 'cassock'. From MGk ῥάσον id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 69), probably, via Bulg *rasa*, SCr *rasa*.

rashë f 'kind of woman's shirt'. Borrowed from MLat *rāsum* 'kind of cloth' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68-69).

rashqel m, pl. *rashqela* 'rake'. Another variant is *rrashqel*. Borrowed from Lat *rāstellus* 'little hoe'.

ratë adj. 'horizontal'. Derived from *rashë*, aor. of *bie*.

ravë f, pl. *rava* 'path (in mountains or snow)'. An early borrowing from Slav **rovъ* 'ditch'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to Slav **noga* 'foot'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 54 (etymologically related to Slav **rovъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 69-70 (metathesis of *varrë*).

ravgë f 'path (in mountains)'. An early borrowing from Slav **rovъkъ* 'ditch', cf. *ravë*. Derived from *ravgë* is *ravgoj* 'to wander, to walk to and fro' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 70).

re indecl. 'attention'. Used in *vë re* 'to pay attention'. Identical with *rojë* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71-72). The verb *vërej* 'to pay attention' is a univerbation of *vë re*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Lat *gravis* 'heavy'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 210 (to Lith *regëti* 'to see'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76, *LKUBA* 207 (follows WIEDEMANN and points to *ruaj* as the closest connection).

re ~ rê f, pl. *re ~ rê* 'cloud'. Singularized plural of **ri*. Goes back to PAlb **rina* etymologically identical with Illyr ῥίνος· ἀχλύς (JOKL *AfslPh* XXXI 238, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86). Further connections are Skt *riṇā́ti* 'to pour, to let flow', Gk Lesb ὀρίνω 'to move'. ◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk ἀήρ 'air'); MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Gmc **raukiz* 'smoke' > OHG *rouh*, ON *reykr* and the like), *Alb.St.* III 37, 90; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to IE **nebh-* 'cloud'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 244 (to Skt *rája-*); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 (to Gk ἔρεβος); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 99, 123; POKORNY I 330; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52 (to *përrua*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (repeats JOKL's etymology but also compares *re* with *err*); HULD 107-108 (links *re* to Lat *rōs* 'dew', Lith *rasà* id.); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 344 (agrees with RIBEZZO).

re f, pl. *reja* 'young woman, daughter-in-law, bride'. Substantivized feminine of *ri*.

red m 'row'. Borrowed from Slav **rędъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *red*, SCr *red* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SVANE 224, 241.

regëzinj aor. *regëziva* 'to tear (clothes)'. An Old Albanian form (BUZUKU) based on the noun *rragozinë* 'rag' (LA PIANA *Studi. Varia* 41). The latter is an early Slavic loanword continuing Slav **rogožina* 'bast mat'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (metathesis of **gërzinj* derived from *gris*).

regj m, pl. *regjër* 'king'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Lat *rēg(u)lus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; RESULLI *Studi albanesi* III-IV 211-213 (from Old Ital *rege* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (agrees with MEYER *Gr. Gr.*); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 96, 145.

regj aor. *regja* 'to tan'. From PAlb **raugja*, a denominative verb etymologically related to ON *reykr* 'smoke', OHG *rouh* id. The original meaning of the word was 'to smoke'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from SCr *redjati* 'to put in a row, to set in order'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 299 (agrees with MEYER); POKORNY I 872; MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (to Gk ῥέζω); ÇABEJ *St.* II 73-74 (from IE **u̯reĝ-* related to Gk ἔργον 'work'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 345 (to Lith *rū́gti* 'to become sour').

rekë f 'brook, rivulet'. Another morphonological variant is *rëké* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Borrowed from Slav **rěka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 323; SVANE 172.

rekës m 'giant'. Verbal adjective based on *rrek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Slovene *orjak* id.).

rem m 'copper'. Singularized plural of the attested form *ram* id. borrowed from Ital *rame* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 29 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234 (the same); JOKL

Arch. Rom. XXIV 35 (from Lat *aerāmen* 'bronze or copper shavings'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 74-75 (agrees with JOKL).

remë f, pl. *rema* 'watermill ditch'. Borrowed from NGk ῥέμα < Gk ῥεῦμα 'ditch, rivulet' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◊ MANN *HAED* 425, 434 (identical with *rremb*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 75 (agrees with MANN).

rend m, pl. *rende* 'row'. An early loanword from Slav **rędъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21), cf. *red.* The verb *rendis* 'to put in order' reflects Slav **ręditi* id. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 223, 241.

rend aor. *renda* 'to run, to hurry'. Continues PAlb **renta*, a derivative of **rena* etymologically related to Goth *rinnan* 'to run', ON *rinna* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from MGk ῥένται 'horse-race'); JOKL *LKUBA* 280-281 (derivative in **-t-* of **ren-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Skt *raṁhati*); FEIST *Goth.* 398-399; POKORNY I 328 (to IE **er-* 'to rise').

rendoj aor. *rendova* 'to grate'. Secondary formation based on *rend* 'row'.

repë f 'desert'. Continues an umlauticized PAlb **raupā* etymologically related to ON *rauf* 'pit', Lith *raupiù, raũpti* 'to hollow out' further related to IE **reup-* 'to tear, to break'. ◊ FRAENKEL 707-708; POKORNY I 870.

repë f, pl. *repa* 'turnip'. Borrowed from Slav **rěpa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *r'apa*, dial. *repa*, SCr *repa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *rāpum*); SVANE 108.

repuq adj. 'torn'. A suffixal derivative of *rjep.*

resë f, pl. *resa* 'envy'. Historically identical with *resë* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 297), probably, as a calque of Lat *invidia* id. (JOKL *Studien* 76). ◊ BORGEAUD *RRL* 6 (1973) 529-531; ÇABEJ *St.* II 75, IV 85.

resë f 'structure made of reed and supporting a straw roof'. Identi-

cal with *resë* 'guard, envy'. The reed trellis was used to protect the roof from falling. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 75-76 (borrowed from Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

resh aor. *resha* 'to fall (of snow or rain)'. Secondarily restored from the aorist *rashë* of *bie* 'to fall' (JOKL *IF* XLIII 52-55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Skt *várṣati* 'to rain' and the like), *Alb. Studien* III 86; JOKL *Studien* 73-74 (to Lith *rasà* 'dew', Slav **rosa* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 79 (to IE **sneigʷh-* 'snow'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 76 (agrees with MEYER); HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 191-192; HULD 108; DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 345-346.

reshis aor. *reshita* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Slav **rěšiti* 'to solve' also meaning 'to extinguish' as in SCr *rěšiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 192; SVANE 241.

reshpe f, pl. *reshpe* 'avalanche, rocky precipice'. Another variant is *reshme*. In the anlaut, *rr-* is also possible. Derived from *resh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *raspa* 'scraper, rasp').

resht aor. *reshta* 'to keep away; to stop'. Anlaut in *rr-* is also possible. A secondary formation based on *rreshtoj* 'to arrest' borrowed from Rom **arrestāre* 'to stop, to arrest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *resistō* 'to stop'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *restare* 'to stop').

rezhdë f, pl. *rezhda* 'ring at goat's throat'. Another variant is *rrezhdë*. Etymologically identical with *rezhgë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rrezhdë* ~ *rreshtë* 'bone'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 76-77 (from SCr *resa* 'ring at goat's throat', Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

rezhgë f, pl. *rezhga* 'honeycomb cell'. Borrowed from Slav **rěžьka*, unattested derivative of **rědъkъ* 'rare'.

rëfyrë f, pl. *rëfyra* 'knot, outgrowth (on a tree)'. Prefixal derivative of *fâj*.

rëkosh m 'fat cheese'. A prefixal derivative of **kosh* borrowed from Lat *cāseus* 'cheese'.

rëmër ~ rëmen m, pl. *rëmënj* 'Valachian; shepherd'. Attested in Greece only. Borrowed from Lat *Romānus* 'Roman' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; ÇABEJ *St.* II 77 (from Arum *arumîn* 'Arumunian'); PUŞCARIU *Etudes* 60 (semantic development of *rëmër* and *vllah*).

rëmoj aor. *rëmova* 'to dig'. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāri* 'to dig, to hoe' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251.

rëndë ~ randë adj. 'heavy'. Continues PAlb **raunta* derived from the verbal stem of aor. *rashë* < **rauša*, see *bie* 'to fall' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71). From *rëndë* the verb *rëndoj* 'to be heavy' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Skt *rámate* '(he) is quiet'); MEYER *Wb.* 365 (borrowing from Lat *grandis* 'large'), *Alb.St.* III 8, IV 25; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 183 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 74 (participle of a verb reflected in Lith *ríeju, ríeti* 'to stack, to bend'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 86-87 (to Lith *sveriù* 'to weigh' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234-235; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from **gʷr̥dho-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (arguments in favor of BARIĆ's etymology); HULD 108 (supports JOKL 's etymology).

rëngë f, pl. *rënga* 'chime, tinkling (of bells)'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc **xrengaz* 'ring', cf. **xrengjan* 'to ring, to tinkle': ON *hringja*, OE *hringan* and the like. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 174-175; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 132.

rënkoj aor. *rënkova* 'to moan, to groan'. Another variant is *rëkoj*. Tosk equivalents of *ankoj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ῥέγκω 'to snore').

rënxoj aor. *rënxova* 'to cause hernia'. Borrowed from Rom **hernizāre* based on *hernia* 'rupture, hernia'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to Ital *ernia* 'hernia'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 78 (phonetic variant of *rrëzoj*).

rëpjetë adj. 'steep'. A variant of *përpjetë* in which *rë-* seems to represent a phonetic transformation of *për-* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 95-96, *LKUBA* 244 n. 1). The same is true of *rëposh* = *përposh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

rërë ~ ranë f 'sand'. Borrowed from Lat *arēna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 366, *Alb. St.* IV 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 281; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234; MANN *Language*

XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 78-79; JANSON *Unt.* 57-58; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 80, 114.

rëshirë ~ rëshinë f 'resin; grape juice'. Borrowed from Lat *rēsīna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

rëzëgojë f 'arsenic'. Another variant is *rëzigojë*. Results from the folk etymology (*rrëzë* and *gojë*) of the original **ërsingë* borrowed from NGk ἀρσενικόν id. (MEYER *Wb.* 366).

ri adj. 'new, young, recent'. From PAlb **rija*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **er-* ~ **or-* 'to rise, to make move', cf. ON *ǫrr* 'quick', OS *aru* id. of a similar origin (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-434). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (from **neu̯os* 'new'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (comparison with *rris*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt* 79 (from **neu̯i̯os*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237 (rejects BUGGE's etymology); POKORNY I 326-332; HULD 108-109.

rig m, pl. *riga* 'king (in cards)'. Borrowed from MGk ῥήγας 'king'.

rigash m, pl. *rigashë* 'turkey'. Derivative of *rig*.

rigë f 'drizzle'. The verb is *rigoj* 'to drizzle'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *rigāre* 'to sprinkle, to irrigate'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55 (from Ital *riga*, *rigare* 'to make wet'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (follows MIKLOSICH).

rij ~ rî 'to make humid'. Continues PAlb **rinja* related to Skt *riṇā́ti* 'to stream, to release', Slav **rinǫti* 'to flow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 74-75). Note a deverbative (G) *rîtë* 'wet'. ◊ VASMER III 484; MAYRHOFER III 59-60; POKORNY I 330-331; ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *reineo* 'stallion'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 79-80 (to Gk ῥαίνω 'to sprinkle', Slav **roniti* 'to drop, to pour'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346.

rikë f, pl. *rika* 'duckling, duck'. Cf. also *rikëz* 'piglet'. Based on an onomatopoeic verb PAlb **rika* denoting quacking or similar sounds and connected with Lith *rìkti* 'to cry' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (*rikëz* explained as an onomatopoeia), 369 (to SCr *rička* 'kind of duck'); FRAENKEL 717, 734; ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (onomatopoeia).

rimtë adj. 'dark blue, blue, azure, green'. A parallel and more archaic form is *rrimtë*. Derived from *rrime*, cf. OBret *uurm* 'dark (color)', W *gwrm* 'dark blue' as color designations based on the word for 'worm' (OREL *IF* XLIII 116). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt*. 80 (to OE *nípan* 'to become dark'); ÇABEJ *St*. II 80 (compares with *remtë* 'dark brown, bronze').

riqe f, pl. *riqe* 'brier'. Borrowed from Gk ἐρείκη id. or NGk ῥείκια id. (CAMARDA II 159; MEYER *Wb*. 366). ◊ HAARMANN 123 (from Lat *erīca*); ÇABEJ *St*. II 81.

ris m, pl. *risër* ~ *risën* 'lynx'. Borrowed from Slav **rysь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ris*, SCr *ris*.

rishte pl. 'cartilages; kind of dry pastry'. Umlauticized form of *rreshtë*.

rizë f, pl. *riza* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav **riza* 'shirt, kerchief', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *riza*, SCr *riza* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb*. 367). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; SVANE 49.

rjep aor. *ropa* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off'. A parallel form is *rrjep*. Goes back to PAlb **repa* connected with IE **rep-*: Gk ἐρέπτομαι 'to eat', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *rẽpti* 'to grasp' and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Wb*. 367, *Alb. St*. III 31). ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'); MEYER *Gr. Gr*. 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (borrowed from Lat *rapiō*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 564; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 721-722; FRISK I 552-553; WALDE-HOFMANN II 417; POKORNY I 856; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (borrowed from Lat *rapere*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr*. XXXVII 61; HULD 150; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 40, *Linguistica* XXIV 437; HAARMANN 145 (from Latin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346-347.

rob m, pl. *rob, robër* 'serf, prisoner'. Borrowed from Slav **orbъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb*. 368). As far as attested South Slavic languages reflect *ra-* (Bulg *rab*, SCr *rab*), the Albanian word continues a form from an extinct dialect. ◊ SVANE 192, 241.

robtis aor. *robtisa* 'to make work hard, to enslave'. Borrowed from Slav **orbotiti* id., cf. *rob*.

rod m 'kin, family'. Borrowed from Slav **rodъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rod*, SCr *rod* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184). ◊ SVANE 186-187.

rogeçë pl. 'masked participants of a carnival'. Based on an unattested singular **rogaç* borrowed from Slav **rogačь* 'horned (creature)', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rogač*, SCr *rogač* (SVANE 214).

rogë f 'glade, clearing (especially, in the mountains)'. Borrowed from Slav **rogъ* 'horn', also used as a geographical term, cf. Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◊ JOKL *ZfOrt* X 188 (to OHG *riuti*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rruaj*).

rogoveckë f, pl. *rogoveca* 'acacia'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav **rogovьčьka* 'horned (object)'.

rois aor. *roita* 'to swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Slav **rojiti (sę)* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roja*, SCr *roiti se* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13; SVANE 241.

roj m, pl. *roje* 'swarm of bees'. Borrowed from Slav **rojь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roj*, SCr *roj*, cf. *rois* (SVANE 158, 241).

rojë f, pl. *rojë, roja* 'guard'. Derived from *ruaj*.

rojkë f, pl. *rojka* 'bee (in the swarm)'. Borrowed from Slav **rojьka* id., attested in South Slavic as a proper name: Bulg *Rojka*, SCr *Rojka*.

rok m 'term'. Borrowed from Slav **rokъ* 'time, term, year; fate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rok*, SCr *rok* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

rokëz f 'kind of children game, round dance'. Identical with *rrokëz* 'helix' derived from *rrokë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from NGk ῥόκα 'fork'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rrok*).

rokominë f 'shrunk old man'. An expressive formation in *roko-* < *rroko*, cf. *rrokë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from Ital *rocca del camino* 'flue'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derivative of *rrogomis* < *gorromis* 'to throw down').

ronitem refl. ''to fall, to crumble'. Borrowed from Slav **roniti* 'to drop, to let fall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ron'a*, SCr *roniti* (attested in a different meaning - 'to pour'). ◊ SVANE 241.

rosë f, pl. *rosa* 'duck'. From PAlb **anātjā*, a cognate of Skt *ātí-* 'water bird', Gk νῆσσα 'duck' and other continuations of IE **(a)nətį̄ā* (BARIĆ *ARSt* 80), contaminated with IE **er(ə)-* ~ **or(ə)-* 'bird'. Rum *rață* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 148 (to Hung *ruca*, *réce* and Rum *rață*); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 167 (follows STIER); MEYER *Wb.* 368-369 (to *rik* 'duck' and forms adduced by STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 55; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from SCr *raca* id.); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 347 (both Albanian and Rumanian words going back to a substratum reflex of IE **reudh-so-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; POKORNY I 41; FRISK II 317-318; MAYRHOFER I 72-73; OREL *RRL* XXX/2 106-107 (PAlb **arạtjā* influenced by the Indo-European word for 'duck').

rotar m 'servant'. A secondary phonetic variant of *rrogëtar*, derivative of *rrogë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 82). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (borrowed from a South Slavic continuant of Slav **ortarь* 'plowman', SCr *ratar*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 326 (follows MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 55 (the same); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307-308 (agrees with MEYER).

rozë aor. *roza* 'knot (in wood)'. Borrowed from NGk ῥόζος id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*).

rozgë f, pl. *rozga* 'kind of thistle'. Another variant is *rrozgë*. Borrowed from Slav **rozga* 'twig, branch', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rozga*, SCr *rozga* (JOKL *LKUBA* 220-221). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; ÇABEJ *St.* II 101-102; SVANE 124.

ruaj ~ **ruej** aor. *ruajta* ~ *rova* 'to guard, to keep, to observe'. From PAlb **rāgnja* etymologically connected with ON *røkja* 'to take care of', Gk ἀρήγω 'to assist, to defend'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (borrowed from Slav **xorniti* 'to keep'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 210 (to *vë re* 'to make clear'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76 (to Gk ὁράω 'to see', OHG *wara* 'attention' and the like); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 88 (follows JOKL); FRISK I 137; POKORNY I 855; ÇABEJ *St.* II 82-83 (follows JOKL and BARIĆ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 347 (follows WIEDEMANN).

ruazë ~ ruezë f, pl. *ruaza ~ rueza* 'glass bead; glass ball (used as an amulet)'. There are also variants in *rr-*. Deverbative of *ruaj ~ ruej* (CAMARDA II 167; JOKL *StFil* I/3 9-11). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 370 (from **prllazë*, to Ital *perla* 'pearl'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 225.

rubë f, pl. *ruba* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav **rǫbъ* 'seam, border', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъb*, SCr *rub* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 371). Semantically closer is Slovene *rob* 'cloth, shirt'.

rudë adj. 'short and soft (of wool)'. Borrowed from Slav **ruda* 'thick wool', cf. South Slavic: Bulg *ruda*, SCr *ruda* (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

rudinë f, pl. *rudina* 'alpine pasture'. Borrowed from South Slavic **rudina* id., cf. Bulg *rudina*, SCr *rudina*.

rufkë adj. 'soft-boiled (of egg)'. Another form is *rufë*. Derived from *rufis* 'to sip', a Modern Greek loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

rugjë adj. 'closely cropped'. Singularized form of the original **rugë*. Another variant, with the unvoiced anlaut, is *rukë* 'without shell (of nuts), waste, devastated'. From PAlb **ruga* connected with Lith *rū́gti* 'to become sour' < IE **reu-g-* 'to tear, to pull'; the latter is derived from **reu-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 746; POKORNY I 868-869; JĒGERS *KZ* LXXX 141-142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 83 (from *rruaj*).

runë f 'air-hole of a chimney'. Analogical transformation of *ndër unë* 'between bricks' > *ndë runë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84).

rungajë f, pl. *rungaja* 'avalanche; river-bed'. Other variants are *rrungajë*, *rrunga* and *runga*. Continues PAlb **wrunga* connected with Lith *rungúoti* 'to wind, to bend', a secondary ablaut formation based on zeñgtis 'to be bent' < IE **u̯reng-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 719, 749; POKORNY I 1154.

rungoj aor. *rungova* 'to weed'. Borrowed from Lat *runcāre* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (from Ital *roncare* id.).

rure f 'agonizing doubts'. Derived from *ruaj*.

rus adj. 'red-haired, blond'. Borrowed from Slav **rusъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rus*, SCr *rus* (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 196 (follows MEYER); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* IV 850 (from Arum *arus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (from NGk ῥούσσος 'red-haired').

ryej aor. *reva* 'to suffer'. There are also dialectal forms in *rr-*. From the contracted PAlb **raudinja* related to Skt *róditi* 'to weep, to roar', Lat *rŭdō* 'to shout, to cry', Lith *raudà* 'weeping', Slav **rydati* 'to weep'. ◊ FRAENKEL 704; MAYRHOFER III 77; VASMER III 526-527; POKORNY I 867; ÇABEJ *St.* II 79 (reconstructs **u̯ren-*).

ryj aor. *ryjta* 'to enter'. A prefixal form continuing **rë-hyj*, cf. *hyj* (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 17). ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk ἐρευνάω 'to seek, to explore'); MANN *HAED* 431; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to Lat *ruō* 'to rush' and the like).

rys aor. *ryta* 'to practice, to exercise'. Continues PAlb **rūtja* related to Lat *ruō* 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav **ryti* 'to dig', Lith *ráuti* 'to tear, to pull' and the like. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/6 11 (to *rusem*); VASMER III 531; FRAENKEL 708-709; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to *ryej* ~ *riej*).

ryzë f, pl. *ryza* 'rue'. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested **rytë* borrowed from Lat *rūta* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84-85).

Rr

rra f, pl. *rra* 'belly-worm'. From PAlb **wragā* related to OIr *frige* 'vermin, flesh-worm' < **u̯r̥g-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *crīnālis* 'related to hair'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (from Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to Lat *vergō* 'to bend, to turn'); POKORNY I 1152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 89-90 (to Lat *corrigia* 'shoe-lace' and its cognates).

rrabe f, pl. *rrabe* 'rocky desert (with bushes)'. From PAlb **rauba* related to Goth *raupjan* 'to rip'. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 395; POKORNY I 869.

rrafës m, pl. *rrafës* 'churn-staff'. Deverbative of *rrah* ~ *rraf*.

rrafsh m, pl. *rrafshe* 'plane, flat surface'. Analogically restored from

rrafshoj 'to flatten', a verb in *-ëshoj* based on a borrowing from Slav **orvьnъ* 'even', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *raven*, SCr *ravan* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 175-177 (from Slav **orves-*, an *s*-stem of the same root); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187; ÇABEJ *St.* II 85; SVANE 167.

rrag m 'apron'. Continues PAlb **srauga* related to the isolated Lith *srúoga* 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', *srauga* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 890.

rragatem refl. 'to quarrel'. Borrowed from Slav **rǫgati sę* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъgaja*, SCr *rugati se*. ◊ SVANE 258.

rrah m, pl. *rrahe* 'grubbed out land'. Deverbative of *rrah* 'to beat' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk ῥάχις 'lower part of the back'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (*rah* 'hill' from NGk ῥάχις 'mountain ridge'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (from **u̯roiĝ-*, as in Arm *ergicanem* 'to tear').

rrah aor. *rraha* 'to beat, to strike'. From PAlb **wragska* etymologically connected with Gk ῥάσσω id. reflecting IE **u̯rāgh-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86).◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to tear up'); MEYER *Wb.* 371-372 (comparison with Slav **raziti* 'to strike' which may be true if Slav **r-* goes back to IE **u̯r-*; then, **raziti* is close to Gk ῥάσσω), *Alb. St.* III 73; JOKL *LKUBA* 49 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 643-644; CHANTRAINE 829; POKORNY I 1181-1182; HULD 150; KÖDDERTIZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 348.

rrajë f, pl. *rraja* 'path tread in the snow'. Derived from *rrah*.

rrallë adj. 'scanty, scarce, rare'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sonorants, from Lat *rārus* 'rare' or directly from its variant *rāllus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk ῥάδιος 'easy, ready'); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *rāllus* 'clean cut'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87; HAARMANN 145.

rrangulla pl. 'rubbish, lumber'. A suffixal derivative of PAlb **ranka* 'gathering(s)' etymologically connected with Lith *rankà* 'hand', Latv *rùoka* id., Slav **rǫka* id. - all of them deverbatives based on the verb

'to gather' reflected in Lith *renkù, riñkti*. ◊ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515.

rranicë f, pl. *rranica* 'big piece of bread'. Derived from *rranë* 'grain, bread'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **xorna* 'food, grain', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrana, xranica* SCr *hrana* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240-241).

rrap m, pl. *rrapa, rrepe* 'platan'. From PAlb **rapa*, a denominative derived from *rjep*, probably as a calque of Gk πλάτανος id. ◊ TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* XXIV 529 (to OCS *rěpina* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (follows TOMASCHEK), *Alb. St.* III 73; WEIGAND 74 (borrowed from Slavic); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164 (borrowed from Slav **grabъ* 'hornbeam'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 309-310 (etymologically connected with Slav **repьjь* 'burdock', ON *ráfr* 'roof on rafters' < IE **rēp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 87 (follows JOKL).

rrapamë f, pl. *rrapama* 'crash, din'. Another variant is *rropamë*. Derived from Slav **xrapъ* 'noise, wheeze', cf. *rrapatem*.

rrapashyt adj. 'thick set, stumpy'. An expressive derivative of *shyt*.

rrapatem refl. 'to strain oneself, to get tired'. Borrowed from Slav **xrapati* 'to bite, to tear, to wheeze', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrapam*, dial. *rapam*, SCr *hrapati*, dial. *rapati*.

rrapëlloj aor. *rrapëllova* 'to make noise'. A parallel form is *rraptoj* id. Related to *rrapamë*.

rraqe pl. 'rubbish, lumber; house objects'. From PAlb **raka* connected with Lith *ràkti* 'to hollow out, to pick', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 361 (from Bulg *rakla* 'box, chest'), 372 (from NGk ῥάκιον); FRAENKEL 694; POKORNY I 335.

rras aor. *rrasa* 'to squeeze, to press together'. From PAlb **wragtja* related to *rrah* (MEYER *Wb.* 372, with a different etymology of *rrah*). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 76; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

rrasë f, pl. *rrasa* 'stone plate'. Derived from *rras* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP*

III 158-161). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 66 (to *dërrasë*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87-88.

rraskë f, pl. *rraska* 'rennet'. Derived from Geg *rrâ* id., cf. *rrënd.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

rrasoll m, pl. *rrasoj* 'pickles'. Another variant is *rasoj*, a singularized plural form. Borrowed from Slav **orzsolъ* 'pickles; brine', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *razsol*, SCr *raso* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◊ SVANE 107.

rrasht m, pl. *rreshtna* 'bone, skull, skeleton, shell'. A parallel form is *rreshtë* representing a singularized plural (ÇABEJ *LP* VII 184). From PAlb **wragšta*, derivative in *-šta* from the verbal stem preserved in *rrah* 'to beat, to strike' (OREL *IF* XCIII 115). For the semantic motivation in this case cf. Gmc **bainan* 'bone' ~ IE **bhei-* 'to beat, to strike', Lith *kaũlas* 'bone' ~ *kaũti* 'to beat'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 372-373 (from Lat *arista* 'awn, beard, wheat-ear, fishbone'; derives *rrasht* 'shell' separately as a continuation of Lat *rastus* 'plate'); KRISTOFORIDHI 354; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 139; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (prefix *rr-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 88 (prefix *rr-* + *asht* bone'), IV 85-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82 (same as CAMAJ and ÇABEJ).

rrathë f 'kind of fishing-basket'. Connected with *rreth.*

rrazbitem refl. 'to weaken'. Note a secondary variant *rrobitem* influenced by *rrob.* Borrowed from Slav **orzbiti* 'to defeat, to break', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *razbija*, SCr *razbiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 362). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 253.

rrebe f, pl. *rrebe* 'mood, caprice'. Another variant is *rebë.* From PAlb **raibā* etymologically connected with Lith *ráibas* 'multicolored, variegated', Latv *ràibs* id. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 686-687; POKORNY I 859.

rrebesh m, pl. *rrebeshe* 'shower'. Related to *rribë.*

rrebull m 'thrush (illness)'. From **raiba* 'multicolored' attested in *rrebe.*

rreckë f, pl. *rrecka* 'cloth, rag'. Borrowed from deminutive Slav

**ręsъka* 'fringe', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reska*, SCr *reska*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from SCr *resa* 'fringe'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253.

rrege f, pl. *rrege* 'fallow land'. Continues PAlb **wragā* related to Gk ῥαγή 'split, cleft', ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to split' and its cognates. ◊ FRISK II 637, 652-653; POKORNY I 1181-1182.

rregull m 'order'. Related to *rregull* 'rule'.

rregull f, pl. *regulla* 'rule, norm'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Ital *regola* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

rrej ~ rrêj aor. *ërrejta* 'to deceive'. From PAlb **arn-enja* further related to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542 n. 2). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (*rrem* 'lie', a derivative of *rrej*, to Lat *verbum* 'word'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to OE *wrǽne*); FRISK I 145-146; POKORNY I 62; ÇABEJ *St.* II 90-91 (derived from *re* 'cloud'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 348-349 (from a Romance source related to Lat *errōneus* 'erring').

rrek aor. *rreka* 'to strain, to bother'. Continues PAlb **raika* related with Lith *reikà* 'need, necessity', *reĩkti* 'to be necessary' further explained in connection with Lith *riẽkti* 'to cut, to plow the fallow land'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Goth *wrohjan*); FRAENKEL 714.

rrem m, pl. *rrema* 'oar'. Borrowed from Lat *rēmus* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from Ital *remo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 74 (from Gk ῥεῦμα).

rrem adj. 'false'. Derived from *rrej*. ◊ CAMARDA I 83 (to Lat *error* 'mistake'); MEYER *Wb.* 373-374; BARIĆ *ARSt* 88-89 (to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

rremb ~ rrem m, pl. *rremba ~ rrema* 'branch'. Other variants are *rrem* and *rrëmb*. Borrowed from Lat *rāmus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 45, *Wb.* 364-365) with a secondary *-mb* < *-m*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 18-19, 276; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235-236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 97.

rrep m, pl. *rrepa* 'turnip'. Other variants are *rrap* and *r(r)epë*. Borrowed from Lat *rāpum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (*rrap* from Ital *rapa* id. while *rrep* - from Slav **rěpa* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162 (from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; LANDI *Lat.* 45; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ *AE* (borrowed from Gk ῥάπυς); DEMIRAJ *AE* 349-350 (borrowed from or related to Gk ῥάπυς).

rreptë adj. 'strong, inexorable'. Derived from *rrjep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from Turk *rehb* 'fear'); KRISTOFORIDHI 358 (from Lat *rapidus* 'fast'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 86, VII 184.

rreshk aor. *rreshka* 'to roast'. Borrowed from WGmc **raustjan* id., cf. OHG *rōsten*. Note a derivative *rreshk* 'smell (of food), appetite'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (to Latv *su-vergt*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kë*).

rreshktaq adj. 'wrinkled (of an elderly person)'. Derived from *rreshk*. Cf. also *rreshkët* 'dried, roasted'.

rretër ~ rretën f, pl. *rretra ~ rretna* 'long leather rope, twisted leather lace'. Another variant is *retër ~ retën*. Borrowed from Rom **retina* 'bridle' attested in Fr *rêne* id. (JOKL *RIEB* II 56-59). ◊ CAMARDA II 142; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; JANSON *Unt.* 58; HAARMANN 146.

rreth m, pl. *rrathë* 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle'. Deminutive in *-th* of an unattested **rat* 'wheel', cf. Skt *rátha-* 'wagon', Lat *rota* 'wheel', OIr *roth*, OHG *rad* and the like (CAMARDA I 323). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Wb.* 372 (to OHG *chreiz* 'circle'), *Alb. St.* III 8, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (agrees with BARIĆ); MAYRHOFER III 38-39; WALDE-HOFMANN II 443-444; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 2; VENDRYES [R] 45-46; POKORNY I 866; HULD 116 (from **u̯roik̂os*, cf. Gk ῥοικός 'curved, bent'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 91-93 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology and comments on the umlaut in sg.).

rrevë f 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *rēbus*, dat.-abl. pl. of *rēs* 'thing, circumstance'.

rreze f, pl. *rreze* 'ray, spoke'. Another variant is *rrezë*. Singularized plural of **rraz* borrowed from Lat *radius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Lat *rādīx* 'root'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Rom pl. **radia*), *Alb. St.* IV 14; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1044, 1049, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 93; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 85, 97.

rrezg m 'culmination, acme, prime'. Another derivational variant is *rrezm* id. Suffixal derivative of *rreze*.

rrezgull f, pl. *rrezgulla* 'disc, circle'. Derived from *rrezg*.

rrezhde f, pl. *rrezhde* 'unripe mulberry'. Reflects an unattested Bulgarian reflex of Slav **rědja* fem. 'thin, sparse'.

rrëcok m 'bird's stomach'. Phonetic variant of *rraskë*.

rrëfanë f, pl. 'handle'. Derived from *rrëfej* in its unattested meaning *'to carry (away)' continuing the same meaning of Lat *referre*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234 (to *rruvâ* with a secondary *-f-*).

rrëfangull f, pl. *rrëfangulla* 'buttonhole'. Derived from *rrëfanë* 'handle'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237 (variant of *vrangull*).

rrëfatem refl. 'to fork, to bifurcate'. Metathesis of **furkatem*, see *furkë*.

rrëfej aor. *rrëfeva* 'to tell, to show'. Borrowed from Lat *referre* 'to tell, to inform' (CAMARDA I 119; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 93-94 (prefix *rrë-* added to *-fej* borrowed from MGk φαίνω 'to show, to make appear').

rrëfeshk m, pl. *rrëfeshk* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *rrufe* (JOKL *LKUBA* 221-222). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 94 (derived from *ferr*: **rrë-ferr-shk*).

rrëgallë f, pl. *rrëgalla* 'pebbly site; deep and narrow ravine'. An early Slavic loanword, from **rogalь* 'corner', see *ragal*. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15, *ZONF* X 197 (to *ragal*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 94-95.

rrëgjoj aor. *rrëgjova* 'to diminish, to make smaller'. Borrowed from Lat *ērādīcāre* 'to eradicate' with an irregular development of the inlaut

cluster. ◊ CAMARDA I 116 (to Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle'); MEYER *Wb.* 373 (borrowed from Rom **rōdiculāre*, derivative of Lat *rōdere* 'to bite'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 95-96 (from *regj*); HAARMANN 146.

rrëkajë adv. 'in torrents, in a stream'. Borrowed from Slav instr. sg. **rěkojǫ* '(in a) river'.

rrëke f, pl. *rrëke* 'stream (of rain), mountain brook'. Singularized plural of **rekë*. Borrowed from Slav **rěka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka, reka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323). ◊ SVANE 172; MURATI *Probleme* 97-99 (derived from *rrjedh*).

rrëkëllej aor. *rrëkëlleva* 'to roll'. A prefixal derivative of *këllehem* 'to seethe, to boil up'.

rrëkuall m 'thistle'. A prefixal derivative in *rrë-* < *për-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1) of *kalli*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *cardoscolimo* 'kind of wild artichoke'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350.

rrëmaç adj. 'lefthanded'. Derived from *rrem*.

rrëmbej aor. *rrëmbeva* 'to rob, to seize'. Borrowed from Lat *rumpere* 'to tear, to tear away'. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ῥέμβομαι 'to roam'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (from Ital *rubare* 'to steal'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051.

rrëmejtë adj. 'steep'. A prefixal derivative of *majë*.

rrëmeta pl. 'bast shoes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slavic **remęta* 'belts, laces', plural form of **remę* - an analogical formation derived from Slav **remy, *remene* 'belt, lace'.

rrëmih aor. *rrëmiha* 'to dig up'. Another variant is *rrëmoj*. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāre* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ῥυμός 'pole of a chariot; trace').

rrëmiqe f, pl. *rrëmiqe* 'precipice'. Phonetic variant of *rrëmejtë*.

rrëmujë f 'disorder, confusion; booty'. Continues PAlb **raimuljā* related

to Lith *ráimas* 'multicolored, varied', *ráibas* id., *raibulỹs* 'speckle'. ◊ FRAENKEL 686.

rrënd ~ rrâ m 'rennet'. Derivative of *rend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 276-282), cf. ME *rennet ~ runnet* 'rennet' derived from *runne* 'to run' as well as Germ *rinnen* 'to run' ~ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to *rëndë*); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 143-144 (follows JOKL); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93 (to MHG *renne* id.); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (to Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* *VIII* 155 (etymologically identical with OHG *rinnan* 'to run'), *Sravn.* 231; ONIONS 756; ÇABEJ *St.* II 96-97 (agrees with JOKL).

rrëngjej aor. *rrëngjeva* 'to shine'. Another variant is *rrënjej*. Borrowed from Lat *renīdēre* 'to shine'.

rrënoj aor. *rrënova* 'to destroy, to ruin'. A Geg form borrowed from Rom **ruīnāre* id., cf. Lat *ruīna* 'ruin' (MEYER *Wb.* 374). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*); KRISTOFORIDHI 303 (from Ital *ruinare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

rrënjë ~ rranjë f, pl. *rrënjë ~ rranjë* 'root; oak'. From PAlb **wradnjā* etymologically connected with Gk ῥάδιξ 'branch', id., Lat *rādīx* 'root', W *gwraidd* and the like (CAMARDA I 96; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54 (from Ital *radica*); MEYER *Wb.* 365-366 (borrowed from Lat *rādīx*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 87-88 (follows SPITZER); JOKL *LKUBA* 233-234; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292-293; MANN *Language* XVII 20, XXVIII 37, *Hist. Gr.* 37 (reconstructs **u̯r̥dnī*); FRISK II 637-638; WALDE-HOFMANN II 415; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15-19; POKORNY I 1167; ÇABEJ *St.* II 97-98; HULD 109; BEEKES *Lar.* 104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350-351 (old collective).

rrëpirë f, pl. *rrëpira* 'precipice'. Derivative of *rripë*.

rrëqasem refl. 'to move away'. A prefixal derivative of *qas*.

rrëqebull m, pl. *rrëqebuj* 'lynx'. An expressive prefixal formation of *buall*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

rrëqethem aor. 'to feel feverish, to shiver'. A prefixal derivative of *qeth*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373.

rrëqukull f 'small woman, tot'. An expressive prefixal formation of *quk*.

rrëshajë pl. 'Pentecost'. Borrowed from Lat *Rōsālia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ PASCU *RE* 76; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* *IX* 91-93; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 110, 126.

rrëshajë f, pl. 'viper'. A taboo name of a snake etymologically identical with *rrëshajë* 'Pentecost'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 374 (stem *rrësh-*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I (to Lat *vorrō*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

rrëshek m, pl. *rrëshekë* 'wineskin'. Another variant is *rrëshiq* reflecting a singularized plural. Derived from *rrush* (CAMARDA I 179). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* I 26 (to SCr *mješić* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 27, *Wb.* 374 (follows MIKLOSICH); ÇABEJ *St.* II 98-99 (to *shakull*).

rrëshirë ~ rrëshinë f 'resin'. Borrowed from Lat *rēsīna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 97, 110.

rrëshjell m 'sow-thistle'. Another variant is *rrëshyell*. Borrowed from Lat *rūsseolus* 'reddish, brown'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (from Ital *cardicello*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 239.

rrëshkatë f 'great misfortune'. Nominal derivative of *rrëshkas*.

rrëshqas aor. *rrëshqata* 'to glide out'. A prefixal derivative of *shqas*, cf. *shkas*.

rrëvitem refl. 'to be thrown'. A phonetic variant of *vërvis* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 99). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (to Germ *werfen* 'to throw').

rrëzall m, pl. *rrëzaje* 'plant (including its roots)'. Derived from *rrëzë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117).

rrëzë f, pl. *rrëza* 'foot (of a mountain or a tree)'. From PAlb **wradjā* etymologically connected with *rrënjë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210.

rrëzoj aor. *rrëzova* 'to throw down, to pull down'. Based on *rrëzë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (derived from *rreze*).

rri aor. *ndenja, ndejta* 'to sit, to stand, to stay, to remain'. The suppletive aorist belongs to the paradigm of *ndej*. The form of present goes back to PAlb **rina* etymologically close to Skt *ṛṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk ὄρνυμαι 'to move up' and related forms. ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (to Gk ἐρύκω 'to keep in, to curb'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to IE **k̂lei-* 'to lean, to bend' with impossible phonetic changes), *Alb. St.* IV 59 (evaluates his earlier etymology as ambiguous); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170-171 (to Lat *nīdus* 'nest'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545 (rejects MEYER's etymology); JOKL *Studien* 76-77 (to Gmc **rōwō* 'quiet', Gk ἐρωή id.), *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 80 (from IE **nizdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; POKORNY I 326-332; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 109 (to IE **reidh-* 'to ride').

rribë f 'gale, wind, waterfall, torrent'. From PAlb **wribā*, a zero-grade formation connected with IE **u̯erb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' and, as far as the derivational structure is concerned, identical with Slav **vьrba* 'pussy-willow', Lith *vir̃bas* 'rod, birch-rod, twig' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434, *TBK* 195). For the semantic development of *rribë* cf. E *wind* ~ *to wind*. ◊ FRAENKEL 1259; POKORNY I 1153; VASMER I 293.

rrikë f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Rom **rādica*, cf. Lat *rādīx* 'root' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 365-366). A parallel form *rrilkë* reflects Rom **rādicula*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32 (from Slavic); CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk ῥάπυς 'turnip'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; SVANE 145.

rrime f, pl. *rrime* 'rainworm'. Singularized plural of PAlb **wrima* continuing IE **u̯r̥mi-* ~ **u̯r̥mo-* 'worm': Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waúrms* 'worm, snake', Lith *var̃mas* 'insect' (OREL *IF* XCIII 116). ◊ FRAENKEL 1201; FEIST *Goth.* 555-556; WALDE-HOFMANN II 760; POKORNY I 1152.

rripë f, pl. *rripa* 'precipice, stone wall'. Borrowed from Lat *rīpa* 'bank, coast' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

rriqër ~ rriqën f, pl. *rriqëra ~ rriqna* 'tick'. Borrowed from Lat *ricinus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 146.

rris aor. *rrita* 'to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow'. Goes back to **writja* etymologically connected with IE **u̯ert-* 'to turn': Skt *vartate*, Lat *vertō*, Goth *wairþan* 'to become' and the like. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *ṛdhnóti* 'to grow'); CAMARDA I 52 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 29; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (from **u̯rdhō*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 29 (to Lat *orior*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *rýtas*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-765; POKORNY I 1156-1157; HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (same as SCHMIDT, to IE **er- ~ *or-* 'to start moving, to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-432 (follows SCHMIDT and HAMP); DEMIRAJ *AE* 351-352 (reconstructs a prefix **n-*).

rrisgë f, pl. *rrisga* 'stone splinter'. Somehow connected with *rrasë*.

rriskë f, pl. *rriska* 'disc, circle'. A suffixal derivative of *rreth*.

rrizhgoj aor. *rrizhgova* 'to creep up (of plants)'. Goes back to **rrishgoj* borrowed from Lat *resurgere* 'to rise (again)'.

rrjedh aor. *rrodha* 'to flow'. From PAlb **redza* etymologically related to Lat *rigāre* 'to wet, to moisten', ON *raki* 'wetness' (PISANI *Saggi* 130). ◊ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk ῥέω 'to flow'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to Goth *rign* 'rain' in which, however, *-g-* continues IE **-k-*), *IF* V 195, *Alb. St.* III 18, 73; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (compares *rrjedh* with Skt *vrájati* 'to stride, to go'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 435; POKORNY I 857; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 51 (to *erdha*, see *vij*); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448 (follows MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 110 (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 352-353 (to a poorly attested IE **sr-edh-*).

rrjesht m, pl. *rrjeshta* 'row'. Another variant is *rresht*. Borrowed from Lat *regestum* 'list' (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* IV 19). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI

147 (from Lat *restis* 'rope'); BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86 (from Turk *rişte* 'thread'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99-100 (follows JOKL); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 145-146.

rrjetë f, pl. 'net'. Another variant is *rret.* Borrowed from Lat *rēte* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 364). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 86.

rroboj aor. *rrobova* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc **raubōjan* 'to rob, to plunder': OS *rōbōn,* OHG *roubōn,* Goth *biraubon.* ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 94.

rrobull m, pl. *rrobuj* 'mountain pine'. Borrowed from Lat *rōbur* 'oak' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 100). ◊ HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

rrodhe f, pl. *rrodhe* 'burdock'. Singularized form of **rodhë* borrowed from Gk ῥόδον 'rose'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 367 (from Rom **cardella*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (related to Lith *rẽzgis* 'basket'); JOKL *LKUBA* 219-226 (to *rruaj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 100-101 (supports JOKL).

rrogë f, pl. *rroga* 'alpine meadow'. Borrowed from Slav **rogъ* 'horn' also denoting 'spur of a mountain' as in Bulg *rog,* SCr *rog.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251, 279 (from *rruaj*).

rrogoz m, pl. *rrogoza* 'reed mat'. Borrowed from Slav **rogozъ* 'reed', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *rogoz* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 216; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 323; SVANE 115.

rroj aor. *rrova, rrojta* 'to live, to stay'. Continues PAlb **rānja* identical with Lith *róju, róti* 'to cope, to be ready' further connected with *ríeti* 'to stack (wood)' and derived from IE **rēi-.* ◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk ῥώομαι 'to move strongly, to dance'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (to Lat *regere* 'to direct'); MANN *Language* XVII 12 (from Rom **remanāre* 'to remain'); FRAENKEL 743-744; POKORNY I 859; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 266.

rrojbë f 'carthamus'. Another variant is *rrolbë* with a secondary *-l-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 101). Borrowed from Rum *roibă* 'madder' < Lat *rubia* id.◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 132; ÇABEJ *St.* II 101 (from Lat *rubia*); LANDI *Lat.* 66, 97.

rrok adj. 'raw'. Derivative originally meaning 'something snatched off', based on the verb *rrok*.

rrok aor. *rroka* 'to seize, to snatch, to touch'. Borrowed from Gmc **rukkjan* 'to move, to remove, to stir, to snatch, to pull, to push': OE *roccian*, OHG *rucchan*, ON *rykkja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to tear'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 89 (to Gk εὑρίσκω 'to break asunder, to rend'); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 262.

rrokë f, pl. *rrokë* 'spiral'. Borrowed from Rom **rucca* ~ **rocca* 'distaff': Ital *rocca*, Sp *rueca*.

rrokoll adv. 'bad, chaotic'. Derived from *rrok* 'to seize'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

rrokopujë adv. 'bad, evil'. A compound of *rrokë* and *-pujë*, derived from *punë*.

rrokotele pl. 'rubbish'. An expressive fromation based on *rrok* 'to seize'.

rrol m, pl. *rrola* 'old and unused ox'. From **rrozgël*, diminutive of *rrozg*.

rropak m, pl. *rropakë* 'annex'. Borrowed from South Slavic **ropakъ*, cf. Bulg *ropa* 'pit, quarry'.

rropulli pl. 'intestines, guts; fruit'. An emphatic prefixal formation based on *pullë*.

rroshponjë f, pl. *rroshponja* 'cave in a river-bank hollowed out by water'. A univerbation of Lat *rōsu(m) pōne* 'hollowed out behind (the river)'.◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1 (derived in *rro-* < *rrë-* from *shpoj*).

rrotë f, pl. *rrota* 'wheel'. Borrowed from Lat *rota* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 714; MEYER *Wb.* 375, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*

Grundriß ² I 1045, 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

rrotull f, pl. *rrotulla* 'disc, circle'. Another variant is *rrokull*. Borrowed from Lat *rotula* 'little wheel'. The verb *rrotulloj* 'to turn' is derived from *rrotull*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *rreth*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

rrozg m, pl. *rrozga* 'old and unused ox'. Borrowed from Slav **rožьka* 'horned animal, horn', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rožka, rožko*.

rrshim m 'shower'. From **rrebeshim*, derivative of *rrebesh*.

rrua ~ **rrue** m 'stream'. Back formation based on *përrua*.

rruaj ~ **rruej** aor. *rruajta, rrova* 'to shave'. From PAlb **wrāgnja* related to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to tear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 51 (to Gk ἐρύω 'to pull, to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (from Lat *rādere* 'to scrape'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; WEIGAND 76 (contamination of Lat *rādere* and *rōdere* 'to bite'); JOKL *LKUBA* 223-224 (related to *rādere*); FRISK II 652-653; POKORNY I 1181; ÇABEJ *St.* II 102 (agrees with JOKL).

rrudhë f, pl. *rrudha* 'wrinkle'. Continues PAlb **rudzā* etymologically connected with Lat *rūga* id. (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 90-91 (to Skt *várjati* 'to turn, to tear'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 448-449; POKORNY I 870.

rrufe f, pl. *rrufe* 'lightning'. Borrowed from Lat *romphaea* 'long sword', adaptation of Gk ῥομφαία id., with a semantic development similar to that of Ital *saetta* 'arrow, dart' and 'thunderbolt' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; OREL *Ètimologija 1980* 62-63 (on Bulg *rofeja, ruf'a*).

rrugë f, pl. *rrugë* 'street'. Borrowed from Rom **rūga* id. continuing Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1050; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 217; HULD 110; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 97.

rrum m 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns'. Another variant is *rrome*.

From PAlb **wrubna* identical with Gk ῥάμνος 'thorny bush', further connected with Lith *vir̃bas* 'branch, shoot'. ◊ POKORNY I 1153.

rrumbull adj. 'rolled into a ball'. Borrowed from Rom **rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* 'magic whirligig or wheel', cf. Ital dial. *rummulu, rumbulu* (MEYER *Wb.* 370). ◊ CAMARDA II 151 (to Gk ῥόμβος 'magic wheel'); LANDI *Lat.* 61.

rrunë f, pl. *rruna* 'lamb'. Borrowed from Slav **runo* 'fleece', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *runo*, SCr *runo*. Note a parallel form *runs* continuing Slav **runьсь*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (*runs* from **runt-ës*).

rrush m, pl. *rrush* 'grape'. From PAlb **rāguša* related to Gk ῥάξ id. (CAMARDA I 87). The feminine form **rāgušā* is reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa* ~ *Ragusium* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 102-103). The form of the latter 'Ραούσα in Const. Porphyrogen. *De adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels (KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 5 19). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 41 (to Pers *raz* 'grape'), *Wb.* 371 (to Slav **grozdь* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lith *rausiù* 'to dig'); FRISK II 642.

rrushkull m. pl. *rrushkuj* 'kind of thorny plant'. Borrowed from Rom **rūsculus*, derivative of Lat *rūscus* 'butcher's-broom' (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118 (derivative in *-ull*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

(G) rruvâ m, pl. *rruvanj* 'vine without grapes'. Another variant is *rrufâ*. Somehow related to *rrush*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (to *rrëfanë*).

rruvi f, pl. *rruvi* 'line'. Metathesis of *vërri* 'little furrow' (KRISTOFORIDHI 22), derivative of *vë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Rom **rubēscula* based on Lat *ruber* 'red'); KRISTOFORIDHI 364 (to *vijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (*vërri* - to *varrë*), IV 86.

rruzull m 'sphere, globe (of earth)'. Derived from *rruzë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 103-104).

rryell m, pl. *rryej* 'euphorbia'. Borrowed - with a dissimilation of sonorants - from Balkan Rom **āliōlum* > Rum *aliol, alior* id. (PEDERSEN

KZ XXXIII 539). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (from Rom **ăliellum*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 6-7; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (against both MEYER and PEDERSEN).

rryeshëm adv. 'slow'. Derived from *ryej.*

rrylë ~ rrillë f, pl. *rryla ~ rrila* 'lentil'. Borrowed from Lat *ervilla* id., derivative of *ervum* (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123.

rrymë f, pl. *rryma* 'flow (of water)'. From PAlb **srūmā* related to Gk ῥεῦμα 'stream', ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuõ* 'fast stream' and other derivatives in **-men-* of IE **sreu-* 'to flow' (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◊ FRISK II 650-651; FRAENKEL 887; POKORNY I 1003; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202, 277.

rryp ~ rrip m, pl. *rrypa ~ rripa* 'belt'. From PAlb **wripa* with the further development similar to that of *krymb ~ krimb.* Related to Gk ῥάπτω 'to sew together, to stitch', Lith *ver̃pti* 'to spin' and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◊ HAHN 110 (to *rjep*); CAMARDA II 62 (follows HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (the same); FRAENKEL 1261; FRISK II 643; POKORNY I 1156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (the same).

S

s' adv 'not'. Identical with *ç', çë* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 321, 341). ◊ BOPP 497 (identical with *-s* in *mos*); CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Lat *dis-*); JOKL AArbSt I 37-38; TAGLIAVINI 242; PISANI *Saggi* 110, 154; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104-105 (follows PEDERSEN).

sa pron., adv. 'how'. From PAlb **tšja* etymologically connected with *se.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from NGk σάν 'when, whenever' < ὡς ἄν); HAMP *Numerals* 836 (from **k̑ʷi̯ə*).

sabje f, pl. *sabje* 'sword'. Other variants are *sablë, sabjë.* Borrowed from the South Slavic word for 'sword': Bulg *sab'a*, SCr *sablja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32), itself of questioned Hungarian origin (*szablya* id. derived from *szabni* 'to cut'). See MEYER *Wb.* 376.

sajë f, pl. *saja* 'sledge'. In dialects, an older form *sanjë* is preserved. Borrowed from Slav **sani* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sani*, SCr *sani* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SVANE 35.

sajoj aor. *sajova* 'to devise, to think of'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sajıklı* 'clever, far-sighted').

sak m 'net'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *sak* id., SCr *sak* 'package of hay', themselves from Rum *sac* 'sack, fishing net' (MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 134.

sak adv. 'really, for sure': An allegro form of *saktë* 'exact, precise' of Romance origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sahih* 'true, exact').

sakavicë f, pl. *sakavica* 'long hook for pulling down branches'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *sakavica* 'axe' < Slav **sěkavica.*

sakë f, pl. *saka* 'axe'. Back formation based on *sakavicë.* As to *sakicë* 'small axe', it was formed in Albanian from *sakë.*

salikoj aor. *salikova* 'to carry out the ceremony of burial'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 105-106 (derived from *psaloj* 'to sing psalms', a Modern Greek loanword).

samem refl. 'to have bad taste, to get spoiled'. Derived from *samë.*

samë f 'dog's excrements'. Continues PAlb **tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in **-mo-* of the Indo-European word for 'dog', otherwise unattested in Albanian, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk κύων, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuõ* and the like (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantics cf. Slav **govьno* 'excrements', originally - 'cow's exrements' derived from IE **g^{u}ou-* 'cow'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1033-1034; FRISK I 58-59; MAYRHOFER III 402-403; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7; VENDRYES [C] 257; POKORNY I 632-633.

samtë adj. 'insipid, unflavored, tasteless'. Based on **samë* borrowed from Slav **samъ* 'self', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sam*, SCr *sam*. The intermediate meaning must have been 'having a taste of itself' or similar.

sana pl. 'elfs, spirits of mountains'. Borrowed from Slav **sanь* 'snake, dragon': CS *san'* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 378).

sanë f 'hay'. Borrowed from Slav **sěno* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *s'ano*, SCr *sijeno* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 378). The development of Slav **-ě-* > *-a-* is repeated in NGk σανόν id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 108, *Slavia* XIII 639; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 295; TAGLIAVINI 243; SVANE 40.

sarkë f 'build, frame, figure (of human body)'. Continues PAlb **tšerkā* derived from IE **kʷer-* 'to make, to build': Skt *karóti*, Lith *kùrti* and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 641-642.

se pron. 'what', conj. 'that, than'. From PAlb **tšjā* continuing pronominal IE **k̂i̯ā* (MEYER *Wb.* 383; LA PIANA *Studi* I 127). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316 (to **kʷe-*); JOKL *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 243 (from **sā*); MANN *Language* XXVI 385, *Hist. Gr.* 122 (from **kʷem*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 225; HULD 110-111 (agrees with MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* II 119; HULD 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 353-354.

sembër pl. 'two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle'. Another variant is *sëmbër*. Borrowed from Slav **sębrъ* 'neighbor, comrade, peasant', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *sebar* (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 286, 302, *Zb. Miletić* 121-122). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 106-107; SVANE 192.

send m, pl. *sende* 'thing'. From PAlb **tsjam tam* < IE **k̂i̯om tom*, a sequence of two pronouns in neuter of which the first is related to *se* (OREL *Fort.* 79-80). ◊ CAMARDA I 335 (to Skt *sant-* 'existing, being'); MEYER *Wb.* 381 (from Turkish); ASCOLI *Frammenti linguistici* 15 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (the same); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (to Lat *genus* 'kin'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE **esn̥tis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 107-108 (from *sen* with a phonetically developped *-d*; *sen* is then explained as accusative of *se*).

serë f 'tar'. Borrowed from Slav **sěra* 'sulphur', cf. Bulg *s'ara*, SCr *sera*, *sjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 381). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173.

serrë f, pl. *serra* 'high steep rock'. Borrowed from Ital *serra* 'chain of mountains'.

setë f, pl. *seta* 'sieve'. Back formation of *sitë* taken for a plural in *-i-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σήθω 'to sift, to bolt').

sëmboj aor. *sëmbova* 'to ache, to be painful'. Connected with *dhëmb* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 88), this verb continues a prefixal form **c-dhëmboj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 108 (phonetic variant of *cëmoj*).

sëmurë ~ sëmunë adj. 'ill, sick'. An analogical formation based on *sëmundë* 'illness' < *'inability', a univerbation of *së mund*, cf. *s'* and *mund* (HAHN 77, 116). ◊ CAMARDA I 101, 312 (same as HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 291 (follows HAHN and CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI 245; ÇABEJ *St.* II 108 (semantic parallels in other Balkan languages: NGk ἀνημπορία, Arum *niputeare*).

sëpatë f, pl. *sëpata* 'axe'. Borrowed from the Bulgarian definite form in *-ъt -sapъt* 'axe-handle'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 382 (indirectly, from Rom **sappata*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 55.

sfejkë f, pl. *sfejka* 'beet'. Derived from Lat *felicem, filicem* 'fern, weed'.

sfurk m, pl. *sfurq, sfurqe* 'rake; scorpion'. A prefixal form based on **furkë* borrowed from Lat *furca* 'rake, fork' (JOKL *LKUBA* 116).

sfytyrij aor. *sfytyriva* 'to snort'. A prefixal derivative based on *fytyrë*.

si adv. 'how, as'. From PAlb **tšei* continuing pronominal IE **k^{u}ei* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 383 (related to IE demonstrative **k̂i-*), *Alb. St.* III 12; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 243-244; HAMP *IF* LXVI 53 (equal to Lat *quei* > *quī* 'how'); MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from **k^{u}i*), *Hist. Gr.* 201 (reconstructs **k^{u}i̯ā* identical with Lat *quia* 'why'); POKORNY I 646-647; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 240; HULD 111.

sikundër conj. 'as'. Another variant is *sindëkur*. Compound of *si, ndë* and *kur*. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Lat *secundum* or Ital *secondo*); MEYER *Wb.* 384 (Ital *secondo* 'according to' influenced by *kundër*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272.

sillë f, pl. *sillë* 'breakfast'. Derivative of *sjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 109-110) used to denote delay, cf. *sillet* 'to be late'. Thus, 'breakfast' is treated as a meal delaying the beginning of day's work. ◊ PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 114 (from **k̑ʷilā*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 59 (related to Gk ἕως 'dawn' and the like); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 41 (from IE **k̑ʷ(e)lā* 'das Herbringen'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (to OE *hwīl* 'time, while' and its cognates).

sillë f, pl. *silla* 'power, force'. Borrowed from Slav **sila* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sila*, SCr *sila* (MEYER *Wb.* 384). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 303; SVANE 224.

(G) simahuer m 'accomplice'. Borrowed and morphologically adapted from MGk σύμμαχος 'comrade-in-arms' (JOKL *IF* XLIV 61-62). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 110.

simotër f, pl. *simotra* 'blood sister, colleague, fellow, partner'. Compound of *si* and *motër*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273 (neologism).

sipër adv. 'above', prep. 'over'. Recombination of *persipër* 'up there, above' < *për s'epër* where *s'epër* < *së epër* is the ablative of *(i) epër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 110-111). ◊ BOPP 499 (combination of *si* and *për*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26 (from Lat *super*); CAMARDA I 318-319 (to Lat *super* and its cognates); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65 (from Lat *super*); MEYER *Wb.* 385 (from pronominal *si-* and *-për*, found in *tepër*); PEDERSEN *Festskrift Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (*-për* compared with *prej*); THUMB *IF* XIV 358 n. 1 (borrowed from Lat *super*).

sisë f, pl. *sisa* 'breast, bosom, tit'. Borrowed from Slav **sisa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sisa*, SCr *sisa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33). ◊ CAMARDA I 78, 88 (compared with *cicë, thithë* id.); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; SVANE 182.

sitë f, pl. *sita* 'sieve'. Borrowed from Slav **sito* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sito*, SCr *sito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 385-386). As to the verb *sit* 'to sift', it is borrowed from Slav **sějati* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 299; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 72.

sitka pl. 'bran'. Borrowed from Slav **sitъka* id., deminutive of **sito*, cf. *sitë*.

sitkë f 'cane, rush'. Borrowed from Slav **sitъka* id., deminutive of **sita* id., cf. SCr *sita*. ◊ SVANE 113.

sivjet adv. 'this year'. From PAlb **tsjei wetei*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **ḱi̯ei u̯etei* (BOPP 460; MEYER *Wb.* 383, *Alb. St.* III 12). See *sonte*. ◊ CAMARDA I 188; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; CHANTRAINE 1116; HULD 112-113.

sivonë f 'delicate face'. Used by DE RADA. Unclear. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (from *sinë*, accusative of *sy*, with an epenthetic *-vo-*, from an exclamatory *o*).

sjell aor. *solla* 'to bring'. Continues PAlb **tšela* or **tšelna* related to IE **kʷel-*: Skt *cárati* 'to move, to walk', Gk πέλω 'to come into existence, to become', Lat *colō* 'to cultivate, to till' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 277). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 386 (reconstructs IE **ḱel-*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 66; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244 (follows PEDERSEN); JOKL *LKUBA* 229, *Die Sprache* IX 123; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, *Language* XXVIII 35; MAYRHOFER I 376; FRISK II 500-501; CHANTRAINE 878; WALDE-HOFMANN I 245-246; POKORNY I 639-640; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 145, *St.* II 109-100; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; HULD 111 (semantic parallel to *sjell* in E *wind*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 354.

skallua ~ skallue m, pl. *skallonj* 'eye (of a plant), shoot of rice'. Derived from *kalli*.

skamur ~ skamun adj. 'poor, needy'. A univerbation of *s' kam*.

skaj ~ skâj m, pl. *skanje ~ skâje* 'edge, border'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested **kanj* < PAlb **kanja* related to Slav **konъ* 'edge', Latv *atkan* 'again'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (to *kënd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 116 (from Slav **konъ* 'edge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 326 (agrees with JOKL); VASMER III 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (together with *skanjo* 'chair' borrowed from Ital *scagno* id.); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 195-196; POKORNY I 564.

skërdehem refl. 'to get drunk'. A prefixal derivative of *deh*.

skërfyell m, pl. *skërfyej* 'larynx'. A prefixal derivative of *fyell*.

skëterrë f 'hell, darkness'. A prefixal derivative of *terr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 111).

sklepë f 'matter from the eyes, rheum'. Other variants are *skërlepë* and *skërloq*. A prefixal derivative of *glepë*.

skllupe f, pl. *skllupe* 'strong bough'. Borrowed from Slav **skorl̥upa* 'skin, bark' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *skralupa*.

skopit aor. *skopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav **skopiti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 387). ◊ SVANE 262.

skorratinë f 'snow storm'. Another variant is *sllotinë*. The form *skorratinë* was influenced by *skorrë*. Originally, derived from *skllotë*.

skorrë adj. 'exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav **skorъ* 'quick', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *skorъ*, Bulg adv. *skoro*, SCr adv. *skoro*.

skundill m, pl. *skundij* 'seam, edge'. Continues an earlier **skëndill*, a suffixal derivative of *skanj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Rom **cantile*); KRISTOFORIDHI 500 (from South Slav *skut* 'seam, fold', cf. *skutë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 111-112 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

skuq aor. *skuqa* 'to make red'. Derived from *kuq*.

sllog m 'tilled field'. Borrowed from Slav **sъlogъ* used in a meaning close to Bulg *slog* 'boundary, limit, land measure'. ◊ SVANE 37.

smilat aor. *smilata* 'to flatter'. Borrowed from South Slavic **sъmil'ati* 'to cajole', cf. Bulg *smil'avam*.

sodit aor. *sodita* 'to observe'. Borrowed from Slav **sǫditi* 'to judge', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sъd'a*, SCr *suditi*. An early loanword with **-ǫ-* rendered as *-o-* (SVANE 227, 241). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

sokëllas aor. *sokëllita* 'to shout, to cry'. A prefixal derivative of *këllas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 389 (to SCr *sokoliti*).

sokol m, pl. *sokola* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Slav **sokolъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sokol*, SCr *soko* (STIER *KZ* XI 137; MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 389). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198, 304; TAGLIAVINI 245; SVANE 148.

sonte adv. 'this night'. From PAlb **tsjā(i) naktāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **k̂i̯āi nokʷti-*, cf. Lith *šiānakt* id. and the like (BOPP 460). ◊ CAMARDA I 224; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 12, *Gr. Gr.* 298; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 311 (reconstructs *so-* < **ti̯ā*); JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, XXVIII 33; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; HULD 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

sorrë f, pl. *sorra* 'crow'. Continues PAlb **tšārsnā* corresponding, with a different ablaut grade, to Skt *kr̥ṣṇá-* 'black, dark', OPrus *kirsnan* 'black', Slav **čьrnъ* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 35). The anlaut affricate of Proto-Albanian is preserved in Rum *cioară* 'crow'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 220 (on the connection with Rum *cioară*); CAMARDA II 44 (of Slavic origin); MEYER *Wb.* 390 (to Slav **sorka* 'magpie'), *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE **k̂u̯ornā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *LKUBA* 93; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140; ERNOUT-MEILLET 143; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22 (to Lat *cornix* 'crow'); PISANI *Saggi* 130; MAYRHOFER I 264; POKORNY I 583; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 155-157; TOPOROV *PJa* IV 3-7; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 110; HAMP *GjA* VI 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234, 254; HULD 145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 249; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355.

sot adv. 'today'. From PAlb **tsjā(i) dītāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE **k̂i̯ā dīti-* (BOPP 513; MEYER *Wb.* 383), cf. *sonte*. From here, *sotmë* 'modern' is derived, with its secondary phonetic variant *sormë*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; JOKL *IF* XLIX 296; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 103 (*sormë* based on **sor* < **k̂i̯ēi + HeiHri*, to Av *ayarə* 'day'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

sotinë f 'empty honeycomb'. Based on **sot* borrowed from Slavic **sъtъ* 'honeycomb', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sъt*, SCr *sat*. Note *-o-* rendering Slavic *-ъ-* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 159.

sovajkë f, pl. *sovajka* 'shuttle'. Borrowed from South Slavic **sovadlъka* id. attested in Bulg *sovalka* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

spërndrit aor. *spërndrita* 'to make shine'. A prefixal derivative of *ndrit.*

spicë f, pl. *spica* 'thorn, splinter'. Borrowed from Slav **stьpica* 'peg, splinter', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *spica*, SCr *spica* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 35.

spikth m, pl. *spiktha* 'woodpecker'. Identical with *pikth.*

spith m 'dropsy'. Derived from *pi.*

spreth m, pl. *sprethe* 'cornice, eaves'. Derivative based on PAlb **praka* continuing IE **prŏ-ko-*: Lat *procerēs* 'protruding beams', Bret *a-raok* 'forward'. ◊ POKORNY I 815.

sqap m, pl. *sqep* 'he-goat'. See *cjap.*

sqaq aor. *sqaqa* 'to make weak'. Based on **qaq* continuing PAlb **kekja* related to Lith *kẽkos* 'swing', Latv *ķekuôt* 'to swing'. ◊ FRAENKEL 235.

sqep m, pl. *sqepa* 'beak'. Derived from *qep.*

sqeptore f, pl. *sqeptore* 'woodcock, snipe'. Derived from *sqep* as Ital *beccaccia* from *becco* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 112-113).

sqetull f, pl. *sqetulla* 'armpit'. A relatively late borrowing (with Lat *s-* rendered as *s-*) from Rom **scetula*, cf. Lat *scutula* 'shoulder-blade' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◊ CAMARDA I 63 (from Lat *spatula* 'shoulder-blade'); MEYER *Wb.* 403 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244; HAMP *AJPhil* LXXV 186-189 (derives the dialectal variant *sjetull* from IE **kᵘekᵘ-los*), *ZfBalk* XXXII/1 28-33 (to Lat *poples* 'back of the knee'), *StF* XXVI/1 81-83; HULD 111-112 (follows HAMP); MESSING *St. Whatmough* 173-178.

sqimë f, pl. *sqima* 'adornment, decoration'. Borrowed from MGk σχῆμα 'form, shape, figure' (CAMARDA I 69; MEYER *Wb.* 388). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113.

sqitës m 'comb'. Nomen agentis in *-ës* of *sqis*, a dialectal Greek form of *shqis* (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 101 (to *qij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 113 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

sqoj aor. *sqova* 'to wake up'. A prefixal derivative of *qoj*.

sqotë f, pl. *sqota* 'sleet'. Other variants are *shqotë* and *shkllotë*. The most archaic form is *shqotë* where the original Slavic **sl-* is substituted by **skl-*. The source is Slav **slota* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56-57). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113-114.

squfur m 'sulphur'. Another, and more conservative, form is *shqufur*. Borrowed from Rom **slufurem* instead of Lat *sulphurem* as in Arum *sclifur* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411, *Alb. St.* IV 54). Because of **sl-* > *shq-*, Slavic mediation cannot be excluded, cf. *sqotë*. In this case, the Arumanian form is also a Slavic or an Albanian loanword. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; HAARMANN 152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 114.

sqyt m, pl. *sqyta* 'shield'. Under the influence of *qytë*, transformed from **shqytë*. The latter was borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Slav **ščitъ* id.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 57.

stan m, pl. *stane* 'stall, herd'. Borrowed from Slav **stanъ* 'site, stall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stan*, SCr *stan* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 391-392). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to IE **stā-*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165; SVANE 62.

stap m, pl. *stape, stapinj* 'stick, staff'. Borrowed from Slav **stapъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stap*, SCr *stap* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; SVANE 80.

stavë f, pl. *stava* 'heap of wood, haystack'. Borrowed from Slav **stava* id. attested in Bulg *stava* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SVANE 42, 61.

stegë f, pl. *stega* 'bandolier'. Borrowed from Slav **sъtęga* 'loop, belt', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st'aga*, dial. *stega*.

stejë f, pl. *steja* 'bedding, saddle cover'. Another variant is *stelë*. Bor-

rowed from Slav **stel'a* 'bedding, cover', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stel'a*, SCr *stelja* (MEYER *Wb.* 392).

stenë f. pl. *stena* 'wooden wall'. Borrowed from Slav **stěna* 'wall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stena*, SCr *stijena, stena*. As to *stenicë* 'bug', it is derived from *stenë* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 53.

step m 'rock, peak'. Borrowed from Slav **stьpь* 'plateau, steppe', attested in the Balkans in SCr dial. *step* 'hilly countryside' (OREL *Ètimologija 1983* 139-140, *Ètimologija 1984* 182). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (from Turk *tepe* 'hill'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125 (to *thep*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (agrees with JOKL).

stepem refl. 'to be slow, to stop'. A prefixal derivative based on PAlb **tapa* related to ON *þefja* 'to stamp, to ram'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (to SCr *stepsti* 'to knock together').

sterrë adj. 'dark, black'. Expressive prefixal derivative of *terr*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (from **cerrë* < SCr *crn* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 113 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (identical with *sterë* 'cistern' in view of the expressions similar to *dark as in the well*).

stërditem refl. 'to meet accidentally'. A prefixal derivative of *di*. The prefix *stër-* is fairly productive and appears in numerous other forms, cf. *stërdhëmb* 'fang', *stërflok* 'to tousle (hair)', *stërgjysh* 'forefather, great-grandfather' and the like.

stërkas aor. *stërkita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav **strьkati* ~ **strьcati* id., cf. in South Slavic: SCr *strcati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Bulg *strъčka* 'sprinkling device').

stërqokë f *stërqoka* 'jackdaw'. A prefixal derivative of *qok* 'kind of owl' (WEIGAND 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Slav **stьrkъ* 'stork'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 613-614 (to *stërklas* 'to sprinkle' and *qokth*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115 (agrees with JOKL).

stërvinë f, pl. *stërvinë* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav **stьrvina* id. attested in South Slavic: SCr *strvina* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 325; SVANE 133.

stërvis aor. *stërvita* 'to train'. Borrowed from Slav **stьrviti* 'to bait, to lure, to train', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *strъv'a* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 196; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 609). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 213.

stog m, pl. *stogje* 'haystack'. Borrowed from Slav **stogъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stog*, SCr *stog* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 42.

stol m, pl. *stola* 'stool', Borrowed from Slav **stolъ* 'table, chair', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stol*, SCr *sto* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 303; SVANE 66.

stopan m, pl. *stopanë* 'shepherd, chief shepherd, shepher's assistant'. Borrowed from an old Iranism in South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stopan*, SCr dial. *stopanin* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◊ TRUBAČEV *Ètimologija 1965* 37 (reconstructs Iran **asta-pān-* 'house keeper').

strazë f 'garrison'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav **storža* 'guard', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *straža*, SCr *straža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 180.

strehë f, pl. *strehë* 'eaves (of the roof)'. Borrowed from Slav **strěxa*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *str'axa*, SCr *streha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 305; SVANE 54.

stremë f, pl. *stremë* 'square measure used to measure plots of land'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *str'ama*.

strokë f 'scab, rash'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, SCr *stroka* 'illness of sheep'.

strug m, pl. *strugje* 'plane (instrument)'. Another variant is *strugë*. Borrowed from Slav **strugъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *strug*, SCr *strug* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 395). The verb *strugat* 'to plane' is borrowed from Slav **strugati* id. The parallel form *strugoj* id. is derived from *strug*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172.

strukë f, pl. *struka* 'ambush'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *strъka, struka* 'passage, path'.

strukull m, pl. *strukuj* 'hen-coop'. Derived from *strukë*.

strum m 'pool'. Borrowed from Slav **strumy* 'brook' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *strumen*. ◊ SVANE 171.

strup m 'scab'. Borrowed from Slav **strupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *strup*, SCr *strup* (SVANE 184).

sufërinë f 'storm, breeze'. Another related form is *fufarinë* 'tempest, rain-storm'. Derived from *sufroj* 'to whisper into somebody's ear' borrowed from Ital *soffiare* 'to blow'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Ital *zufolare* 'to whistle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115 (onomatopoeia).

sukë f, pl. *suka* 'low hill'. Continues **tšukā* related to Skt *śūka-* 'awn of grain; spike of insect', Av *sūkā-* 'needle'. ◊ POKORNY I 626; MAYRHOFER III 363-364.

sukull m *sukuj* 'rag, cloth, lump, snow-flake'. Derived from *sukë*. The original meaning of the word must have been 'lump'. ◊ JOKL *UngJb* VII 82 (to *cukla* 'combings, flocks'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115-116 (borrowed from Slav **sukъno* 'broadcloth').

sulem refl. 'to rush to, to throw oneself upon, to attack'. From PAlb **tšula*, a zero-grade of *sjell* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Slav **sъlati* 'to send'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 77; LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 77-78 (to Arm *slanam* 'to run'); JOKL *LKUBA* 59 (follows LIDÉN); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94 (to Skt *cyávate* 'to move, to go away'), *AArbSt* II 81 (to *thëllëzë*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 58-59; ÇABEJ *St.* II 116-117 (follows LA PIANA).

sumbull f, pl. *sumbulla* 'round button; bud'. Based on PAlb **tsumba* continuing IE **k̂umb-*, cf. Gk κύμβη 'bowl', OIr *comm* 'vessel'. ◊ FRISK II 48; POKORNY I 592 (reconstructs **k-* in view of Skt *kumbha-* 'pot' but *-bh-* is irregular); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

sundoj aor. *sundova* 'to rule'. Based on **sund* borrowed from Slav **sǫdъ* 'court, trial', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sъd*, SCr *sud*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 396 (directly from **sǫditi* 'to

judge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180, 291; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 227.

sup m, pl. *supe* 'shoulder'. Continues PAlb **tsupa* related to Skt *śupti-* id., Av *supti-* id., MLG *schuft* 'front shoulder-blade (of animals)' (MEYER *Wb.* 396, *Alb. St.* III 12, 31). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MAYRHOFER III 357; POKORNY I 627; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355-356.

surmë adj. 'dark grey'. Continues PAlb **tsurma* < IE **k̂r̥mo-*, identical with Lith *šir̃mas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155). Cf. *thjermë*. ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (supports JOKL); SOLTA *Die Sprache* II 123 n. 2; FRAENKEL 988-989; ÇABEJ *St.* II 117 (from SCr *sur* 'grey'); HULD 145; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 356.

sutë f, pl. *suta* 'female deer, doe'. Identical with *shutë* 'female deer; hornless', *shytë* 'hornless'. Continues PAlb **tšutā* < **tšuktā* borrowed to Rum *ciut* 'hornless', *ciută* 'female deer' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 117-118) and Slav **šutъ* 'hornless'. The Albanian word is further related to IE **k̂uk-* in Lith *šùkos* 'comb', *šùkė* 'crock', *šukė̃tas* 'dented, chipped', Latv *suka* 'brush'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 420; FRAENKEL 1031; POKORNY I 629; VASMER IV 492; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 104 (from **ōk̂u* + *petēH* 'swift flying', cf. Gk ὠκυπέτης).

sy m/n, pl. *sy* 'eye'. From PAlb **atšīwi*, a form of dual similar related to Skt *akṣí*, Av *aši*, Lith *akì*, Slav **oči* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, 318-320) but influenced by **duwō* 'two'. The dialectal auslaut *-y* < *-i* seems to be secondary. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 383 (to Slav **sijati* 'to shine' and/or **sinь* 'blue'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 79; HIRT *BB* XXIV 263 (to Goth *skeinan* 'to shine'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201 (compares with IE **k̂u̯eid-* 'to shine, to be white'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 248, *Stratificazione* 95-96; LA PIANA *Studi* I 32 (to IE **k̂eu-* 'to shine'); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 97 (reconstructs **okʷi̯ōn*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 17; MAYRHOFER I 16; ÇABEJ *St.* II 118-120 (to **sūn-* 'sun' by analogy with OIr *súil* 'eye'); VASMER III 128-129; HULD 113; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Spr.* 223 (reconstructs **Hkʷi̯uu̯o-iH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 356-357.

syk adj. 'with black circles around eyes or on the face (of animals)'. Another morphological variant is *sysk*. Derived from *sy* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 120-121).

Sh

sha interj. Used in a limited number of contexts such as *sha Zotin* 'by God'. An allegro form of *pasha*, optative of *kam* (KRISTOFORIDHI 382; ÇABEJ *St.* II 121-122).

shag m, pl. *shegje* 'coarse linen fabric spread on the floor'. Borrowed from Lat *sagum* 'cloak made of coarse fabric' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 122). ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 96, 142.

shagit aor. *shagita* 'to crawl flatwise'. Another variant is *zhagit*. Based on **shag* borrowed from the Slavic verb 'to step, to walk' attested in Russ *šagat'*, Ukr *šahaty*, Czech *šahati* and believed to go back to Slav **sęgati* 'to reach'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97 (to *shes* or to *shëlligë*); VASMER IV 392-393; ÇABEJ *St.* II 122, 329 (phonetic variant of *zharg*).

shaj aor. *shava* 'to insult, to offend'. A prefixal form of *ënj* with the original meaning 'to blow out' > 'to be indignant'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 399 (from Rom **sannarī* based on Lat *sanna* 'grimace'), *Alb. St.* V 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255-256 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 122-123 (to Gk σκεδάννυμι 'to scatter, to disperse'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψιαίνω).

shajkë f, pl. *shajka* 'peg, nail'. From **shajt-kë*, based on *shajtoj*.

shajtoj aor. *shajtova* 'to dash against, to strike, to hit'. Etymologically identical with *shitoj* 'to wound' from which *shitë* 'wound' is derived. The verb is borrowed from Lat *sagittāre* 'to wound with an arrow' (CAMARDA II 146: to Lat *sagitta* 'arrow'). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* II 123-124.

shakë f, pl *shaka* 'dog, bitch'. Borrowed from South-West Iranian **saka-* < Iran **spaka-* 'dog' (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 30-31), cf. MPers *sak*, Class. Pers *sak*, NPers *säg*, Tadjik *sag* etc. Note *sh-* < Iran **s-* indicating a borrowing preceding Albanian-Slavic contacts, i.e. before the VI

century C.E. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 124; OREL *LB* XXVII/4 56, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 358.

shakull m, pl. *shakuj* 'goatskin'. Borrowed from Lat *sacculus* 'small bag' (CAMARDA I 161; MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 526 (agrees with MEYER); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 117 (derived from *shark*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138.

shalakuq aor. *shalakuqa* 'to warm over fire (of hands and feet)'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

shalë f, pl. *shala* 'saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs'. Borrowed from Lat *sella* 'seat, saddle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 398). Clearly enough, *shalë* 'inner side of the thigh; leg' is historically identical with the word for 'saddle' (CAMARDA II 165). As to *shalë* 'Borrago officinalis', it goes back to the same source. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 283; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk ψαλίς); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 125-126 (separates *shalë* as an anatomical term and equates it with Gk σκέλος 'leg (from the hip downwards)'; as a plant-name, *shalë* is explained from IE **skel-* 'to cut'); HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

shap m 'disease of the cattle, Aphta epizootica'. An early borrowing from Slav **sapъ* 'glanders'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* III 112 (to Rum *şopirlă* 'lizard'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 127 (from Turk *şab*).

shap m 'alum'. Borrowed from Lat *sapa* 'thick grape juice'.

shapkë f, pl. *shapka* 'cap, hat; slipper, old shoe'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *šapka* id., SCr *šapka* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; ÇABEJ *St.* II 127.

shapkë f, pl. *shapka* 'woodcock'. Identical with *shapkë* 'cap, hat' (MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 127-128 (related to *sqep*).

shaploj aor. *shaplova* 'to pound earth-clods'. Derived from Rom

**sappula*, cf. **sappa* 'hoe': Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 135.

shapoj aor. *shapova* 'to polish'. Borrowed from Rom **sappāre* 'to hack' based on **sappa* 'hoe', cf. Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*.

sharanduk aor. *sharanduka* 'to pinch'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *nduk*.

sharavaze f, pl. *sharavaze* 'weed'. A prefixal derivative in *shara-*.

sharavidhe f, pl. *sharavidhe* 'mussel'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *vidhë*.

sharë f 'sheep with white spots on the muzzle'. Borrowed from South Slavic **šara* id., cf. Bulg *šara*, SCr *šara* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 129).

sharë pl. 'offense'. An early borrowing from Slav **sora* reconstructed on the basis of Russ *ssora* 'row' < **sъsora* and SCr *osoran* 'rude', Slovene *osoren* < **ob-sorьnъ*. ◊ SVANE 137.

shark m 'fruit pulp'. Borrowed from Gk σάρξ 'flesh', occasionally, 'pulp' (KRISTOFORIDHI 384; JOKL *IF* XLIV 23-24). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 128 (to IE **sker-* as in Slav **skora* 'skin, hide'), IV 88.

shark m 'woolen cloak; green skin of nuts'. A parallel morphonological variant is *sharkë*. An early borrowing from Slav **sorka* 'shirt'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 400 (from Rom **sarica*); BUGA II 314; VASMER III 724-725; STEINHAUSER *SlRev* III 284-285 (compares *shark* with Slav **sorka* and explains both words from Arabic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (from Lat *serica*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 128-129 (identical with *shark* 'fruit pulp'); HAARMANN 149.

sharov m, pl. *sharova* 'big dog, large spotted hound'. Borrowed from Slav adj. neut. **šarovъ* 'spotted, multicolored', cf. Bulg *šaro* 'spotted (of dogs)'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 129 (to *sharë*).

shartoj aor. *shartoj* 'to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)'. Borrowed from Rom **(in)sertāre* based on Lat *serere* 'to sow', cf. Sp *enjer-*

tar 'to cross (animals)', Port *enxertar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 129-130 (from Rom **insertāre* or **exquartāre*); HAARMANN 149.

sharrë f, pl. *sharra* 'saw'. Borrowed from Lat *serra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*² I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 128, 177.

shat m, pl. *shata, shetër* 'hoe'. Borrowed from Lat *sector* 'cutter'. For the auslaut cf. *mbret*. Note the development of *-ct-* > Alb *-t-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 400 (to Lat *secō* 'to cut' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 5, 40; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282-283 (*i*-stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 61 (from IE **skod-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 224; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVII/2 200-201 (to Lat *sacena* 'kind of hoe [of the pontifex]'), *AE* 358-359.

shatorre f, pl. *shatorre* 'tent'. Borrowed from Slav **šatьrъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šatъr*, SCr *šator* (CAMARDA II 160).

she m 'undrying rivulet'. Derived from *shi*. ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 63-65 (borrowed from Finno-Ugric, cf. Hung *séd, sét* 'brook, rivulet'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 130 (follows JOKL).

shegë f, pl. *shegë* 'pomegranate'. Borrowed from an unknown Mediterranean word that may be reconstructed as **si(l)gʷā* in view of Gk σίδη, σίβδη id., σίλβια· σίδια (Hes.) coming from the same source (CAMARDA II 154). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250-251; FRISK II 702-703; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131.

shejth m, pl. *shejthe* 'birthmark'. Diminutive of *shenjë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

shekë f, pl. *sheka* 'large wooden vessel'. Other variants are *sheke* and *sheqe*. Back formation based on **sheqë* borrowed from Rom **sicla* 'pail', the source of Ital *secchia* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 10). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER *Wb.* 401 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 102 n. 1 (follows THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131-132 (MGk σίτλα, NGk σίκλα, σοῦκλα 'kind of big vessel' go back to the same source); HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 119.

shekull m, pl. *shekuj* 'age'. Borrowed from Lat *saeculum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1049; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 71, 142.

shelg m, pl. *shelgje* 'willow'. Borrowed from Lat *salix* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147.

shelkë f, pl. *shelka* 'cover, wrapping'. Identical with *shelqe.*

shelqe f, pl. *shelqe* 'wooden vessel for salt; vessel used as a plate by shepherds'. Other variants are *shelkë* and *sheqe.* Borrowed from Rom **salica* 'salt-cellar' (to Lat *sāl* 'salt'). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132 (variant of *shekë*); LANDI *Lat.* 95, 144.

shelqëror ~ shelqnuer m 'trunk with several branches used as a hanger in front of a shepherd's hut'. Borrowed from Lat *sarcinārius* 'used for packing, loading', reflected in the Rumanian synonym of the Albanian word *sărciner, sălciner* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132). ◊ HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 157.

shemb aor. *shemba* 'to tear, to destroy'. A prefixal derivative from PAlb **ampa*, a nasal present related to Skt *āpnóti* 'to reach', Gk ἅπτω 'to seize, to grasp' and other continuants of IE **ap-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (from Ital *scemare* 'to diminish, to lessen'); POKORNYI 50-51.

shembëll f, pl. *shembëlla* 'example, sample'. Another variant is *shembull.* Borrowed from Lat *exemplum* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Lat *similis* 'similar'); MEYER *Wb.* 404 (*shembëll* 'sign' from Lat *symbolum* 'symbol' but this meaning of the Albanian word is dubious); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 132-133 (back formation of *shembëllej* influenced by Lat *exemplum*).

shembëllej aor. *shembëlleva* 'to resemble'. Borrowed from Lat *similāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 404). The noun *shemtyrë* is derived from here. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047 (*shemtyrë, shembëlltyrë* derived from Rom **simulātūra*); 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133; HAARMANN 150.

shemë f, pl. *shemë* 'swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Lat *exāmen* 'swarm' (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◊ HAARMANN 124.

shemër ~ shemërk f, pl. *shemra* 'mistress, concubine, rival'. A morphonological transformation of the original Rom **sub-marīta* or **sub-marītica*, cf. Lat *marīta* 'married woman'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 5-12 (from IE **sm̥-marī* further related to Lat *marītus* 'married'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 119-120; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 140; ÇABEJ *StF* II/4 49 (early borrowing from Slav **sębrъ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 359-360.

shenjë f, pl. *shenja* 'sign'. Borrowed from Lat *signum* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60-61; MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045 (from Italian), 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20, 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250, 267; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58.

shenjtë adj. 'saint'. Another phonetic variant is *shënjtë*. Borrowed from Lat *sanctus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 84; MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249, 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 62-63; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 121, 142.

sherbelë f, pl. *sherbela* 'sage (plant)'. With a dissimilation of sonorants, borrowed from Rom **salviella* based on Lat *salvia* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31).

shermend m, pl. *shermend* 'shoot, sprout (especially, of vine)'. Borrowed from Lat *sarmentum* 'twig, branch' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 116, 177.

sherp m 'wild celery'. Borrowed from Gk σέλπον· σίλφιον (Hes.), σίλφιον 'umbelliferous plant' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 17) or from Lat *sirpe* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 21). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 402 (from Rom **silpium* < Gk σίλφιον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133-134 (agrees with THUMB).

shes aor. *shita* 'to sell'. A prefixal derivative of *-es* attested in *pres.* The original meaning is 'to cut off, to divide, to separate a share'. ◊

MEYER *Wb.* 402 (compares *sh-* with E *sell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from **eḱs-ketįō*).

shesh m. pl. *shesha* 'plain, plane, flatness, square'. Borrowed from Lat *sessus* 'seat' (MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◊ CAMARDA II 161 (to Gk ἴσος 'equal (in size)'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

shete pl. 'bran'. Plural of **shatë* borrowed from Lat *sectum*, participle of *secō* 'to cut'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 134 (related to *shat*).

shetkë f 'mane'. Borrowed from Slav **ščetъka* 'brush, bristle' otherwise unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *ščetka*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

shëkroj aor. *shëkrova* 'to devote, to dedicate'. Borrowed from Lat *sacrāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

shëlboj aor. *shëlbova* 'to save, to deliver'. Borrowed from Lat *salvāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 147.

shëllij ~ shëllî aor. *shëlliva* 'to salt'. Borrowed from Lat *salīre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

shëmoj aor. *shëmova* 'to choke, to suffocate'. Borrowed from Lat *exanimārī* id.

shëmtoj aor. *shëmtova* 'to make ugly, to distort'. Borrowed from Rom **examputāre*, cf. Lat *amputāre* 'to cut down, to amputate'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Rom **signitāre*); SKOK *AArbSt* II 342 n. 3 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 134-135 (based on *shenjë*).

shëndet m 'health'. Borrowed from Lat *sanitātem* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 109.

shëndosh adj. 'healthy'. Borrowed from Rom **sanitōsus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57-58). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 110.

shëndërtat m 'Transfiguration; Trinity'. Borrowed from Lat *sanctam trīnitātem* 'holy Trinity' (ZOJZI *BIShk* 1949/1 85-86). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (to *shëndrit*); KRISTOFORIDHI 391 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 116-117 (follows ZOJZI), *St.* II 135 (from *shenj tëritat*); HAARMANN 148.

shëndrit aor. *shëndrit* 'to shine'. Prefixal derivative in *shën-* of *ndrit*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

shëngjetë f 'best part of hunting trophies'. Prefixal derivative of *gjah*.

shëpullë f, pl. *shëpulla* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

shërbej aor. *shërbeva* 'to serve'. Borrowed from Lat *servīre* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 78; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 135-136; HAARMANN 149.

(T) shëroj aor. *shërova* 'to heal'. Borrowed from Lat *sānāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 147.

shëshëris aor. *shëshërita* 'to hiss'. Borrowed from Gk συρίζω 'to whistle' influenced by Lat *susurrāre* 'to hiss' (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

shëtit aor. *shëtita* 'to go for a walk'. Another variant is *shetit*. Borrowed from Slav **šętati* 'to walk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šetam*, SCr *šetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 254.

shi m/n, pl. *shira* ~ *shina* 'rain'. From PAlb **sūja*, with an irregular development of the initial **s-* > *sh-* explained by the dissimilation in the intermediary form **jūja* (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 282). The

word is connected with IE *sū- 'rain; to rain': Gk ὕει, Tokh A *swase*, Tokh B *swese* 'rain', *sū-* 'to rain' and, in particular, OPrus *suge* 'rain' = [*sūjē*] (MEYER *Alb. Studien* III 43, 81, *Wb.* 405; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350). ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (to Gk χιών 'snow'); JOKL *Studien* 77; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 281; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 f.; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251-252; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 912; VAN WINDEKENS I 443; HAMP *KZ* LXXIV 128-129; FRISK II 978-979; CHANTRAINE 1164; ÇABEJ *St.* II 136; HULD 113; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 360-361.

(G) shî m 'occiput'. Borrowed from Lat *sinus* 'curve, bend, lap'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (to Slav **šija* 'neck'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (< IE **ksī(n)i̯-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96.

shi adv. 'exactly, right'. Borrowed from Lat *sīc* 'so, yes'.

shibë f 'cold (illness)'. Derivative of *shi*.

shibël f, pl. *shibla* 'bread crumb; splinter'. Based on Slav **šibati* 'to strike, to hit'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from SCr *šiba* 'twig').

shigjetë f, pl. *shigjeta* 'arrow'. Another form is *shëgjetë*. Borrowed from Lat *sagitta* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 143 (from Rum *săgeată*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58, 95.

shij ~ shî aor. *shiva ~ shina* 'to thresh'. Borrowed from Lat *exigere* 'to drive away, to push out, to throw'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 388, XXVIII 40 (to Gk ξύνω); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 228.

shijë f, pl. *shija* 'taste'. A more archaic form is *shilë*. Borrowed from Rom **suāvilia*, based on Lat *suāvis* 'sweet', cf. Skt *svadati* 'to make palatable' ~ *svādu-* 'sweet'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Gk ἵλεως 'propitious, gracious'); BUCK 1029-1031.

shikëll f, pl. *shikëlla* 'gall-nut'. Borrowed from Rom **sicula* < Lat *silicula* 'small pod'.

shikoj aor. *shikova* 'to look, to pay attention'. Other forms are *shëkoj* and *shukoj*. Borrowed from the deponential Lat *sequor* 'to follow',

in particular, 'to follow with eyes' - *oculis sequor.* ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to *shoh*); MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Rom **sedicāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 137.

shiloj aor. *shilova* 'to saddle'. Derived from *shalë*, with an irregular vowel change in the root (JOKL *LKUBA* 22).

shilor m, pl. *shilorë* 'burden, load, faggot, breast bone (of cow or pig)'. Derived from *shiloj.* ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 128-129 (*-lor* to *pluar*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (derived from *shul*).

shipkë f, pl. *shipka* 'box on the ear'. Borrowed from South Slavic **šibъka* 'blow, ramrod', cf. Bulg *šibka.*

shiringë f, pl. *shiringa* 'syringe'. Borrowed from Lat *sȳringa* id.

shirk m 'goatskin, wineskin'. The Greek-Albanian form is *shiq.* A phonetic variant of *rrëshek* ~ *rrëshiq* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 137).

shise f. pl. *shise* 'feeling'. Dissimilated from **shishe.* Borrowed from Lat *sēnsum* id.

shitë f, pl. *shita* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë.*

shitë f, pl. *shita* 'illness of sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *sitūs* 'weakness'.

shkabë f, pl. *shkaba* 'eagle'. A prefixal formation related to *gabonjë* and reflecting PAlb **iš-gaba* (JOKL *LKUBA* 303-306). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 406 (compared with Slav **koba, *kobь, *kobьcь* 'falcon'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 140, *Stratificazione* 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* III 108 (follows MEYER); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (follows MEYER).

shkadhis aor. *shkadhita* 'to cut (branches)'. Derived from *kadhë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 391). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 137 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 88.

shkagoj aor. *shkagova* 'to refuse, to decline'. Borrowed from Lat *excaudicāre* 'to uproot, to eradicate'.

shkak m, pl. *shkaqe* 'reason, cause; noose, snare, trap'. The original meaning must have been close to 'noose, snare, trap' later developed to the abstract notion of 'cause'. Continues PAlb **skaka* etymologically related to ON *skaga* 'to protrude', Slav **skokъ* 'jump' < IE **skek-* 'to jump, to be agile'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to *shkarkoj*); VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* II 138 (from **shkark* related to Lat *curvus* 'crooked, curved').

shkal m 'rain-storm'. Derived from *shkal* 'to bring down'.

shkal aor. *shkala* 'to bring down, to drag, to roll, to charm (of fairies)'. Continues PAlb **skala* related to Gk σκάλλω 'to chop', Lith *skeliù, skélti* 'to split', ON *skilja* id. and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 800-801; FRISK II 715-716; POKORNY I 923-927.

shkalbësoj aor. *shkalbësova* 'to cut off (rotten parts)'. Derived from *kalb*.

shkalc m, pl. *shkalca* 'barrow, tray'. Derived from *shkallë* (MEYER *Wb.* 407). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 138 (to *shkel*).

shkalis aor. *shkalita* 'to dismount'. Another morphological variant is *shkalos*. Derived from *kalë*.

shkalis aor. *shkalita* 'to caress, to make weak'. Derived from *shkal*.

shkallë f, pl. *shkallë* 'stairs, staircase'. Borrowed from Lat *scālae* 'stairs' (MEYER *Wb.* 406-407; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 148.

shkallmë f, pl. *shkallma* 'sword'. Borrowed from Gk σκάλμη id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 138) if not an artificial coinage of FISHTA used in his *Shqypnija i lirë*.

shkalloj aor. *shkallova* 'to exaggerate, to go mad'. Borrowed from Rom **exscālāre* 'to escalate' based on Lat *scālae* 'stairs', cf. *shkallë*. From here *shkallaq* 'crazy' is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from Rom **excallāre*, to Lat *callis* 'path'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539 (against

MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to *shkel*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 139 (derived from *shkallë*).

shkandull m, pl. *shkanduj* 'temptation'. Borrowed from Rom **scandulum* for Lat *scandalum* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048).

shkapërcej aor. *shkapërceva* 'to cross'. One of several prefixal derivatives in *shka-për-*, in this case - based on *ecëj*. Cf. also *shkapërdaj* 'to divide', *shkapërthej* 'to trample down'.

shkardhë f 'dog chain; long stick attached to the dog's neck to prevent it from biting its master'. From PAlb **iš-gardā*, etymologically connected with *gardhë* and forming full parallel to Slav **jьz-gorda* 'fence' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 67-69). The original meaning of *shkardhë* may be approximated as 'pile-structure, fence', taking into account the derivative *shkardhinë* 'structure open from all sides; roof'.The proto-Albanian form was borrowed as Rum *zgardă* 'dog-collar, necklace, collar, willow-loop keeping folding doors shut' (POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Antič.* 136). ◊ KALUŽSKAJA *Balk. Sredizemn.* 177-178 (derives *shkardhë* from **sker-* 'to cut'); ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 30.

shkarkoj aor. *shkarkova* 'to unload' Borrowed from Rom **discarricāre* id. (CAMARDA I 66), cf. Rum *descareca*, Ital *scaricare* and the like. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 44.

shkarpë f, pl. *shkarpa* 'brushwood'. Borrowed from Gk σκάριφος 'contour; brushwood' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Rom **discarpere* or **excarpere* 'to tear off'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

shkarpë f, pl. *shkarpa* 'honeycomb (without honey)'. Historically, of the same origin as *shkarpë* 'brushwood'. A honeycomb devoid of honey is described as an empty 'contour'. ◊ CAMARDA I 173 (divides into *sh-karpë*).

shkartoj aor. *shkartova* 'to sort, to grade, to assort (of bad things); refl. 'to be perforated by worms'. Borrowed from Rom **excarptāre*, a variant of **excarptiāre* 'to tear off, to pick': Sp *escarzar*, Port *escarçar*.

shkarth m, pl. *shkartha* 'servant, slave'. Derived from **karth*, cf.

kërthi 'tiny; baby' s.v. *kërth*. Semantically, cf. Lith *tar̃nas* 'servant' ~ Skt *tarṇaka-* 'calf', *táruṇa-* 'young; boy'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1060; BUCK *Synonyms* 1334-1335; MAYRHOFER II 483, 485-486; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237, 257.

shkarthi adv. 'across'. Deived from *kërthi*.

shkarzej aor. *shkarzeva* 'to humiliate, to abase', refl. 'to roll in dust (of horses and donkeys)'. Another variant is *shkarzoj*. In all meanings, the Albanian verb is used metaphorically as it comes from Rom **excardiāre* 'to spin wool'. ◊ CAMARDA I 142 (root *skar-*); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Slav **skarędъ* 'disgusting, monster'); VASMER III 634 (against MEYER).

shkarravesh aor. *shkarravesha* 'to divide, to cut into pieces'. An expressive verb.

shkas aor. *shkava, shkajta, shkita* 'to slip, to slide'. Continues PAlb **skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* 'to stream, to flow out', Lith *skantù, skàsti* 'to spring, to jump' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 100). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σκαιός 'left', σκάζω 'to be lame'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (reconstructs **skes-*); JOKL *Studien* 82 (to Slav **kotiti* 'to roll', **kačati* 'to swing'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (same as JOKL); WALDE-HOFMANN II 491; FRAENKEL 798; POKORNY I 950; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

shkas m, pl. *shkase* 'impulse, motive, incentive'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkatërr f 'ray, skate'. Based on **shkat* borrowed from Lat *squātus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 139).

shkatërroj aor. *shkatërrova* 'to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom **excathedrāre* 'to evict, to oust'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228 (from *katër*).

shkath aor. *shkatha* 'to make skillful'. Based on **shkath, shkathët* 'agile, quick, skilful'. The latter is derived from *shkak*.

shkazmë f, pl. *shkazmë* 'slippery slope'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

shkel aor. *shkela* 'to make a step, to walk'. Another variant is *shklas*. Continues PAlb **skala* or **skalatja* related to Skt *skhálate* 'to stumble, to trip'. Derived from *shkel* is *shkelb* 'step' (JOKL *LKUBA* 283). ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk σκάλλω 'to dig, to hoe'); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from IE **skel-* in its unspecified meaning); JOKL *Studien* 78-79 (to Lith *kulnìs* 'heel', Lat *calx* id.); MAYRHOFER III 509 (reconstructs **sk(h)er-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 238.

shkelc m, pl. *shkelca* 'stair'. Singularized plural of *shkalc*.

shkencë f, pl. *shkenca* 'science'. Borrowed from Lat *scientia* id.

shkep aor. *shkepa* 'to rip open, to unrip, to tear'. Continues PAlb **skaipa* related to ON *skífa* 'to split', OFries *skīvia* 'to divide' and other continuants of **skei-p-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 152 (to *shkabë* and *shqipe*); POKORNY I 922.

shkep aor. *shkepa* 'to resemble'. A parallel form is *shkrep*. A prefixal derivative of **krep* continuing PAlb **krepa* 'body' related to Skt instr. sg. *kŕp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'body, lap' (JOKL *Studien* 80). For the semantic development cf. Goth *galeiks* 'like' ~ *leik* 'body'. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (original group *shkr-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; MAYRHOFER I 260; FEIST *Goth.* 188-189; POKORNY I 620; BUCK *Synonyms* 910-912; ÇABEJ *St.* II 139-140 (identical with *shkrep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (identified with *shkep* 'to rip open').

shkëlbazë f 'spleen inflammation'. Prefixal derivative of *këlbazë*.

shkëlbozë f, pl. *shkëlboza* 'bark'. Derivative in *-ozë* of **shkalbë* continuing PAlb **skalbā*, connected with ON *skalpr* 'ship', *skelpa* 'grimace' < *'crack, split', MLG *scholpe* 'mussel'. These forms, in their turn, go back to IE **skel-* 'to split, to cut'. ◊ POKORNY I 926; MANN *HAED* 480 (identical with *gëlvozhdë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 140 (to *kalb*).

shkëlqar aor. *shkëlqara* 'to polish (of metals)', refl. 'to clear (of weather)'. Derivative of *shkëlqej*.

shkëlqej aor. *shkëlqeva* 'to shine, to polish'. Derived from *qelq* (CAMARDA I 101; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 201.

shkëmb ~ shkamb m, pl. *shkëmbinj ~ shkambinj, shqembe* 'seat, throne; rock'. Borrowed from Lat *scamnum* 'bench, throne'. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 408). The meaning 'rock' developped from an earlier *'slope' < *'bench', cf. Russ *prilavok* 'bench, slope'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (of non-Indo-European origin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 105, 115.

shkëmbej aor. *shkëmbeva* 'to change, to exchange'. Borrowed from Rom **excambiāre* id.: Rum *schimba*, Ital *scambiare* and the like (HAARMANN 124). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 139.

shkëndijë f, pl. *shkëndija* 'spark'. Borrowed from Rom **scintilia* id. attested in Rum *scînteie* instead of a more widely known Lat *scintilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; CAMARDA I 67: related to Lat *scintilla*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (derived from *shkëndej* 'to sparkle' borrowed from Lat *excandēscere* 'to catch fire'); MEYER-LÜBKE 580 (phonetical difficulties of the above Romance reconstruction), *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 124.

shkëpurdh aor. *shkëpurdha* 'to scratch'. An expressive verb derived from *këpurdhë*.

shkëput aor. *shkëputa* 'to separate, to tear off'. Derived from *këput*.

shkërbej aor. *shkërbeva* 'to imitate'. A hypercorrect derivative of *shkep ~ shkrep* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140). From here *shkërba, shkërbe* 'monster' is derived.

shkërdhec m, pl. *shkërdheca* 'keg, barrel'. An early borrowing from Slav **skovordьcь* 'pan' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◊ CAMARDA II 210; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scardasso* 'card, in textile'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

shkërmoq aor. *shkërmoqa* 'to pound, to trample'. Derived from *kërmë*.

shkërpicë f, pl. *shkërpica* 'spark'. Derived from *kërpicë*.

shklakonem refl. 'to invade, to burst into'. A phonetic variant of

shkalkonem 'to dismount' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140) continuing Rom **excaballicāre* based on Lat *caballus* 'horse'. Cf. also *ngalkonem* 'to mount' < Rom **incaballicāre.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scalcare* 'to carve').

shklepë f, pl. *shklepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum'. Derived from *glepë.*

shklesë f, pl. *shklesa* 'roof shingle'. Derivative of *shkel.*

shklluq aor. *shklluqa* 'to drink at one gulp'. Based on the onomatopoeic **klluq* 'gulp'.

shkmes aor. *shkmesa* 'to clip, to prune (bushes, trees)'. Derived from *kmesë.*

shkoj aor. *shkova* 'to go'. A late apocopation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg* (JOKL *Studien* 80-82; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141). From here *shkojëz* 'pore' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σχάω 'to slit open [to let something escape]'); MEYER *Wb.* 408 (compares with Lat *sequor* 'to follow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to wander'), *Hymje* 24; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (agrees with BARIĆ); WALDE-HOFMANN II 490; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (accepts JOKL's etymology); HULD 114.

shkollë f, pl. *shkolla* 'school'. Borrowed from Lat *schola* id., or as suggested by MEYER *Wb.* 387, from Venet *scola.* ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (agrees with MEYER).

shkop m, pl. *shkopinj, shqep* 'stick, cane'. Continues PAlb **skāpa* further related to Gk σκᾶπος· κλάδος, σκῆπτρον 'staff' (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 408), Lat *scāpus* 'shaft, stem', OHG *skaft* 'shaft, spear'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 60 (borrowed from Lat *scāpus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (Latin loanword); PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (borrowed from North-Western Greek); POKORNY I 932; FRISK II 728-729; HULD 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

shkopis aor. *shkopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav **skopiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253). Note the anlaut *shk-*. ◊ SVANE 136, 262.

shkoq aor. *shkoqa* 'to husk, to hull'. Derived from *kokë*. The verb *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify' is based on *shkoq*.

shkorsë f, pl. *shkorsa* 'rug made of goat wool'. Borrowed from Lat *scortea*, fem. adj. 'made of fur or of hide' (MEYER *Wb.* 408). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shkorret m, pl. *shkorrete* 'bush'. Another variant is *shkorre*. Derivative of *shqerr* with a different ablaut grade *-ē- > PAlb *-ā-. ◊ HAHN 122 (to *korie* 'verdure, young growth'); MEYER *Wb.* 199-200 (follows HAHN); JOKL *ZONF* X 188-189 (derivative of *korr*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with JOKL).

shkozë f, pl. *shkoza* 'beech'. Derived from *shkoj*. The word describes the beech as a 'walking' tree similar to *bredh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (to Slovene *kozol* 'basket made of bark', Russ *kuzov* 'basket' and the like); JOKL *WuS* XII 71-73 (to Lith *skrúoblas* 'red beech'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to OE *scaga* 'bush'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; HULD *KZ* XCV 305-306 (derived from **kār-* 'hard'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 362 (to *shkorre*, *shkurre*, *shqerr*).

shkrabë m, pl. *shkraba* 'scrawl'. From PAlb **skrabā* related to Lat *scrobis* 'pit', OE *screpan* 'to scratch', Lith *skrebė́ti* 'to rustle', Slav **skrebti* 'to scratch' and the like. ◊ TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 267; VASMER III 656; WALDE-HOFMANN II 500; POKORNY I 943-944

shkrap m, pl. *shkrapa* 'scorpion'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. OCS *skrapii* id., Bulg *skrapl'a* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk σκορπίος 'scorpion'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59 (from Lat *scorpiō* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (agrees with CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAMP *LB* XXXV/1-2 67.

shkrefëtij aor. *shkrefëtiva* 'to neigh'. An onomatopoeia. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to SCr *krhati* 'to cough, of a horse').

shkreh aor. *shkreha* 'to release (safety device, trigger)'. Derived from *shkrep*. ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk κρέκω 'to weave').

shkrehezë f 'bird trap'. Derived from *shkreh* (KRISTOFORIDHI 339). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

shkrep aor. *shkrepa* 'to strike (fire); to release (trigger)'. Based on *shkrep* 'rock'. As to *shkrep* 'to be sexually attracted', it is an obvious metaphor based on *shkrep* 'to strike (fire)'. Borrowed to Rum *scăpăra* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to Rum *scăpăra* 'to sparkle', NGk σκραπτῶ 'to shine'), *Alb. St.* III 31 (to Gk στράπτω); JOKL *Studien* 80 (to Lat *corpus* 'body'), *Sprache* IX 151 (to Slav **kresati* 'to kindle fire'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 144; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (to Lat *crepō*); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowed from Gk ἀστράπτω 'to shine'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 362-363.

shkrep m, pl. *shkrepa* 'rock'. Prefixal derivative of *krep* (JOKL *LKUBA* 116). ◊ VASMER *ZfslavPh* XIV 60 (from **shkrap* borrowed to SCr *škrapa* 'pebble'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 363-364 (reconstructs **kr̥Hp-*).

shkretë adj. 'lonely, deserted, empty'. Borrowed from Lat *sēcrētus* 'separate, isolated' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to *krej*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; SANDFELD *LBalk* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149.

shkrif aor. *shkrifa* 'to hoe, to loosen'. Related to *shkrij* 'to melt', a prefixal derivative of *grij.*

shkruaj ~ shkruej aor. *shkrova* 'to write'. Borrowed from Lat *scrībere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409, *Alb. St.* IV 38). ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to *kruaj* and Lat *scrībere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 223 (follows MEYER), *IF* XLIX 291; TREIMER *MRIW* I 362 (follows CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; ÇABEJ *St.* II 142-143 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology).

shkrumb m, pl. *shkrumba* 'black ashes, anything burned to ashes'. Continues PAlb **iš-kruma* with a non-etymological *-mb* < **-m̥* as obvious from the Albanian loanword in Rumanian - *scrum* id. A zero grade of IE **krem-* attested in Lat *cremō* 'to burn' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 143). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Turk *kurum*); CAPIDAN *DR* II 458 (from Avar); WALDE-HOFMANN I 287; POKORNY I 572; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ROSETTI

ILR I 281; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 154 (to **kerə-* 'to burn'); DURIDANOV *BE* XVIII/4-5 401-406.

shkrydh aor. *shkrydha* 'to comb, to card (of wool)'. Derived from *krydh.*

shkrryej aor. *shkrreva* 'to make dirty (of clothes)'. Based on *gërryej.*

shkues m, pl. *shkues* 'matchmaker, father-in-law'. Derived from *shkoj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 398). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 143 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

shkul aor. *shkula* 'to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate'. A zero-grade of IE **skel-* 'to cut, to split' attested also in *shkal.* ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (opposed to *n-gul*); POKORNY I 923-926.

shkulkë f 'branch placed in the middle of a meadow and forbidding to use it as a pasture'. Another variant is *shkujkë.* An early borrowing from Romance, cf. OSard *iskolka* 'guard of private property', OPort *escolca* id. (BARIÇ *Hymje* 71). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 143-144 (borrowed from Middle Greek or derived from *shkul*).

shkulm m, pl. *shkulma* 'wave'. Prefixal derivative of *kulm* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 144).

shkumë f, pl. *shkumë* 'foam'. Another form is *shkumbë.* Borrowed from a Germanic loanword in Rom **scuma* id. (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409-410). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050 (from Ital Neapol *škumme*); HELBIG 59 (from Ital dial. *scuma* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255.

shkund aor. *shkunda* 'to shake, to swing'. Continues PAlb **skunta*, nasal present of IE **skeut-*: MIr *scothaid* 'to cut off', Lith *skutù, skùsti* 'to scrape'. Derived from here are *shkundulloj* 'to shake strongly' and *shkundëllimë* 'earthquake'. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Lat *scindō* 'to tear into parts'); MEYER *Wb.* 410 (from Lat *excutere* 'to shake off'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 356 (*sh-kund* to Slav **kydati* 'to throw'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 218 (to Lith *kutěti* 'to shake'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; FRAENKEL 823-824; VENDRYES [S] 52; POKORNY I 954.

shkupë f 'warm spring wind'. Derived from *Shkup*, the Albanian name of Skople (ÇABEJ *St.* II 144).

shkurt adj. 'short', m 'February'. Borrowed from Gmc **skurtaz* 'short': OHG *scurz*, OE *sceort*. Of particular interest is *shkurte* 'shirt' from Gmc **skurta* ~ **skurti-* id.: ON *skyrta*, MLG *schorte* and the like. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *curtus* 'short'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *curtus* 'short'); MEYER *Wb. 409* (from Rom **excurtus* unattested elsewhere); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046 (from **ex-* + *curtus*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; ERNOUT-MEILLET 160; ONIONS 822; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 124.

shkurre f, pl. *shkurre* 'bush'. Phonetic variant of *shkorre*, cf. *shkorret* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26, 67; ÇABEJ *St.* II 144-145). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 410 (borrowed from Lat *cornea*, adjective of *cornus* 'cornel'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230, 328 (to Slav **kъry* 'root'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 103, *AArbSt* I 156 (to OIr *crann* 'tree'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XL 493 (same as BARIĆ).

shkyç aor. *shkyça* 'to unlock'. Based on *kyç*.

shluk m, pl. *shluqe* 'blister'. Borrowed from Rom **slucus*, metathesized variant of Lat *sulcus* 'furrow, wound'.

shlyej aor. *shleva* 'to pay off, to cancel, to cover'. Derived from *lyej*.

shlligë f, pl. *shlliga* 'viper'. A parallel form is *shëlligë*. A tabooistic description derived from *lig* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 359). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 77-78 (to OIr *selige* 'turtle'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LAMBERTZ *Alb. Märchen* 10 n. 2 (to Germ *schleichen* 'to crawl' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* II 145.

shllim m 'idea'. Derived from *shllej* 'to resemble', a phonetic variant of *shembëllej* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

shoh ~ shof aor. *pashë* 'to see'. From PAlb **sākska* with a dissimilation of sibilants. Further connected to IE **sek^{w}-* 'to follow, to see': Skt *sácate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk ἕπομαι, Lat *sequor*; cf. in particular Goth *saiƕan* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 7, 43: reconstructs an intermediate **si̯eh*) and Hitt *šakuišk-*. The aorist

is based on the zero grade of IE **pā-* 'to pasture, to guard', cf. MEYER *Wb.* 323-324 (who, however, combines it with an erroneous comparison with Skt *páśyati* '(he) sees': **-k̂s-* would have yielded Alb *-h-*), *Alb. St.* III 25. ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk σάω 'to sow'); BRUGMANN-DELBRÜCK II/3 404; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283 (reconstructs **sekᵘsk̂ō*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 621; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *Hymje* 90-91; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (borrowed from Goth *saihvan*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 640; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (follows PEDERSEN), *Shêjzat* [XIX] 196-197; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 161 (identifies *shoh* with Skt *siṣakti* 'to follow'); MAYRHOFER III 417-418; FRISK I 544-545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 519-520; FEIST *Goth.* 404-405; POKORNY I 896-898; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 150-151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (*pashë* - to Arm *hayi-* 'to look'), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 231; HAMP *IF* XCIII 121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 114-115 (reconstructs a causative **sokᵘēsk̂ō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 312-313 (repeats MEYER's etymology).

shok m, pl. *shokë* 'comrade, friend'. Another form is *shoq*. The variant *shok* is a back formation of *shoq* (an analogically motivated singular of pl. *shoq*). Borrowed from Lat *socius* 'comrade, companion' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 412 (from Rom **socus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 82; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95-96.

shokë f, pl. *shoka* 'belt'. Borrowed from Rom **soca* 'rope, cable': Ital dial. *soga*, OFr *soue* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shollë f, pl. *shollë* 'sole'. Another form is *shuallë*. Borrowed from Lat *solum* id. (CAMARDA I 50; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 137-139.

shoretkë f 'hole of a honeycomb'. From **shortekë* continuing Rom **sortīca* 'outlet', derived from **sortīre* 'to go out'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 146 (borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **rešetъka* 'grating, lattice').

short m, pl. *shortë* 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *sortem* id. (CAMARDA II 159; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 146.

shorr aor. *shorra* 'to press together, to squeeze'. Continues PAlb **sjāra* related to Hitt *isḫii̯a-* 'to bind', Skt *syáti* 'to bind', Lith *seijù, siẽti* id. and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 783; MAYRHOFER III 549-550; POKORNY I 891.

shosh aor. *shosha* 'to sift'. From PAlb **sjāsja* related to Gk ἠθέω id., Lith *sijóju, sijóti* id., Slav **sějati* id. and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 385-386 (to Gk σήθω id.), *Alb. St.* III 41, *Gr. Gr.* 297; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 72; FRAENKEL 784; FRISK I 624; VASMER III 615; POKORNY I 889; HULD 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 364-365.

shotë f, pl. *shota* 'big duck'. From PAlb **sjāutā* related to W *hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id. and continuing, with a metathesis, IE **sau̯i̯eto-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 310-311 (prefixal derivative of IE **anət-* 'duck'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 55 (Celtic words explained from IE **au̯i̯etos*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 244-245 (same as JOKL); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 155.

shpagë f 'revenge'. Derived from *pagë* 'payment', an Italian loanword.

shpalcë f 'sea fish, golden bream, Chrysophris auratus'. Another form is *shparzë*. Based on **shparë* borrowed directly from Gk σπάρος 'bream' or via Lat *sparus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

shpall aor. *shpalla* 'to announce, to declare'. From **shprall,* based on *prrallë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to *pëllas*); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (to Lat *palam* 'openly', Slav **polъjь* 'hollow'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10; DEMIRAJ *AE* 365 (to Goth *spillon* 'to tell').

shpardh m, pl. *shpardhe* 'oak'. Based on PAlb **pardza* identical with ON *forkr* 'stick, pole' continuing IE **perĝ-*. An alternative explanation derives *shpardh* from *bardh* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 365-366), an etymology semantically based on the contrast between the "white" oak and the "red" beech. ◊ TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (from IE **perkʷ-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 186-187 (to OHG *sparro* 'beam'); POKORNY I 819-820 (reconstructs **perg-* and compares ON *forkr* with Lith *pérgas* 'fishing-boat' and Slav **porgъ* 'threshold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121; ÖLBERG *IBK*

XVII 46; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (to Gk σπόρος 'sowing').

shpargër ~ shpargën m, pl. *shpërgenj* 'diaper'. A more archaic singular in Geg is *shpërgâ*. Borrowed from Gk σπάργανον id. (CAMARDA I 85; DIEFENBACH I 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 414 (from NGk *σπαργάνι); ÇABEJ *St.* II 148 (follows DIEFENBACH).

shpartë f, pl. *shparta* 'broom (bot.)'. Borrowed from Lat *spartum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shparr m 'kind of oak'. From PAlb **spara* borrowed from rather than identical with Lat *sparus* 'short spear' or OHG *sparro* 'beam, girder', ON *spari* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 186-188). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991.

shpat m, pl. *shpate* 'precipice, mountain forest'. Prefixal derivative of **pat* continuing PAlb **pata*. The latter is related to Skt *pátati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk πίπτω 'to fall' and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 163-164). ◊ FRISK II 542-543; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825; ÇABEJ *St.* II 146-147 (back formation of *shpatull*).

shpatë f, pl. *shpata* 'sword'. Borrowed from Lat *spāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ CAMARDA I 158 (to an unattested Gk σπάθη); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150.

shpatull f, pl. *shpatulla* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'. Borrowed from Rom **spatula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ CAMARDA II 158; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 150.

shpejtë adj. 'quick, fast'. Borrowed from Lat *expedītus* 'easy, expedite, quick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24) or restored from Rom **expedītāre*, cf. *shpëtoj* (JOKL *RIEB* II 72-73). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (against MIKLOSICH; to Slav **spěxъ* 'hurry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 100-101 (to Gk σπέρχομαι 'to rush'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 147-148 (in view of OAlb *shpjertë* of BUZUKU, a postverbal formation of *shpie*).

shpellë f, pl. *shpella* 'cave'. Borrowed from Lat *spēlaeum* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σπήλαιον id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62

(from Lat *spelunca*); PISANI *Saggi* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk σπήλαιον); HULD *KZ* XCIX 250 (follows MIHĂESCU); LANDI *Lat.* 176.

shpend m, pl. *shpend, shpendë* 'bird'. Other forms are *shpes, shpezë* and *shpen*. Derived from *pendë* as proved by *shpendël* 'down' going back to the same source. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (a prefixal derivative of **pet-no-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141.

shpene f, pl. *shpene* 'snow-flake'. Related to *shpend* and *shpendël.*

shpenkoj aor. *shpenkova* 'to disembowel (of poultry)'. From **shpend-koj*, based on *pendë.*

shperr aor. *shperra* 'to win (money), to gain'. From PAlb **sparja* related to Gmc **sparōjan* 'to leave unharmed, to keep': ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*. ◊ ONIONS 850.

shpeshë adj. 'frequent, thick'. Borrowed from Lat *spissus* 'thick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

shpet m, pl. *shpeta* 'garden fence'. Singularized plural of *shpat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 148).

shpërbëhet refl. 'to rot, to to decompose'. Derivative of *bëj*. As in many other verbs, the prefix *shpër-* borrowed from Lat *super-* is used here.

shpërej aor. *shpereva* 'to hope'. Borrowed from Lat *sperāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

shpëtoj aor. *shpëtova* 'to save'. Borrowed from Rom **expedītāre*, frequentative of Lat *expedīre* 'to extricate, to disengage' (MEYER *Wb.* 414, *Alb. St.* IV 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐκπέτομαι 'to fly out, to fly away'); JOKL *RIEB* II 71-72 (derived from *pet-kë* as a calque of Lat *ex-cappāre* 'to go, to be in a hurry'), *LKUBA* 78; SPITZER *MRIW* I 330 (from Rom **hospitāre* 'to receive as a guest'); HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 149 (agrees with JOKL).

shpie aor. *shpura, shpum* 'to bring away'. Prefixal derivative of *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 82-83 (from **-perō* related to *pruva*), *LKUBA* 230; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105 (agrees with JOKL); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257-258; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 366-367.

shpih ~ shpif aor. *shpiha ~ shpifa* 'to slander, to calumniate'. The initial *sh-* is a prefix as it follows from *këpif* 'to blame' (MEYER *Wb.* 413). Continues PAlb **peikska* related to OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peikiù, peĩkti* 'to blame'. ◊ FRAENKEL 525; POKORNY I 795.

shpik aor. *shpik* 'to drink out, to find out'. Derived from *pik*.

shpinë f, pl. *shpina* 'back, spine'. Borrowed from Lat *spīna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). Note the lack of rhotacism in Tosk. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 150.

shpirt m, pl. *shpirtëra ~ shpirtna, shpirte* 'soul, spirit'. Borrowed from Lat *spīritus* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 148-149.

shpirrë f 'asthma'. Deverbative based on **shpirroj* continuing Rom **dis-spīrāre*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62 (based on Lat *spīrāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 414 (same as MIKLOSICH).

shplaj aor. *shplava* 'to rinse'. Parallel forms are *shpëlaj* and *shpërlaj*. A prefixal derivative of *laj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 149). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to IE **pleu-* 'to swim, to float'); MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* IV 99 (from Rom **ex-per-lavāre*).

shpoj aor. *shpova* 'to drill'. Another form is *shpuaj*. Borrowed from Rom **ex-pugere* for **ex-pungere* 'to prick out, to strike out' (MEYER *Wb.* 414) or rather, from **ex-pāgere* 'to pierce'. ◊ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk σπάω 'to pull'); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 12-14, *LKUBA* 217, 244 (from **-pēr̯ō*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* III 154, 179-180, VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 367-368.

shpor m, pl. *shporë* 'spur; rooster's breast'. Borrowed from Rom

**spora* 'spur' (MEYER *Wb.* 414), a Gothic loanword unattested in Rumanian. The verb *shporoj* 'to pierce' is derived from *shpor* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 368).◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 120-123 (*shporoj* to *shpoj*), *LKUBA* 217, 244; MEYER-LÜBKE 616; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69.

shportë f, pl. *shporta* 'basket'. Borrowed from Lat *sporta* 'basket, sieve' (MEYER *Wb.* 414). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *sporta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 151.

shporr aor. *shporra* 'to move away, to drive away'. Based on PAlb **pāra* related to Skt *píparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk περάω, πείρω 'to penetrate' and the like (CAMARDA II 152: to Gk πόρσω 'forwards'). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 84 (to Goth *fairra* 'far', Skt *pára-* 'ulterior, further'); FRISK II 491; MAYRHOFER II 284; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

shpreh aor. *shpreha* 'to express, to speak'. Goes back to PAlb **iš-per-akska*, further connected with *eh* 'to sharpen' < **akska* and *preh* id. < **per-akska*, with the semantic development 'to sharpen' > 'to express' similar to that of Slav **raziti* 'to strike' ~ **vyraziti* 'to express', Lat *premere* 'to press' ~ *exprimere* 'to express' (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54) ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 249-250 (< PAlb **spregska*, an inchoative in **-sḱ-* connected with OE *sprecan* 'to speak', OS *sprekan* id., OHG *sprehhan* id.); PORZIG *Gliederung* 139 (follows JOKL); PISANI *REIE* IV 7 (from Rom **expressō*); POKORNY I 996-997; *SGGJa* I 100, 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192; *SBJa Leksikol.* 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; HULD 98; SCHRIJVER *BC* 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 368-369 (against OREL).

shpresoj aor. *shpresova* 'to hope'. Based on *shprej*, *shpërej* id. borrowed from Lat *spērāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 414).

shpretkë ~ **shpënetkë** f, pl. *shpretka* ~ *shpënetka* 'spleen'. Borrowed from Lat *splēnēticum* 'related to spleen' (MEYER *Wb.* 413-414). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk σπλήν 'spleen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 151.

shprishë f 'breakfast'. Deverbative based on *shprish* 'to card, to

comb; to have breakfast'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *prish*.

shprohë f 'deadly nightshade, belladonna'. From PAlb **sprēujā* related to MHG *sprǣjen* 'to be scattered' < Gmc **sprêwjan*. ◊ POKORNY I 994.

shputë f, pl. *shputa* 'foot sole'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav **stǫpa*, deverbative of **stǫpati* 'to step', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *стъпам*, SCr *stupati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Slav **stopa* 'sole').

shpuzë f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Lat *spodium* 'ash' (MEYER *Wb.* 415) and passed to Rum *spuză*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1052; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (identical with Gk σπογγιά 'sponge'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (prefixal derivative of IE **peu̯ōr-/*pun-* 'fire'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; HAARMANN 151.

(G) shqa m 'Bulgarian'. Borrowed from Lat *sclavus* 'Slav' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 410), cf. Rum *şchiau* id. (PUŞCARIU *EWR* 1547). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; CAMARDA I 87 (to Gk ξενία 'hospitality'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; JOKL *IF* XLIV 37, *Slavia* XIII 295; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; SVANE 148; LANDI *Lat.* 105, 138.

shqarr m, pl. *shqarra* 'marten'. Another variant is *shar*. Continues PAlb **skera* related to Latv *skara* 'curly fur', Slav **skora* 'hide'. The original meaning must have been '(marten) fur'. For the semantic development cf. E *marten* borrowed from OFr *martrine* 'marten fur'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 399-400 (borrowed from Slav **dъxorь* 'pole-cat'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 153 (to Gk σκῶρ 'excrement'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN III 872; VASMER III 650; ONIONS 558; ÇABEJ *St.* II 150 (from IE **sker-* 'to cut').

shqekë f, pl. *shqeka* 'pocket without lining'. Prefixal derivative of **qekë* borrowed from Lat fem. *caeca* 'blind; secret, hidden'.

shqelm m, pl. *shqelma, shqelme* 'step'. Derived from *shkel*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 241.

shqem m 'threshold'. Singularized plural of *shkam* ~ *shkamb* 'stool, chair, threshold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 150-151). The latter was borrowed from MGk σκάμνον 'bench'.

shqeme f, pl. *shqeme* 'Rhus coriaria, sumach, plant used for tanning'. Singularized plural of **sh(ë)kam* < **sh(ë)mak*, a metathesized borrowing from MLat *summacus* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 151 (from Gk ὑοσκύαμος 'kind of plant Hyoscyamus niger').

shqep aor. *shqepa* 'to rip, to tear'. The antonym of *qep* built with the prefix *sh-* (CAMARDA I 101; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219.

shqepoj aor. *shqepova* 'to be lame'. Based on *shqep* 'lame' borrowed from Rom **sclōpus* reflected in Rum *şchiop* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). Other Romance languages have **cloppus*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE 159, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124 (from Rom **excloppus*).

shqerr aor. *shqorra* 'to tear (cloth)'. From PAlb **skera* related to Gk κείρω 'to cut off', OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut off' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 60, 71). From here *shqerrë* 'coarse' is derived. ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 197, *LKUBA* 156 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249-250; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35 (to Dac σκιάρη 'kind of thorny plant'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 114 (follows BARIÇ); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; FRISK I 810-811; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; POKORNY I 938-939; DEMIRAJ *AE* 369-370.

shqezë f, pl. *shqeza* 'harrow'. Derived from *shqyej*.

shqile f 'rennet'. Dialectal variant of **shtile*, derived from *shtjell* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 370). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 282 (prefixal derivative of *qel* 'to bring, to carry').

shqimtë adj. 'unhappy, abandoned, lonely'. Related to *shqimth*.

shqimth m 'dandruff'. Deminutive in *-th* derived from *qime*.

shqind m 'mastic-tree'. Borrowed from Gk σχῖνος id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 151-152) with -χ- rendered as *-*k*- > -g-. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 411 (from NGk σκίνος, σχῖνος id.).

shqipe adj. 'Albanian'. Calque of Slav **slověne* 'Slavs' (from **slovǫ*, **sluti* 'to speak clearly') based on *shqipoj* 'to speak clearly' (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz. XI* 6). The historical and cultural importance of this calque is unprecedented insofar as it reflects a situation of ethnic symbiosis in the area. This situation must have followed the Proto-Albanian period. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shqipe* 'eagle'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (*shqipe* derived from *shqipoj*); DIEFENBACH *Türk.* 27 (to *sqep*); TREIMER *IF* XXXV 135-137 (prefixal derivative of *qipi* 'heap' < **sem-kūpo-* 'people, gathering'); SOLMSEN *Eig.* 98; JAKOBSON *IJSL*1959/1-2 271 (**slověne* from **slovo* 'word'); POLÁK *Slavia* LIX 347-350; TRUBAČEV *Ètimologija 1980* 12-13 (Slav **slověne* from **slovǫ*, **sluti*); ÇABEJ *LVJSOS* IV 78-96 (*shqipoj* as a denominative of *shqipe*).

shqipe ~ shqype f, pl. *shqipe ~ shqype* 'eagle'. Contamination of *shkabë* and *shqipoj* < Lat *excipere* in its original meaning 'to take out, to seize'. The influence of Lat *accipiter* 'bird of prey' cannot be altogether exclud-ed. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shkabë*); MEYER *Wb.* 276-277 (from Lat *accipiter*); JOKL *LKUBA* 307-308 (prefixal derivative of *qep*); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 130.

shqipoj aor. *shqipova* 'to speak clearly, to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *excipere* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). ◊ CAMARDA I 124-125; HAARMANN 124.

shqirrë f, pl. *shqirra* 'reed'. Derived from *shqerr*.

shqis aor. *shqita* 'to tear, to separate'. Derived from *qis*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

shqitë f, pl. *shqita* 'slippery place'. Derived from *shkas*.

shqopë f, pl. *shqopa* 'brier'. With a secondary -*q*-, borrowed from Lat *scōpa* 'twig, branch' (KRISTOFORIDHI 396; WEIGAND *BA* II 224). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 152, IV 88-89.

shquaj ~ shquej aor. *shqova* 'to discern, to stress, to learn'. Derived from *quaj*.

shqyej aor. *shqyeva* 'to tear, to break'. From PAlb **skānja* related to IE **sken-* 'to split' mainly represented by a deverbative adjective **skento-*, cf., for example, Bret *skant* 'scales', ON *skinn* 'hide, skin'. ◊ POKORNY I 929.

shqymb aor. *shqymba* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Continues PAlb **skūmba*, a nasal present related to Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push back, to reject', Lith *skumbù, skùbti* 'to hurry up', Slav **skubǫ, *skubati* 'to pull, to tear'. ◊ FRAENKEL 820; FEIST *Goth.* 9; VASMER III 660; POKORNY I 955.

shqyrtoj aor. *shqyrtova* 'to examine, to observe'. The original form must have been **shkrytoj*. Borrowed from Lat *scrūtarī* 'to examine, to find out'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Rom **disquiritāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 152 (derived from *qyr*).

shqyt m, pl. *shqyta* 'shield'. Borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

shregull f, pl. *shregulla* 'swing'. Derived from *rregull* preserving the otherwise unattested meaning of Lat *rēgula* 'bar, board'.

shtagë f, pl. *shtaga* 'pole, stick'. Continues PAlb **stagā* etymologically connected with ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stęga* 'long pole' and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 1014.

shtalbër m 'wooden snare'. Based on PAlb **stalba*, an *o*-grade form related to ON *stolpi* 'beam, girder', Lith *stulbas* 'post, pole', Slav **stъlbъ* id. reflecing the zero-grade of **stelb-*. ◊ VASMER III 765; FRAENKEL 930; POKORNY I 1020.

shtalkë f, pl. *shtalka* 'frame'. From PAlb **stalikā*, nominal derivative based on IE **stel-* attested in various forms such as, for example, Skt *sthála-* 'elevation', Gk στολή 'equipment', MLG *stale* 'post' and other similar continuants. ◊ FRISK II 786-788; MAYRHOFER III 525; POKORNY I 1019-1020.

shtalp m 'rennet'. Continues PAlb **stalpa* related to *shtjell* in view

of its derivative *mbë-shtillem* 'to become sour' (JOKL *LKUBA* 282-230). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 171 (explains dialectal *shtarp* as related to Gk τρέφω 'to make sour, of milk'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284-285 (to *gjalpë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; ÇABEJ *St.* II 152-153 (agrees with JOKL).

shtallë f, pl. *shtalla* 'stall'. Borrowed from Lat *stabulum* id. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (from Ital *stalla*).

shtang adj. 'hard'. From PAlb **stanga* related to ON *stinga* 'to put, to stick', Lith *sténgiu, sténgti* 'to be able', *stiñgti* 'to become hard', Latv *stiñgt* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39) ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk στέγω 'to cover'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stanga*); FRAENKEL 895-896, 906, *ZfslavPh* XXIII 344 (to OHG *stanga*); POKORNY I 1015.

shtarët adj. 'bitter'. Continues PAlb **stara* etymologically related to Gk στερεός 'tough, hard', ON *starr* 'stiff', Lith *sterti* 'to become stiff, to harden' and the like. ◊ FRISK II 790-791; FRAENKEL 902-903; POKORNY 1022; MANN *Language* XXVI 381-382 (to Av *stavro* 'strong', Skt *sthāvara-*).

shtat m, pl. *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* 'figure, image'. Borrowed from Lat *status* 'height, stature' (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stato*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (against MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (from IE **sthətos*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

shtatë num. 'seven'. Goes back to PAlb **septati-* from IE **septm̥-ti-*. The latter is derived from IE **septm̥* 'seven', cf. Skt *saptá-*, Gk ἑπτά, Lat *septem* (BOPP 459; CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 33, 59). From the point of view of derivation, *shtatë* is close to such abstract formations in **-ti-* as Skt *saptatí-* 'seventy, seven tens', cf. BRUGMANN *Gr.* I 722, 971. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 48 (on the group **-pt-* > *-t-*), *LKUBA* 315; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284, *Kelt. Gr.* I 72, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 222, 224; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 106; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35; MAYRHOFER III 431; FRISK I 545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 517-518; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351-352; POKORNY I 909; HAMP *Numerals* 914; HULD 142; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XXII/2 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 370.

shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtâzë f, pl. *shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtâzë* 'animal'. The original Tosk form is *shtëzë*. Derivative in *-zë* (MEYER *Wb.* 415) of an unattested **shtë ~ shtâ* continuing PAlb **stana* from IE **stəno-*, an adjective in **-no-* from IE **st(h)ā-* 'to stand' (JOKL *LKUBA* 245-247 with a reconstruction of the phonetically difficult full grade in **st(h)ā-no-*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom **bēstāna*, based on Lat *bēstia* 'animal, beast'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186 (from Rom **extrāna* for Lat *extrānea*, fem. 'outside, external, strange'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; POKORNY I 1004-1008; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 64, 125 (to *shtie*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 154-155 (agrees with JOKL); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150 (to OHG *stāti* 'strong, tough'); HULD *KZ* XCVI 152-158 (identical with Lat *quadrupēs* 'having four feet'), XCVIII 101 (reconstructs **k^uet(u̯)or pd-i̯ēH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 371.

shteg m, pl. *shtigje* 'path, road'. From PAlb **staiga* identical with IE **stoigho-* 'way': Gk στοῖχος 'row, line', Goth *staiga* 'way', Latv *staĩga* 'walking', *stîga* 'path', Slav **stьza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St.* III 9, 58). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PETERSSON *LUÅ* XIX/6 12; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 99; FRISK II 783-785; CHANTRAINE 1049; FEIST *Goth.* 447; POKORNY I 1017-1018; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; HULD 114; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 371-372.

shterë f, pl. *shtera* 'mortar'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *pistōrium* 'related to flour-grinding'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Rom **pistārium* for Lat *pistōrium*); HAARMANN 142.

shterpë adj. 'barren, sterile'. A parallel form *shterkë* continues **shterp-kë* (JOKL apud TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259). Borrowed from Gk στέριφος id. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 373). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *starí* 'sterile cow'); HERZOG *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 736 (from Rom **exstirpus* 'barren, sterile'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 391 n. 1 (against HERZOG); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259 (to *shtjerrë*); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 153 (to Lat *sterilis*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (from Gk στέρφα); LANDI *Lat.* 57, 82.

shterrë f, pl. *shterra* 'heifer'. Related to *shtjerr* and *shtjerrë*, pl. of *qengj*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149-150.

shtet m, pl. *shtete* 'state'. Historically identical with *shtat*. Singularized plural of **shtat* borrowed from Lat *status* id.

shtëllungë f, pl. *shtëllunga* 'flock of wool'. Derivative in *-ungë* from *shtjell* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196). ◊ WEIGAND 85-86 (from *shtëllis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 155 (follows PEDERSEN).

shtëmbë ~ shtambë f, pl. *shtëmba ~ stamba* 'clay vessel'. Borrowed from Gk στάμνος 'large vessel' (CAMARDA I 83; MANN *Language* XVII 23). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 391, *Alb. St.* IV 109 (from NGk στάμνα 'pitcher'); JOKL *ZONF* X 191-192 (from IE **sthā-* 'to stand'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 153-154 (repeats MANN's etymology).

shtëmëngët adj. 'left; standing aside'. Prefixal form related to *mangut*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

shtëngër adj. 'squinting'. Based on **shtëng* borrowed from Rom **stancus* 'weak, left': Rum *stîng*, Ital *stanco*, OFr *estanc* (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 48.

(G) shtëpâ m, pl. *shtëpanj* 'shepherd producing cheese, cheese-maker'. The Tosk form must have been **shtepër*. Its existence is confirmed by *shtëpreshë*. An early borrowing from Slav **stopanъ*, cf. *stopan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155).

shtëpi f, pl. *shtëpi, shtëpira* 'house'. A morphological adaptation of the metathesized Lat *hospitium* 'lodging, inn, guest-chamber', cf. NGk σπίτι 'house' (CAMARDA I 100; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 415-416). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256-257, *Origini* 191; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 129; HULD 115; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

shtëpreshë ~ shpneshë f, pl. *shtëpresha ~ shpnesha* 'female shepherd; (good) housewife'. Another phonetic variant is *shtëpresë*. Feminine form of *shtëpâ* semantically influenced by *shtëpi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155-156).

shtërg m, pl. *shtërgj* 'stork'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *štrъk*, SCr *štrk*. Note the voicing of the auslaut *-k*.

shtëroj aor. *shtërova* 'to run dry, to dry up'. Another variant is *shtroj*. Based on *shter(r)* id. derived from *ter*.

shtërzim m, pl. *shtërzime* 'labor pains'. From **shtërpëzim*, based on *shterpë*.

shtërras aor. *shterra* 'to diminish, to shrink'. Another variant is *shtërroj*. Borrowed from Lat *extenuāre* 'to make smaller'.

shtiak m, pl. *shtiakë* 'miscarriage'. Derived from *shtie*.

shtiaz pl. 'sparks'. Postverbal of *shtie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 156). ◊ THUMB *KZ* XXXVI 186-187, *IF* XXVI 9 (from NGk ἑστία 'fire'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195 (dialectal plural of *shtijë*).

shtie aor. *shtura, shtyra, shtira, shtiva* 'to pour in, to put in, to throw'. From PAlb **stera* related to Skt *stṛṇā́ti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στόρνυμι 'to stretch, to spread', Lat *sternō* 'to spread', Slav **stьrǫ*, **sterti* id. (JOKL *Studien* 84-85). ◊ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk στείχω 'to walk, to march'); MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to *shtjell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *LKUBA* 127; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259-260; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 8 (part. *shtënë* < **standhno-*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21 (reconstructs **steuno-*); FRISK II 802-803; WALDE-HOFMANN II 590-591; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; VASMER III 379; POKORNY I 1030; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374-375.

shtijë f, pl. *shtija* 'spear, ray'. Borrowed from Lat *hastīle* 'spear' (MEYER *Wb.* 416). Derived from *shtijë* is *shtizë* 'spear'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 413 (to *shtie*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 89.

shtiret refl. 'to pretend, to simulate'. Derived from *shtie*, cf. refl. *shtihet* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

shtirë adj. 'weak'. Related to *shtie*, cf. *shtiret*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 416.

shtjell aor. *shtolla* 'to throw'. Continues PAlb **stela* etymologically connected with Gk στέλλω 'to put, to set', OHG *stellen* 'to put', OPrus *stallīt* 'to stand' (CAMARDA I 44; MEYER *Wb.* 416, *Alb. St.* III 58, 77). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 111, *LKUBA* 127; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 786-788; ENDZELĪNS *DI* IV/2 313; POKORNY I 1019-1020; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 376.

shtjerr aor. *shtorra* 'to untwist, to untwine'. Derived from *tjerr*.

shtjerrë f 'lamb, young cow, heifer'. Another variant is *shqerrë*. Continues PAlb **sternā* or **sterjā* related to Skt *starī́*, Gk στεῖρα and the like (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 58). See *qengj*. Borrowed to Rum *stiră* 'sterile (of animals)'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 209-210; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232; JOKL *LKUBA* 156; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 350; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (remodelled from pl. *shqerra* and related to *krye*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 376-378.

shtog m, pl. *shtogje* 'elder, elder-berry'. From PAlb **stāga* related to *shtagë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 417 (from Rum *soc* id., with serious doubts); BARIĆ *ARSt* 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147 (from Lat *sabucus*).

shtoj aor. *shtova* 'to increase'. Continues PAlb **stānja* etymologically connected with Skt *tiṣṭhati* 'to stand', Gk ἵστημι 'to put', Lat *stō* 'to stand', OHG *stān* id., Lith *stóju, stóti* id., Slav **stoją*, **stojati* id. (CAMARDA I 176). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; BARIĆ *ARSt* 69 (to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (derives *shtoj* from **stāi̯ō*); FRISK I 739; FRAENKEL 914; MAYRHOFER II 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; VASMER III 769; POKORNY I 1004-1005; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 103, 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378 (to IE **steHu̯-o-*).

shtrap m 'stagnant green on ponds'. From PAlb **strapa* related to MHG *straf* 'tight', Lith *par-strapìnti* 'to drag oneself back'. ◊ FRAENKEL 919-920; POKORNY I 1025.

shtrapër m 'shepherd's purse'. Derived from *shtrap*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 156 (to *shtërpinj* and *gjarpër*).

shtrapëzoj aor. *shtrapëzova* 'to spread'. Derived from *trapezë*.

shtrat m, pl. *shtretër* ~ *shtretën* 'bed; layer'. Borrowed from Lat *strātum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (related to Gk στρατός); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 177.

shtreb aor. *shtreba* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Verbal form connected with *shtrep*.

shtregë f 'pile of wood'. From PAlb **stragā* related to MHG *strac* 'tight', OE *strec* 'hard, strong'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 324; POKORNY I 1023 (adduces nonexistent Lith *strẽgti* 'to harden, to freeze').

shtrek m, pl. *shtriqe* 'corpse, carrion'. From PAlb **streka* reflecting a noun derived from IE **ster-* 'unclean liquid, manure'. Note that a similar semantic evolution is found in ORuss *stьrvь* 'corpse, dead body' belonging to the same root. The Albanian form seems to represent a case of Schwebeablaut if confronted with such derivative of **ster-* as Lat *stercus* 'excrements'. Note, however, Celtic forms based on **strenk-:* Bret *stroñk* id., W *trwnc* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434-435). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 589; POKORNY I 1031-1032.

shtrembër adj. 'crooked, curved'. An earlier form is *shtremb*. Borrowed from Rom **strambus* id.: Rum *strîmb*, Ital *strambo* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ HAARMANN 151-152; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48.

shtrenjtë adj. 'dear, expensive'. Borrowed from Rom **strinctus* 'narrow': Rum *strîmt*, Venet *strento*, SItal *strinto* (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 24, *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260-261; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 63-64; HAARMANN 152.

shtrep m, pl. *shtrepa* 'maggot, larva'. There exists a parallel form *shtrebë*. As to pl. tantum *shtërpinj* 'reptiles, vermin', it is an obvious derivative (plural) of *shtrep*. Goes back to PAlb **straupa* etymologically close to Slav **strupъ* 'wound, scab, poison'. Borrowed to Rum *strepede* 'cheese worms'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (connects *shtërpinj* with *gjarpër* supposing **sr-* > **str-* in Proto-Albanian); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I

90, *LKUBA* 283-284; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; VASMER III 784-785; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 105; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; HULD 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374.

shtreth m, pl. *shtretha* 'board'. Derivative of *shtrat*.

shtreze f, pl. *shtreze* 'stern (of a ship)'. Singularized plural of **shtërez* based on an unattested **shtërë* < PAlb **steura*. The latter was borrowed from Gmc **steurō* 'steering paddle, rudder, stern', cf. OE *stéor*, further related to Gmc **steurjan* 'to steer'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 320.

shtrëngoj aor. *shtrëngova* 'to press, to squeeze'. Borrowed from Lat *stringere* 'to stretch, to press, to squeeze' (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; DURIDANOV *BE* 4-5 (1968) 401-406; HAARMANN 152.

shtrigë f, pl. *shtriga* 'witch'. Borrowed from Lat *striga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (assumes Slavic mediation); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261 (prefers the Latin etymology).

shtrij aor. *shtriva* 'to spread, to stretch'. From PAlb **strinja* related to Skt *str̥ṇā́ti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στόρνυμι 'to spread, to stretch', Lat *sternō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 50, 59). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 52; JOKL *Studien* 85, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150, *Sprache* IX 120; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; FRISK II 802-803; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 195; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; WALDE-HOFMANN II 590-591; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 137, *St.* VII 206; HAMP *LB* XX 116; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 115-116; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 65; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378-379.

shtriq aor. *shtriqa* 'to stretch (of arms and legs)'. Based on *shtrij*.

shtrofkë f, pl. *shtrofka* 'den'. Derived from *shtrohë* ~ *shtrofë* (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 353). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (from Slav **stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150 (to *shtroj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 156 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 379.

shtrohë ~ **shtrofë** f, pl. *shtroha* ~ *shtrofa* 'kennel'. From PAlb **strājā*,

a long-grade form connected with Latv *straja* 'stall covered with straw', Slav **strojь* 'construction', and further, with Lat *stria* 'furrow, fold' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (analyzes Geg *shtrof* as a borrowing from Slav **stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101; WALDE-HOFMANN II 602; VASMER III 780.

shtroj aor. *shtrova* 'to spread'. From PAlb **strānja*, long grade of the same root as in *shtrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ CAMARDA I 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052 (from Lat *sternō* 'to spread'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 255-256; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 241.

shtrosë f, pl. *shtrosa* 'goat hide (used as a cushion)'. Derived from *shtroj*.

shtrud m 'strawberry'. Phonetic variant of *shtrydh*, cf. also *shtrydhëz* id. Derived from *shtrydh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (to Slovene *truskelica* 'garden strawberry' and the like); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 101 (to Lat *frāgum* id.); RĂDULESCU *JIES* III 385-393 (< IE **strugʷh-*).

shtrungë f, pl. *shtrunga* 'milking enclosure'. Derived from *shtroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157-158). From Albanian, the term was borrowed by various languages of the Balkans and of the Carpathian area, cf. Rum *strungă*. ◊ HAHN 127 (to *shtrëngoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 418 (loanword of dubious origin); JOKL *Studien* 89 (from IE **strn̥g-* as in Lat *stringō* 'to press, to squeeze'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105, *AArbSt* I 154-156 (from **sm̥-tronkʷā* related to G *drängen* 'to press', ON *þróngr* 'narrow'); GIUGLEA *DR* II 343-345 (crossing of Gmc **stanga* 'pole' and Rom **rūga* 'road, street'); MEYER-LÜBKE *DR* IV 642-645 (crossing of Rom **stringa* and **rūga*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 334; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281-282.

shtrydh aor. *shtrydha* 'to squeeze out'. Related to *ndrydh*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046 (from Latin); PISANI *Saggi* 122.

shtrrak m, pl. *shtrraqe, shtrriqe* 'partition wall; hut used to isolate a sick animal'. Borrowed from Rom **sternācus* based on Lat *sternō* 'to spread, to cover'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 158-159 (identical with *shtrat*).

shtuara adv. 'upright'. Based on *shtuar* ~ OGeg *shtuom*, participle of

shtoj (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196, *Kelt. Gr.* I 70, 79). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 88; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159 (follows PEDERSEN).

shtunë ~ sh(ë)tundë f, pl. *shtuna ~ shtunda* 'Saturday'. From an earlier form *shëtundë* (BUZUKU, BARDHI) continuing Lat *Saturnī diēs* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1050). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Lat *sabbatum*); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rom **sambata* with a metathesis); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262 (follows SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 58, VII 268; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 134, 159.

shtupë f 'tow'. Borrowed from Lat *stuppa* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 395, *Alb. St.* IV 110 (from NGk στουπί id.); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLIV 332-337 ; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159; HAARMANN 152.

shturë f, pl. *shtura* 'starling'. Borrowed from Lat *sturnus* id.

shtyj ~ shtŷj aor. *shtyta, shtyva, shtyra ~ shtyna* 'to push'. From PAlb **stūdnja* etymologically close to Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push', OIr *do-tuit* 'to fall', Goth *stautan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 3 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 10-11 (to Lith *stùmti* 'to push'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261-262; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FEIST *Goth.* 451; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 616-617; POKORNY I 1033-1034; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 379-380.

shtyllë f, pl. *shtylla* 'post, column'. Borrowed from Gk στῦλος id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from NGk στύλος id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 151 (from Lat *stīlus*).

shtyp aor. *shtypa* 'to crush, to squash, to break into pieces'. Derived from **typ*, cf. *typth.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to Lat *stīpāre* 'to press together'), *Alb. St.* III 59; KRISTOFORIDHI 414 (to Gk τύπτω 'to strike'); WEIGAND 236 (from Slav **stǫpati* 'to step'); JOKL *Studien* 85-87 (from **shtryp* related to Gk τραπέω 'to tread grapes'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263.; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk τύπτω); CHANTRAINE 1129; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

shtyr ~ shtir aor. *shtyra ~ shtira* 'to push; to cross (a river)'. Derived from *shtyj*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to Skt *tárati* 'to cross over').

shuaj ~ shuej aor. *shova, shuajta, shojta* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Lat *subjugāre* 'to subjugate' with the loss of two intervocalic voiced stops. ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σβέννυμι 'to quench'); MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from Lat *exungere* 'to anoint'); JOKL *LKUBA* 329; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 327 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψάω < **k̑ʷsāi̯ō*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257.

shuguroj aor. *shugurova* 'to ordain'. Other phonetic variants are *shëkroj, shukroj, shugroj*. From Lat *sacrāre* 'to sanctify' (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ HAARMANN 147.

shuj aor. *shujta* 'to be silent'. An onomatopoeia based on *shuj* 'hush!'.

shuk aor. *shuka* 'to throw'. Derived from here are *shuk* 'ball' and *shukull* 'mignonette'. A prefixal derivative of PAlb **uka* related to IE **u̯ek-* 'to bend', cf. in particular Skt *vacyáte* 'to fly up'. ◊ POKORNY I 1134.

shul m, pl. *shule* 'post, pole'. Borrowed from Slav **šulь* 'log, trunk', cf. in South Slavic: Slovene *šulj*, SCr *šulj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (to Slav **sulica* 'spear'), *Alb. St.* III 43 (from **sud-lo-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131 (from Lat *insubulum* 'weaver's beam').

shul adv. 'one-sided, crooked'. Prefixal derivative of *ul*.

shullatë f, pl. *shullata* 'drain, gutter'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *sublāta* 'lifted, raised'.

shullë ~ shullâ m 'sunny spot'. Borrowed from Lat *solānus (locus)* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1042; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 88, 157.

shumë adv. 'many, much'. Borrowed from Lat *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (cognate of Lat *summus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; JOKL *Arch. Roman.* XXIV 134 (borrowing from the substantive Lat

summa); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 196 (from neut. Lat *summum*); HULD 116; HAARMANN 58, 152.

shungulloj aor. *shungullova* 'to shake'. Borrowed from Rom **exungulāre* for **exundulāre* 'to seethe'.

shuplakë f, pl. *shuplaka* 'palm'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *supljaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 419-420). ◊ CAMARDA II 167 (to Gk πλήσσω 'to strike, to hit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264, *Stratificazione* 96-97; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (to OFr *soufflace* 'slap in the face').

shurdhër adj. 'deaf'. Another morphological variant is *shurdhët*. Borrowed from Lat *surdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 152.

shurqel m, pl. *shurqela* 'waterfall'. Singularized plural of **shurkal* < **shurkadël*, a nominal derivative of **shurkadoj* borrowed from Lat *super-cadere* 'to fall down (of water)'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 159-160 (identical with *zurkal* id. and further connected with *rrëkajë*).

shurukoj aor. *shurukova* 'to thunder, to make noise'. Borrowed from Rom **subraucare* 'to make hoarse', cf. Ital dial. *surragare*.

shurrë f 'urine'. Derived from *shurr* 'to urinate', a prefixal form based on PAlb **ura* connected with Skt *vā́r* 'water', Tokh A *wär*, B *war* id., ON *vari* id. and the like, cf. in particular Lat *ūrīna* 'urine' (JOKL *Studien* 89-90). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 420 (to Gmc **suraz* 'sour', Lith *súras* 'salty'), *Alb. St.* III 43, 73; BARIĆ *ARSt* 96-97 (to Skt *kṣara-* 'water'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (to Bulg *šurkam* 'to urinate'); MAYRHOFER III 194; WALDE-HOFMANN II 840; VAN WINDEKENS I 557-558; POKORNY I 80; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 46 (to Gk σκῶρ 'dung'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HAMP *Evidence* 139 (to Hitt *šeḫur* 'urine'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208, *KZ* LXXXVI 131 (treats *shurrë* as a *Lallwort*); MURATI *Probleme* 133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 380.

shushallë f, pl. *shushalla* 'peeled corn-cob'. Derived from **shush* borrowed from Lat *exossus* 'boneless, devoid of bones'.

shushkël f, pl. *shushkla* 'pod'. Variant of *shikël.*

shushunjë f, pl. *shushunja* 'leech'. Borrowed from the metathesize Rom **saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ HAARMANN 148.

shut adj. 'hornless'. Another form is *shyt.* Borrowed from Slav **šutъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *šut*, SCr *šut* (MEYER *Wb.* 420). Rum *ciut* id. goes back to the same source. ◊ DENSUSIANU *GS* I 245 (from Iranian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 707 (Rum *ciut* from Albanian); IL'INSKIJ *IORJaS* XX/3 103 (identifies Slav **šutъ* 'hornless' with **šutъ* 'clown, stupid' < IE **kseu-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; GOLĄB *MJ* X 27 (from a Balkan substratum); RUSSU *TD* 203-204 (Rum *ciut* is from Dacian); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 109; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 340; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 84-86; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 153 (from IE **skhed-* 'to split'); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 67-71 (farfetched Romance etymology from Lat *sectāre*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 161-165 (from Rumanian).

(T) shutra pl. 'comb (to card linen or wool)'. Based on Lat *sūtus* 'sewn together'.

T

tabelë f, pl. *tabela* 'table, plate'. Borrowed from Lat *tabella* id.

taç pron. 'the one that, the one which'. The univerbation of *ta*, neut. of *ai*, and *çë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 160).

taft m 'stench; scorching heat'. Borrowed from Lat *tāctus* 'touch, feeling'. ◊ MANN *HAED* 508 (to *aht* 'sigh' and *afsh*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

taftar m 'funnel'. Borrowed from Rom **traiectārium* id. for Lat *traiectōrium* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 421). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 209 (from Rom **trānsfunditōrium*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 71-73; ÇABEJ *St.* II 160-161 (follows MEYER but reconstructs Rom **tractārius*); HAARMANN 154.

tajë f, pl. *taja* 'screw-nut, female screw'. Identical with *tajë* 'wet-nurse', *tajiis* 'to feed' (from NGk ταγίζω id.). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 422 (*tajë* 'wet-nurse' from Turkish).

tajkë f 'kind of oblong grapes'. Derived from **tajë* borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'cut off part, trunk'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 162-163 (borrowed from SCr *tamjanika* 'kind of grapes', Bulg *tam'anka* id.).

take f, pl. *take* 'small boat'. Borrowed from Turk *taka* 'kind of boat' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 163). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 161 (from SCr *tak* 'pole, post'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 448 (agrees with JOKL).

takoj aor. *takova* 'to reach, to meet, to get'. Borrowed from Rom **toccāre* 'to touch' which, however, leaves unexplained the root vowel in Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 422 (from Ital *toccare* 'to strike, to touch'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217.

talë f 'measure, size'. Borrowed from Rom **talia* 'tally': Ital *taglia*, OFr *taille*, Sp *taja* and the like.

tall aor. *talla* 'to ridicule, to deride'. From PAlb **talna*, causative related to OIr *tuilid* 'to sleep', Lith *tylù*, *tìlti* 'to become silent', Slav **toliti* 'to persuade, to make quiet' and their cognates. ◊ FRAENKEL 1095; VASMER IV 71; VENDRYES [T] 170; POKORNY I 1062.

tallë f 'Sorghum halepense; peeled corn-cob; corn straw'. From PAlb **talā*, zero-grade connected with Gk τῆλις 'fenugreek', Lith *atólas* 'first grass emerging after the hay-mowing' (RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 475-476). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 423 (borrowed from Lat *talla* 'skin of onion'); POKORNY I 1055; FRISK II 892-893; FRAENKEL 22; ÇABEJ *St.* II 163-164 (borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'sprout, shooting'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 126.

tamë f, pl. *tamë* 'water-source'. Derived from *amë* with a prefix *t-* continuing PAlb **at-*. The prefix is etymologically identical with Lith *at-* 'from', Slav **ot(ъ)-* id. ◊ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 99 (recombination of the oblique case form *të amë*); FRAENKEL 20; VASMER III 168; POKORNY I 344-345; ÇABEJ *St.* II 164.

tamë f 'smell, stench'. As in *tamë* 'water-source', a prefixal deriva-

tive of **amë*, cf. *amëz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St*. II 164 (recombination of the oblique case *të amë*).

tangallë f, pl. *tangalla* 'big forest'. Derived from PAlb **tangā* 'thick (forest)' related to ON *þéttr* 'thick', Lith *tánkus* id. ◊ POKORNY I 1068; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 254, 281.

tangë f 'resentment, prejudice, damnation'. An early loanword from Slav **tǫga* 'grief'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (related to Slav **tǫga*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 381.

tapë f, pl. *tapa* 'cork'. Borrowed from Romance **tappum* id., cf. Ital *tappo*, Catal *tap*.

tarogzë f, pl. *tarogza* 'helmet'. The word seems to be created by FISHTA and representing a derivative in *-zë* based on *tarok*. ◊ JOKL *St.Fil*. XVIII/2 5-9 (borrowed from Gk θωρακεῖον 'parapet'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; DI GIOVINE *SSL* XXIV 271-291; ÇABEJ *St*. II 165 (from Gk θώραξ 'cuirass').

tarok m, pl. *tarokë* 'young bull'. Deminutive of **tar*, see *ter*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (directly from **tauro-*).

tartallis aor. *tartallisa* 'to flounder, to roll'. Borrowed from NGk ταρταρίζω 'to shiver of cold' (ÇABEJ *St*. II 165-166). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 90 (to Skt *taralá-* 'moving to and fro').

tarr aor. *tarra* 'to cut (vine)'. An *o*-grade continuing PAlb **tara* and related to *tjer*.

tarrabec m, pl. *tarrabeca* 'youth, youngster'. Derived from **rabec*, cf. *rabeckë*.

tash adv. 'now'. Other variants are *tashi*, *tashti*, *ndashti*, *tesh*. Continues **to-su*, locative of the pronominal stem **to-* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch*. I 5-6). ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 19 (combination of *t-* and *-shtu* attested in *ashtu*); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 140 (against VASMER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; ÇABEJ *St*. II 166 (pronominal *t(a)-* and a second element of dubious origin).

tatë m 'father, dad'. A typical *Lallwort* (CAMARDA I 115; MEYER *Wb.* 424-425) which, however, may be borrowed from Slavic, cf. SCr *tata*, Bulg *tato*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23 (from **tatā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 1021-102 (from Lat *tata* id.), *Stratificazione* 120; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 1718 (influenced by Romance forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 166-167 (univerbation of the oblique definite form of *atë* preceded by the article *të*); SVANE 189; MURATI *Probleme* 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 382-383.

tatëpjetë f, pl. *tatëpjeta* 'slope', adv. 'down'. With assimilation of occlusives, continues **katëpjetë*, an antonym of *përpjetë*, with **katë* < PAlb **kata* related to Gk κάτα 'down', OIr *cét-* 'with', Hitt *kata* 'with, below' (CAMARDA I 304). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*tatë-* identical with *tet-* in Geg *tetposhtë*, cf. *tërposhtë*); FRISK I 800; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 48; VENDRYES [C] 83-84; ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (*tatë-* continues a "double article" *të të*).

tatoj aor. *tatova* 'to tax'. Borrowed from **taxitāre* id. based on Rom **taxa*.

tatull f 'stramonium, thorn-apple'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *tatul, tatula* id., SCr *tatula* id. (WEIGAND 87), a phonetically transformed loanword coming from Lat *datura* id. and influenced by Slav **tata* 'father'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 72 (from Ital *datura* 'thorn-apple'); DIEFENBACH I 259 (to Rum *tatina*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (from Turk *tatula* id.)

te prep. 'to', adv. 'where, there'. More archaic forms are *tek* ~ *tekë* as well as *teku*. As a preposition, *te(k)* requires nominative and therefore continues PAlb **tai ku*, dative reflecting IE **toi kʷu-* 'to that which' (BOPP 501, 504; CAMARDA I 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 425, *Alb. St.* III 23, 88 (*te-* from ablative **tōd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 26 (agrees with MEYER), *WuS* XII 64; PEDERSEN *Festskr.Thomsen* 255-256 (form of the pronoun **to-* followed by *ku*); TAGLIAVINI 272; SANDFELD *LBalk* 118-119 (similarity between *tek* and Rom **illac* > Rum *la* 'there'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (*te-* to Gk τῶ 'then'); HAMP *SCL* XXXIII/6 493, *ZfceltPh* XXXVII 170-172; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 257 (to Slovene *tu* 'in, into'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167-169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

teh m, pl. *teha* 'blade'. A prefixal derivative of *eh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 169). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to Ital *taglio* 'cut'); GELZER *ZfromPhil* XXXVII

268 (from Rom **taliāre* 'to cut'); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 540-541 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan').

tej prep. 'on that side', adv. 'over there'. Continues PAlb **tai e* < **toi eḱs* parallel to *tëhu*.

tejzë f, pl. *tejza* 'sinew'. Derived from *tel* 'wire', of Turkish origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 426 (on *tel*).

teka pl. 'whims'. Borrowed from Slav **tekъ* 'wish, appetite', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *tek* (MEYER *Wb.* 426). The verb *tekem* 'to wish' is derived from *teka*.

telatin m 'lacquered leather'. Borrowed from Turk *telatin* 'Russian leather', itself borrowed from Russian (ÇABEJ *St.* II 170). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 311 (from Russ *tel'atina* 'veal, calf's leather'); MANN *HAED* 512 (agrees with SELIŠČEV).

tendë f, pl. *tenda* 'tent'. Another form is *tëndë*. Borrowed from Romance **tenta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from **tn̥t-*); HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 116.

tenjë f 'moth, wood-engraver'. Borrowed from Lat *tinea* 'moth, worm' (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 136 (from Lat *taenia*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Latin or from Ital *tigna* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152-153; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 71.

tepë f 'spelt, Triticum monococcum'. Borrowed from Gk τίφη id. (JOKL *Beiträge*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 170-171.

tepër adv. 'more, very', adj. 'superfluous'. Univerbation of neut. *t(ë) epër*, cf. *epër* (XHUVANI *Studime* 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 319 (from *te* and *për*); MEYER *Wb.* 427 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (from **tōd uperom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (follows XHUVANI).

teposhtë f 'slope', adv. 'down, downwards'. Another variant is *tërposhtë*. A synonym of *tatëpjetë*, this word is divided into a prefix *tër-* and the adverbial *poshtë*. There are numerous other derivatives in *tër-*,

cf. *tërfurk* 'pitchfork' to *furkë*, *tërheq* 'to pull, to draw' to *heq* and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (suggests *tet-* as the first element); HAARMANN 154.

ter m, pl. *terë*, *tera* 'bull'. Singularized plural of **tar* continuing PAlb **taura* related to Gk ταῦρος id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *taũras* id., Slav **turъ* id. (CAMARDA I 53). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (borrowed from Lat *taurus*), *Gr. Gr.* 232; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (follows CAMARDA); FRAENKEL 1067-1068; FRISK II 860-861; WALDE-HOFMANN II 650-652; VASMER IV 122; POKORNY I 1083; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 171-172; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 384.

ter aor. *tera* 'to make dry'. Continues PAlb **tarsja*, a causative of **ters-* etymologically identical with Skt *tarṣáyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id. (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 427, *BB* VIII 187) ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 23 (doubts the comparison with IE **ters-*), *Alb. St.* III 23; FOY *IF* VI 334 (to OIr *tír* 'earth, ground'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96; MAYRHOFER I 525; WALDE-HOFMANN II 694; POKORNY I 1078-1079; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 36; ÇABEJ *St.* II 172-173; HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

terë f 'dry land'. Derived from *ter*, cf. a similar semantic motivation in Lat *terra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 173-174). From here *terik* 'land' is derived.

terig m 'light breeze'. Borrowed from an unattested in its Venetian form, **eterigo*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 174 (identical with *terik*, see *terë*).

term m 'foundation, plot of land'. Derived from *terë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174).

terplote f, pl. *terplote* 'winnowing shovel'. Prefixal derivative of *plotë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174-175). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (prefixal derivative in *tër-* of **plote* borrowed from Italian or Rom **palotta*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538.

terr m 'darkness'. Continues an oblique case of *err*: *t(ë) err* (MEYER *Wb.* 97-99). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (from Lat *tenebrae* 'darkness'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243, 246.

terrtohem refl. 'to knit one's brows in wrath'. Based on *terr*.

tesh m 'herpes'. Related to *teshë*.

tesha pl. 'belongings, utensils, things'. Continues PAlb **taišā* related to Lith *tiesiù*, *tiẽsti* 'to make right, to build, to set', *teisùs* 'right'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt*. I 96 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan' and other reflexes of IE **tek̂p-*); FRAENKEL 1073-1074, 1089; ÇABEJ *St*. II 175-176 (from Lat *testa* 'vessel, pot'); LANDI *Lat*. 94, 119.

teshem refl. 'to sneeze'. Continues PAlb **teuša* related to Latv *tusêt* 'to pant', *tust* id. representing IE **teus-*. Derived from *teshem* is *teshtij* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 356 (connected with *fshaj* and *psherëtij*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; PORZIG *Gliederung* 107; ÇABEJ *St*. II 175 (onomatopoeia).

teshë f 'speck of dust, little splinter'. From PAlb **taksjā* related to IE **tek̂p-*: Skt *takṣati* 'to carpenter, to cut', Lat *texō* 'to weave', Lith *tašaũ*, *tašýti* 'to hew'(OREL *Fort*. 80). ◊ MAYRHOFER I 468; WALDE-HOFMANN II 678-679; FRAENKEL 1065; POKORNY I 1058-1059; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 212, 266.

tetë num. 'eight'. Continues PAlb **aktō(ti)* related to the Indo-European word for 'eight' **ok̂tō(u)*: Skt *aṣṭá*, Arm *utʻ*, Gk ὀκτώ and the like (BOPP 512; MEYER *Alb. St*. II 66, *Wb*. 428). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 319-320, *Kelt. Gr*. I 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 81-82; BARIÇ *Hymje* 43; PISANI *Saggi* 106; FRISK I 374-375; MAYRHOFER I 63; POKORNY I 775; HULD 156; HAMP *Numerals* 914-915; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385.

teto f, pl. *teto* 'aunt'. Borrowed (in the form of vocative in *-o*) from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *teta*, SCr *teta* (MEYER *Wb*. 428). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267.

tëbanë f, pl. *tëbana* 'shepherd's hut'. A prefixal derivative of *banë*. Cf. some other derivatives in *të-*: *tëharr* 'to cut (wood)' (cf. *harr*), *tëholloj* 'to make thin' (cf. *hollë*), *tëmbëll* 'sweetness' (cf. *ëmbel*).

tëbuti m, pl. **tëbuta** 'oak'. Singularized form of *(dru) të buta* 'soft wood' (ÇABEJ *St*. II 176). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 306 (borrowed from NGk μποῦτι 'stump').

tëhu adv. 'on this side'. From PAlb **toi ksu* where the second com-

ponent is equal to Gk ξύν 'with, at the same time'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (connected with *të*); FRISK II 339; ÇABEJ *St.* II 176-177 (to *-tu* in *atu*, *këtu*).

tëmbël ~ tambël n/m 'gall-bladder'. Identical with *tëmbël ~ tambël* 'sweetness', see *ëmbël*. The original meaning of the latter includes such elements as 'sour', 'bitter'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 273; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385-386 (to Lat *tama* 'swelling (on the leg)' or to Lith *tulžis* 'bile').

tërboj aor. *tërbova* 'to have a dry mouth; to infuriate; to pamper (children)'. Borrowed from Lat *turbāre* 'to ruffle, to agitate' (CAMARDA I 195, 203; MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1039, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

tërë ~ tanë adj. 'whole, all'. Continues PAlb **twana* < **tu̯ono-* derived from IE **teu̯ə-* 'to swell' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 331-332) and morphonologically close to Lith *tvìnti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *tvãnas* 'flood'. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *tōtus* continuing the same **teu̯ə-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 429 (from Rom **tōtānus* to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; FRAENKEL 1154; WALDE-HOFMANN II 695-696; POKORNY I 1080-1083; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; JANSON *Unt.* 31.

tërfojë f 'trefoil, shamrock'. Borrowed from Lat *trifolium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *trifoglio* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 429 (follows MIKLOSICH 67); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 177 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 108, 126.

tërmal adv. 'downwards'. Another form is *tërma*. Prefixal derivative of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 177.

tërmet m, pl. *tërmete* 'earthquake'. Another form is *termek*. Borrowed from Rom **terrae mōtus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Ital *terremuoto* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64, 128, 159.

tërmonë adv. 'always, ever'. A prefixal form based on *muaj*.

tërpi f 'tuberculosis'. Based on an unattested **tërpis* 'to suffer, to endure, to bear' borrowed from Slav **tьrpěti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trъpna, tъrp'a*, SCr *trpljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 430). ◊ SVANE 183.

tërpjetë adv. 'up, upwards'. Compound consisting of *tër-* and *pjetë*, cf. *tatëpjetë*.

(T) tërsirë f, pl. *tërsira* 'rope (made of genista)'. Borrowed from Rum *tărsină*, itself from Bulg *trьsina* 'horse-hair' (CAPIDAN *DR* III 885-886). The rhotacism is of analogical origin. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 158; JOKL *AArbSt* I 46 (from Slav **torčina* 'band' but then one should expect Rum *tărcină*), *Sb. Miletič* 118-120; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 177-178 (from Bulg *trъьsina*); JANSON *Unt.* 65-67.

tërshërë ~ tërshanë f 'oats'. In Geg there is also a form *trishanë*. Borrowed from Rom **trimēnsānum* for Lat *trimēnse trīticum* (MEYER *Wb.* 430), cf. OItal *tremeste* 'cereal needing three months to ripen' < Lat *trimestris*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 154.

tërthortë adj. 'oblique, indirect'. Based on an unattested **tërthor*. Prefixal derivative in *tër-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 178-179) based on **thor*. The latter reflects PAlb **tsāsra* continuing IE **k̂es-ro-*, to Skt *śásati* 'to slaughter, to cut down', Gk κέαζω 'to split' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 255 (from Rom **trānsvertōrius*); POKORNY I 586; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 63-64 (from Lat *tortus* 'twisted').

tërrkas aor. *tërkata* 'to be out of tune'. Borrowed from Slav **tъrkati* 'to rub, to touch, to stir, to knock', also used as an onomatopoeia, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trъkam*, SCr *trkati*.

tëtym ~ tëtim m 'cold season, cold'. Singularized univerbation of *të tyma*, to *tym*, as supported by the following expression: *u diqa së tymi ~ me dekë së timi* 'to die of cold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 179). ◊ CAMARDA II 140 (to Gk τιταίνω 'to stretch'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 301 (to *tym*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 179 (*të-* treated as a prefix).

ti pon. 'thou'. From PAlb **tū* continuing IE **tū* id.: Av *tū*, Gk σύ, Lat *tū*, OIr *tú* and the like (CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 430, *Alb. St.* III 23). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

mazia 267; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 71; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK II 817; WALDE-HOFMANN II 712; BARTHOLOMAE 654-655; POKORNY I 1097-1098; ÇABEJ *St.* II 179-180; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 386-387.

tillë adj. 'such'. Continues PAlb **tila* based on the pronominal stem **t̯io-* and similar in its formation to ON *þít* 'there' ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to IE **to-*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 200 (to Lat *tālis* 'such'); POKORNY I 1086-1087; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (analogical formation based on *ti*, *tij*).

timër ~ timën m 'weft, woof'. Borrowed from Lat *tegminem* 'cover' (WAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 102). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 181 (explains *timër* as a singularized plural with a secondary *-i-*); HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 117, 147.

tinë f 'slime, mud'. Borrowed from Slav **tina* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *tina*, SCr *tina* (SVANE 169).

tinëz adj. 'secret'. Continues an earlier noun **tëjnë* borrowed from Slav **tajьna* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tajna*, SCr *tajna* (MEYER *Wb.* 431).

tingë f, pl. *tinga* 'tench'. Borrowed from Lat *tinca* id.

tingëlloj aor. *tingëllova* 'to ring, to sound'. Another variant is *tringëlloj* 'to knock, to ring' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). Based on *tingull* 'sound, ring' continuing an unattested Rom **tinnunculus*, cf. Lat *tinnuncula* 'kestrel', *tinnulus* 'sonorous, resonant'.

tirë f 'bundle, skein, hank'. Derived from *tjerr*.

tirë ~ tinë f, pl. *tira ~ tina* 'large wine barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *tīna* 'wine vessel' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 430). The parallel Geg form *tî* seems to reflect Rom **tīnum* > Ital *tino* id. (ÇABEJ II 181-182). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045; JOKL *BA* IV 209 n. 1 (from Latin rather than Ital *tino* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

tirk m, pl. *tirq* 'white felt', pl. *tirq* 'felt gaiters'. Another form is *tire*. Together with Rum *tureac* 'top (of a boot)' (DIEFENBACH I 250; MEYER

Wb. 431) borrowed with an East Germanic cognate of OHG *theobroch* 'gaiters': Goth or Gepid **þiuhbrōks* (DICULESCU *ZfromPh* XLIX 399; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116-118). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 424 (to *tjerr*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 169 n. 1 (to Lat *tergum* 'back, spine'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 392 (to Russ *perčatka* 'glove'); SANDFELD *LBalk* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 93-94 (to Lat *torqueō* 'to turn'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 182-183 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 90-93.

tis m 'yew'. Borrowed from Slav **tisъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tis*, SCr *tis* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; SVANE 130.

titull m, pl. *tituj* 'title, ground of right or claim'. Borrowed from Lat *titulus* id.

tjegull f, pl. *tjegulla* 'brick'. Borrowed from Lat *tēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* IV 65). ◊ CAMARDA I 161 (to Gk στέγη 'cover, roof'); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 25, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1049; JOKL *Studien* 105, *LKUBA* 50; TREIMER *MRIW* I 251; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; HELBIG 31, 133 (from Ital *tegola* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 135.

tjerr aor. *torra* 'to spin'. Continues PAlb **terka* related to Tokh B *tärk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* III 23, 84). For the development of the cluster **-rk-* < **-rkʷ-* cf. *mjel*. ◊ CAMARDA I 41 (to Gk τείρω 'to rub'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 38; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (reconstructs **terknō*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 195-196 (to *turr* and, further, to Gk τόρνος 'tool for drawing a circle'), *St. IE* 44; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 49; WALDE-HOFMANN II 692-693; CHANTRAINE 134; VAN WINDEKENS I 503; POKORNY I 1077; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 184-185 (follows CAMARDA and CIMOCHOWSKI); DEMIRAJ *AE* 387.

tjetër adj., pl. *tjerë* 'other'. In dialects, the original paradigm *jetër, jatër*, pl. *tjerë* is still preserved. The form *tjetër* result from crasis with the preceding particle *të* and/or analogical influence of plural. Goes back to PAlb **etera* (with a mobile stress: sg. **étera* ~ pl.**etérai*) related to Slav **eterъ* 'some, somebody' (MEYER *Wb.* 162, *Alb.St.* III 85). ◊

BOPP 489 (to Skt *āntara-* 'interior'); CAMARDA I 215 (compares *tjetër* with Gk ἕτερος 'other' but the latter goes back to **sm̥-tero-*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 71; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 177; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 93, *IF* XXXVI 115, *LKUBA* 98; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; POKORNY I 284; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 185-187; VASMER II 29; HULD 117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

tkurr aor. *tkurra* 'to make small, to press together'. Prefixal derivative based on **kurr* < PAlb **kursa*, a zero-grade etymologically connected with Hitt *karš-*, *karšii̯a-* 'to cut off', MIr *corr* 'stunted' and other continuants of IE **(s)ker-s-*. ◊ VENDRYES [C] 211-212; POKORNY I 945; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187 (to *korr* and *shkurre*).

tlandër f, pl. *tlandra* 'bundle'. Derived from *lëndë*.

tmerr m 'horror, fright'. Other variants are *mner*, *kmer* and *mer*. Borrowed from Lat *timōrem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 431). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 146; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187-189 (to Gmc **maron* 'nightmare', Slav **mora* id. or to Gk μέριμνα 'thought, trouble, uneasiness'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 130.

toçillë f, pl. *toçilla* 'whetstone'. Borrowed from Slav **točidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *točilo*, SCr *točilo* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172). ◊ SVANE 72, 242.

toçis aor. *toçita* 'to press the juice out of grapes'. Borrowed from Slav **točiti* 'to secrete, to make flow', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *toča*, SCr *točiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; SVANE 72, 242.

tog m, pl. *togje* 'heap, pile'. Continues PAlb **tāga*, a long grade of IE **(s)teg-* 'to cover', cf. in particular Gk τέγη 'roof', OIr *tech* 'house' < IE **tegos*. The same vowel grade may be attested in Lith *stíegti* 'to thatch (a roof)' if the latter reflects **stḗgti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 431; FRAENKEL 904; FRISK II 780-781; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 30; POKORNY I 1013-1014.

tojë f, pl. *toja* 'lace'. A parallel form is *tonjë*. Borrowed from Venet *togna* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269). ◊ ALESSIO apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 190 (from Rom **tonia*).

tok aor. *toka* 'to cut (meat), to sharpen (a scythe), to knock'. An onomatopoeia with an original meaning 'to knock'. Similar verbs are also attested in Romance, cf. Ital *toccare* 'to touch, to tap'.

tokë f, pl. *toka* 'earth, land, soil, ground, plot of land, field'. Borrowed from Slav **tokъ* 'threshing floor' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 18). Another widespread variant *trokë* is explained by the influence of *trokas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (considers *tokë* 'earth' to be connected with *toká* 'belt buckle'); JOKL *Studien* 80; MLADENOV 635; ÇABEJ *St. fil.* 1966/2 84, *St.* II 190 (to *terë*); OREL *Balcanica* 111-112 (improbable explanation from an unknown Indo-European substratum language close to Hittite), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363; MURATI *Probleme* 133-134.

tokël f, pl. *tokla* 'piece'. Derived from *tokë* id., of Italian origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (on *tokë*).

tollë f 'bald spot; drum membrane'. Continues PAlb **tāslā* < **tēk̂slā* etymologically related to Lat *tēla* 'cloth', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', Slav **tesla* id. < **tek̂slā*, further derived from IE **tek̂þ-* 'to weave, to hew'. ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 655; VASMER IV 51; POKORNY I 1058-1059.

topër f, pl. *topra* 'small axe'. An early borrowing from Slav **toporъ* 'axe' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172-173; SVANE 78.

topil m 'pit filled with water'. Borrowed from Slav **topidlo*, a deverbative of **topiti* 'to sink', cf., for example, Bulg *topilo* 'deep pit in the river'. ◊ SVANE 59.

topis aor. *topita* 'to blunt; to frighten, to discourage'. Borrowed from Slav **tǫpiti* 'to blunt' (MEYER *Wb.* 417), cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *tupiti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (*topis* 'to discourage' from SCr *stupiti* 'to step, to walk'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 190-191; SVANE 242.

torishtë f, pl. *torishta* 'sheep enclosure'. Borrowed from Slav **torišče* 'enclosure', cf. South Slavic forms with the same or close meaning:

Bulg *tor, torište*, SCr *tor* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◊ SVANE 63, 141.

tork m, pl. *torqe* 'beam of the oil-press; wine-press'. An analogical back-formation based on **torq*. The latter is borrowed from Ital *torchio* 'press' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Lat *torculum* 'wine- or oil-press'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 105, 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

torolec m, pl. *toroleca* 'cricket'. Derived from *torolis*. The form *torrovan* may be an emphatic transformation of *torolec*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (to Slav **ščurъ* 'grasshopper').

torolingë f, pl. *torolinga* 'toy pipe, flute'. Derived from *torolis*.

tortë f, pl. *torta* 'rope'. Borrowed from Lat *tortum* 'rope (for tortures)', cf. Rum *tort* 'yarn, thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 433) ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Latin or from Ital *torta*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153-154.

torua ~ **torue** m, pl. *toronj* 'trace; secret path'. Borrowed from Slav pl. **torove* 'paths, traces' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 302). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (derived from *torrë*); SVANE 141.

torrë f 'circle'. Attested in Albanian dialects of Greece. Borrowed from Rom **tornum* 'turn', cf. Ital *torno*, Fr *tour*, Prov *torn*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Ital *torno*).

torrloj aor. *torrlova* 'to deceive'. Derived from *torrlë* 'screw', based on *torrë*.

toskë m, pl. *toskë* 'Tosk, North Albanian'. Borrowed from Ital *tosco* 'Tuscan' < Lat *Tūscus* 'Etruscan'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

totolesh m, pl. *totoleshë* 'credulous person'. An emphatic derivative of *lesh*.

tra pl. *trerë, trarë, trenj* 'beam, post'. Borrowed from Lat *trabem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 433).

◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1040, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 144-146.

tragë f, pl. *tragë* 'trace'. Borrowed from Slav **tragъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trag, traga*, SCr *trag* (MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◊ SVANE 36.

trajkë f 'fishing net'. Identical with *tratkë* 'big fishing net', a local loanword from SCr *tratka* < Dalm *trakta* (SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 425). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (< **tralkë*, derivative in *-kë* borrowed from Rom **tragula* 'trawling net'); JOKL *RIEB* II 59 (agrees with SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 153 (from Rom **terrāticum*), 154 (from Rom **tragula*).

trajstë f, pl. *trajsta* 'sack, knapsack'. Another form is *trastë*. Borrowed from Rum *t(r)aistră* id., a Balkan *Wanderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

trajtë f, pl. *trajta* 'form, shape'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *tractum*, participle of *trahō* 'to draw'. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154). ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121.

trajtoj aor. *trajtova* 'to deal with, to treat'. Borrowed from Lat *tractāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1054; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 73-74; HAARMANN 154.

trakullij ~ **trakullî** aor. *trakulliva* 'to knock (at the door)'. Other forms are *trakulloj, trokulloj*. Borrowed from Rom **trūdiculāre*, a variant of **trūdicāre* 'to push'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434; MEYER-LÜBKE 679 (on Rom **trūdicāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (onomatopoeia).

trakullues m 'talker, windbag'. Derived from *trakullij* ~ *trakulloj* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 60). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (borrowed from SCr *traskalo* 'windbag'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (agrees with VASMER).

trangull m, pl. *tranguj* 'cucumber'. Borrowed from MGk τετράγγουρον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

trap m, pl. *trepe* 'pit, grave'. Borrowed from Slav **trapъ* 'pit', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trap*, SCr *trap* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente*

35; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk τρυπάω 'to drill, to bore'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 168, 188; SVANE 38.

trap m, pl. *trapa* 'ferry'. From PAlb **trapa* identical with Slav **tropa* 'path' and further related to IE **trep-* 'to tread' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 128 (to Lith *traupùs* 'fragile'); VASMER IV 105; POKORNY I 1094.

tras aor. *trita* 'to pull (a boat to the coast)'. Continues PAlb **t(e)ratja*, etymologically related to Skt *tárati* 'to cross over' and its cognates. ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (from Rum *tras*, part. of *trage* 'to pull'); MAYRHOFER I 480; POKORNY I 1074-1075.

trashë adj. 'thick, fat'. From PAlb **trauša*. Appears to be connected with Lith *trąšùs* 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a form based on *tręšiù* 'to rot, to manure' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 435) despite obvious phonetic difficulties: Lith *-ą-* must reflect a nasal which, however, may be secondary; thus, it could be derived from **treu-s-*, cf. Slav **truxa* '(hay) dust', further derived from IE **treu-*: Gk τρύω 'to destroy, to exhaust', Slav **trovǫ* 'to destroy' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk τραχύς 'jagged, rugged'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18 (from Lat *crassus* 'solid, thick, fat' ~ Rom **grassus*); MEYER *Wb.* 435 (follows MIKLOSICH); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 61; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (to OIr *trén*, ON *þrekr*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; BŪGA II 178; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Slav **tъlstъ* 'fat, thick'); FRAENKEL 1112; POKORNY I 1072-1073.

trashëgoj aor. *trashëgova* 'to inherit'. Borrowed from Lat *trānsigere* 'to reach an accord, to carry out transaction' (MEYER *Wb.* 435).

trath m, pl. *trathë* 'roof plank'. As well as *trazue* 'kind of beam' derived from *tra*.

trazoj aor. *trazova* 'to mix'. Another and more archaic form is *tramëzoj*. Borrowed from Rom **trānsmediāre* > Ital *tramezzare* 'to divide' (MEYER *Wb.* 435). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk ταράσσω 'to shuffle, to mix'); KRISTOFORIDHI 428 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 321 (from Slav **tražiti* 'to seek'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 192 (from Ital *travasare* 'to pour from one vessel into another'), IV 93-94.

tre num., f *tri* 'three'. From PAlb **treje* continuing IE **treįes* id.: Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn*. 24; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb*. 435, *Alb. St*. II 43, III 24, 63, 72). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 291, *Kelt. Gr*. I 132; FRISK II 921-922; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MAYRHOFER I 531; WALDE-HOFMANN II 702-703; POKORNY I 1090-1092; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 81; HULD 117; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47; HAMP *Numerals* 906-907; CLACKSON *LR* 209; DEMIRAJ *AE* 387-388.

tredh aor. *trodha* 'to castrate'. Continues PAlb **treuda* etymologically related to Lat *trūdō* 'to push', Goth *us-þriutan* 'to burden', Slav **trudъ* 'labor, work' (MEYER *Wb*. 435, *Alb. St*. III 24, 28, 72). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 130; VASMER IV 108; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth*. 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; HULD 156, 167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388.

treg m, pl. *tregje* 'market'. Borrowed from early South Slavic **trъgъ* (OCS *trъgь*) < Slav **trъgъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb*. 436, *Alb. St*. I 23). ◊ DIEFENBACH II 125; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *tregua* 'armistice'); JOKL *Studien* 115 (follows MEYER), *Reallex.Vorgesch*. I 88 (continues *terg-* in the Illyrian place-name *Tergeste*); MLADENOV *Ist*. 356; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9, 35-42 (*-e-* reflects West Macedonian [ä] < **ъ*); ANTTILA *Schw*. 100; ÇABEJ *St*. II 193 (reconstructs **trag* going back to Illyrian).

tregoj aor. *tregova* 'to show, to tell, to prove, to declare'. Derived from *treg* as a calque of Gk ἀγορεύω 'to talk, to declare' as based on ἀγορά 'market, place' (JOKL *Studien* 115). ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 436 (borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to tell'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St*. II 193-194 (follows JOKL).

tremb aor. *tremba* 'to frighten'. Continues PAlb **trema* related to Tokh A *tärm-* 'to get angry', Gk τρέμω 'to tremble (of fear)', Lat *tremō* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb*. 436, *Alb. St*. III 24, 65, 72). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Lat *tremere*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211; JOKL *Studien* 27, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1050 (follows MIKLOSICH); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 302; KIECKERS *IF* XXIII 364; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 43; FRISK II 922-923; WALDE-HOFMANN II 701; VAN WINDEKENS I 504; POKORNY I 1092-1093; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388-389.

treme f, pl. *treme* 'porch'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *trem, tr'am* 'inner porch, outer entrance hall', SCr *trijem, trem* 'porch' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436).

trenoj aor. *trenova* 'to become mad, to become stupid'. Derived from *tra*, pl. *trenj*, cf. Lat *stultus* 'stupid' ~ *stolō* 'shoot, branch, twig', Russ *ostolbenet'* 'to be bewildered' ~ *stolb* 'column, post'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (to Ital *strano* 'strange' or SCr *krenuti* 'to bend, to incline'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (to *terrnoj* 'to change').

tres aor. *treta* 'to melt, to loosen, to dissolve'. From PAlb **trōtja* etymologically identical with Slav **tratjǫ, *tratiti* 'to spend, to waste' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Slav **tratiti*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; VASMER IV 94-95.

trevë f, pl. *treva* 'land, area; peace, quiet'. Borrowed from MGk τρέβα 'truce' < OFr *treve* id. (JOKL *Litteris* IV 197, *Slavia* XIII 317). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk τρίβος 'path, way'); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (borrowed from Lat *trivium* 'crossroads'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (to OFr *triege*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 57; ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows JOKL).

trevoj aor. *trevova* 'to succeed, to prosper'. Derived from *trevë* (CAMARDA I 106). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (from Slav **terba* 'need, necessity'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows CAMARDA).

trikë f, pl. *trika* 'twig, branch'. From PAlb **treikā*, a derivative of *tre*. For the semantic development cf. E *twig*, Slav **dvigъ* 'branch' < **du̯īgho-* based on **du̯ō* 'two'. ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289 (to *trim*); TRUBAČEV *Ètimologija 1964* 4-6; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (from **tr̥k-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390.

trim m, pl. *trima* 'hero', adj. 'brave, courageous'. From PAlb **trima* related to IE **tr̥mo-*, cf. Arm *t'arm* 'young, fresh, green' and other continuants of IE **ter-* 'weak, young'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (to Gk τέρην 'soft, delicate'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 64; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289; AČAREAN *HAB* II 161; MANN *Language* XXVI 388; POKORNY I 1070-1071; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* III 41; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-ri-* as a reflex of IE **-r̥-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389.

trink adj. 'brand new'. Emerged from the expression *i ri trink* id., a

semi-calque of Venet *novo de trinca*, Ital *nuovo di trinca* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 290 (< **trim-kë*, derived from *trim*).

trirë ~ trinë f, pl. *trina ~ trira* 'harrow'. Borrowed from Rom **trīna* 'bundle, lace' > Ital *trina* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (from Ital *trina*); RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 422 (to Gk τείρω 'to rub'), XCII 609 (to *tjerr*); JANSON *Unt.* 59-60.

trisk m, pl. *trisqe* 'shoot (of vine)'. Etymologically close to *triskë*.

triskë f, pl. *triska* 'piece of wood, shavings'. Borrowed from Slav **trěska* 'chip' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The substitution of Slav *-ě-* > Alb *-i-* may reflect an early loanword.

trishe f, pl. *trishe* 'shooting, sprout'. An early borrowing from Slav **trьsъ* 'grape, stalk', cf. SCr *trs* (PEDERSEN *RomJb* IX I 217). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437, 526 (to SCr *trs* 'grape, vine'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 61; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 166 (to Gk θρινία· ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτῃ, Hes.); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 217 (borrowed from Slav **trъstь* 'cane'); GEORGIEV *Kr.-myk.* I 69 (to Gk θύρσος 'thyrsus'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 195-196 (to Gk τρέχνος 'shooting, twig'), IV 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390 (to *tre*).

trishtoj aor. *trishtova* 'to make sorry'. Derived from **trishtë* borrowed from Lat *tristis* 'sad' (MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 154.

troç adv. 'straightforwardly'. Based on Gk τρόπος 'direction' with an adverbial suffix *-ç*.

troftë f, pl. *trofta* 'trout'. Borrowed from Lat *tructa* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 437 with doubts). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*[2] I 1054; ERNOUT-MEILLET 704; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 74-77; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 67, 102, 122.

trohas aor. *trohasa* 'to crumble'. Derived from *trohë* 'crumb', borrowed from Slav **troxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *troxa*, SCr *troha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437).

troke f, pl. *troke* 'kind of cow-bell'. From PAlb **trākā* etymological-

ly related to Skt *tarkú-* 'spindle', Tokh A *tark-* 'earring' and the like. See *tjerr*. ◊ MAYRHOFER I 485; VAN WINDEKENS I 492; POKORNY I 1077.

trokoj aor. *trokova* 'to make dirty; to destroy'. In both meanings, derived from *trokë* 'earth', a variant of *tokë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438-439 (to Ital dial. *truché* 'to push', *struccare* 'to press, to squeeze out').

trondit aor. *trondita* 'to swing'. An early borrowing from Slav **trǫtiti* 'to push', cf. Czech *trútiti*, Pol *trącić* (MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 291; SVANE 242.

troshis aor. *troshita* 'to crumble, to break'. Borrowed from Slav **trošiti* id. (cf. Bulg *troša*, SCr *trošiti*), see *trohë* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◊ SVANE 94, 243.

tru ~ trû m, pl. *tru ~ trû* 'brain'. Continues PAlb **taruna* identical with Skt *táruṇa-* 'young, tender', Av *tauruna-* 'young', cf. also Gk τέρην 'tender', τέρυ· ἀσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.) and the like. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 82 (to Lat *tempus* 'temple'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97-98; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (from **entr̥no-*); FRISK II 879; MAYRHOFER I 483; POKORNY I 1070.

truaj ~ truej aor. *trova* 'to put aside'. Borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to give, to transfer' (HAARMANN 154). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (connected with *ruaj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Skt *trāyāti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 266.

truall ~ truell m, pl. *troje* 'foundation, plot of land, site'. Borrowed from Lat *trībulum* 'thresher, *threshing-floor'. The semantic development is similar to that of *tokë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (from Rom **terriola*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137 (from Lat *terra* 'earth' with an Albanian suffix); ÇABEJ *St.* II 196-197 (related to *terë*).

trubull adj. 'turbid, troubled (water)'. Borrowed from Romance **turbulus* id.: Rum *turbure*, Ital Sicil *trúbbulu*, Fr *trouble* and the like. Cf. *trubulloj*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 166.

trubulloj aor. *trubullova* 'to stir, to trouble (water)'. Borrowed from Rom **turbulāre* id.: Rum *turbura*, Fr *troubler* and the like. ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

truç m 'crowd'. Derived from *truc* (cf. *trys*), for the semantics cf. ON *þrǫng* 'crowd' ~ *þrǫngr* 'narrow', *þryngva* 'to press'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (to *trokoj*); BUCK *Synonyms* 929-930.

trumbë f, pl. *trumba* 'water-pump; trumpet'. Another variant is *trumë*. Borrowed from Rom **trumba* ~ **trumpa* 'trumpet, (water) pipe': Ital *tromba*, OFr *trompe*, Prov *trompa* and the like. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tromba*); MEYER *Wb.* 438 (follows MIKLOSICH).

trumë f, pl. *truma* 'crowd, group'. Metathesis of *turmë* under the influence of *truç*.

trumzë f, pl. *trumza* 'thyme'. Suffixal derivative of **trumë* < **tumrë* borrowed from Gk θύμβρᾱ 'savory' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197).

trung m, pl. *trungje* 'trunk'. Borrowed from Lat *truncus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 137-138.

trup m, pl. *trupa* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav **trupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflections: Bulg *trup*, SCr *trup* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 438-439). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; JOKL *LKUBA* 89; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 195; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271, *Stratificazione* 84; SVANE 178.

trushkyej aor. *trushkeva* 'to rob (a church)'. From Rom **trumpiscāre* 'to cheat', cf. **trumpāre* id. > Fr *tromper*. Further connection is Lat *trumphāre* 'to triumph'.

tryelë f, pl. *tryela* 'bore, drill'. Other variants are *turjelë*, *trujelë*. Borrowed from Rom **terebellum* id.: Ital *trivello*, Prov *taravela*, Port *travoela* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *trivella*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260 (from Ital *trivello*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 50.

tryezë f, pl. *tryeza* 'table'. Borrowed from dialectal (North Italian) Romance **trabeza* < Gk τράπεζα id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 117-118: prefers to identify *tryezë* with Gk θρόνος 'seat, chair'). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (from NGk τράπεζα 'table'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271.

trys aor. *trysa* 'to press, to compress, to squeeze'. Parallel forms are *trus*, *truc*. From PAlb **trūtja*, a formation in **-tja* based on IE **treu-* ~ **trū-*: Gk τρύω 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith *trūniù, trūnė́ti* 'to rot, to go foul'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lat *trūdō*); FRISK II 938; FRAENKEL 1132; POKORNY I 1026-1027; OREL *IF* XLIII 116-117 (to *tjerr*; PAlb **trūtja* reflects IE part. **trūto-*).

trystë f 'gathering'. Derived from *trys*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 124 (to *tryezë*).

tufë f, pl. *tufa* 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. Borrowed from Lat *tūfa* 'plume (on the helm)' (MEYER *Wb.* 439), Rom **tūfa* 'bush, bunch': Rum *tufă*, Span *tufo* and the like. The same word is also used metaphorically to denote a 'crowd', probably, not without influence of *turmë*. ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk τύπτω 'to beat, to strike'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tuffo*); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 165; JOKL *Balkangerm.*110-111(from Gmc **þuba-*); LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 272-274 (from Gmc **þūfa*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 309; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

tufk m 'pollen'. Derived from *tufë*.

tul m, pl. *tule, tula* 'meat, flesh, pulp'. From PAlb **tula* etymologically connected with Gk τύλη 'swelling', Slav **tylъ* 'back side' (CAMARDA I 131; MEYER *Wb.* 451, *Alb. St.* III 23, 80). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 543; SPITZER *MRIW* I 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272, *Stratificazione* 98; VASMER IV 131; FRISK II 942; POKORNY I 1081; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197-198; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 390-391.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'rock edge; pl. tombs'. Another variant is *tume* 'top of the rock'. Borrowed from Lat *tumba* 'tomb' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155.

tumbë f, pl. *tumba* 'bunch, brush'. An analogical transformation of *tufë*.

tumullac m, pl. *tumullaca* 'bubble, bladder'. Derived from **tumull* borrowed from from Lat *tumulus* 'hill, heap'.

tun m, pl. *tunj* 'back, rear'. Borrowed from Slav **tunъ* 'false, vain, futile', in South Slavic attested in Bulg *tun* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 19). Note *tunë* 'butt' belonging to this group. ◊ SVANE 79.

tund aor. *tunda* 'to move, to stir, to swing'. Continues PAlb **tunda*, a nasal present identical with Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push' (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452; JOKL *Studien* 91 (to Skt *taṁsáyati* 'to draw to and fro'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 716-717; POKORNY I 1033-1034; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232.

turbë f 'turf'. Borrowed from Rom **turba*: Fr *tourbe*, Ital *torba* (from French).

turfulloj aor. *turfullova* 'to snort'. Borrowed from an unattested Rom **trānsflāre* or **trānsinflāre* 'to blow through'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452 (from Ital *tronfio* 'swollen').

turi ~ **turî** pl. *turinj* 'trunk, muzzle'. Borrowed from Rom **utrīnum* derived from Lat *uter* 'hose' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

turis aor. *turita* 'to frighten off (animals)'. Borrowed from Slav **turiti* 'to drive away, to chase', cf. in South Slavic, in the meaning 'to push, to put, to drop': Bulg *tur'a*, SCr *turiti* (SVANE 247).

turmë f, pl. *turma* 'crowd, herd'. Borrowed from Lat *turma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ CAMARDA I 99 (to Ital *torma* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1039, 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

turp m 'shame'. Borrowed from Lat *turpe* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 143; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (related to Lat *turpis*, Goth *þaurban*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84.

turshej aor. *tursheva* 'to break, to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom **trūsāre* 'to push, to stir': Prov *truzar*, Engad *trüscher* and the like.

turtull m, pl. *turtuj* 'turtle-dove'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sono-

rants, from Lat *turtur* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 144-146.

turrem refl. 'to rush, to run'. Continues PAlb **tura* etymologically connected with Skt *tūrtá-* 'quick, fast', OHG *dweran* 'to turn fast', ON *þyrja* 'to run' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (to or from Slav **turiti* 'to drive away, to chase'); MAYRHOFER I 514; POKORNY I 1100; MURATI *Probleme* 134.

turrë f, pl. *turra* 'haystack, pile of logs, tower'. Borrowed from Lat *turrem* 'tower' (WEIGAND 91; ÇABEJ *St.* II 198). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to W *twr* 'pile').

tus aor. *tuta* 'to frighten'. Continues PAlb **tutja* based on a deverbative adjective in **-to-* and related to ON *þeya* 'to melt', OHG *douwen* id. with 'being silent' as an intermediary stage of semantic development. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (from Turk *tutmak* 'to seize'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk ἀτύζομαι); TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (on the development of meaning); ÇABEJ *St.* II 198 (related to *tund*).

tutje adv. 'there, on the other side'. Compound of *tu-* and *-tje* (as in *atje*). The first component continues PAlb adverbial **tu* preserved in *këtu* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 199) and related to IE demonstrative **to-* (CAMARDA I 317; MEYER *Wb.* 425). The other component goes back to PAlb **te* of uncertain origin.

tuturis aor. *tuturita* 'to sing (of swallows)'. An onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 453).

tym m 'smoke'. Hardly a loanword from Gk θυμός 'soul, spirit' as far as the latter is unknown in any meaning close to 'smoke'. Rather, continues PAlb **ātuma* connected with Gmc **ēđumaz* 'breath' and further related to Skt *ātmán-* 'blow, breath, soul'. The inlaut *-y-* in the Albanian word may be secondary. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (related to Gk θυμός); MEYER *Wb.* 93 (secondary formation based on *tymos* 'to smoke' < CS *timijasati* 'to burn incense' < Gk θυμιάμα 'incense'); KRISTOFORIDHI 363 (to IE **dhūmos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272; OREL *Balcanica*

110-111 (from a substratum continuation of IE **dhūmos*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 254; HULD 117.

typth m, pl. *typtha* 'little hammer'. Diminutive of **typ* < PAlb **tūpa* related to Skt *tupáti*, *túmpati* 'to harm, to hurt', Gk τύπτω 'to strike with a weapon'. ◊ FRISK II 945-946; MAYRHOFER I 512-513; POKORNY I 1034.

tytë f, pl. *tyta* 'pipe, tube, barrel', adj. 'empty, unnecessary, futile'. From PAlb **tūtā*, probably related to IE **teu̯ə-* 'to swell'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (explains *tytë* 'trunk' from **dytë*, borrowed from Rom **ductus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *tùščias*); POKORNY I 1080-1085; OREL *Balcanica* 112-113 (to a substratum continuation of IE **dhū-to-* derived from **dhū-* 'to blow').

Th

thadër f 'kind of a double-sided axe'. Continues PAlb **tsestrā* identical with Skt *śastrá-* 'knife, sword'. The auslaut *-dër* may be considered to be a regular result of the non-initial **-str-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 157-159 (to IE **k̂es-dhro-*, to **k̂es-* 'to cut'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 10; MAYRHOFER III 319; POKORNY I 586; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62 (from **k̂ontro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199 (< **thardë*, postverbal derivative of **thar*, cf. *ther*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 391-392 (to Skt *śitá-* 'sharp').

thaj aor. *thava* 'to dry'. From PAlb **sausnja*, a derivative of IE **sauso-* 'dry': Gk αὖος, MHG *sôr*, Lith *saũsas*, Slav **suxъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 43, 92). Note the dissimilation of sibilants leading to **s-* > *th-*. The adjective *thatë* 'dry' is a deverbative derived from an unattested PAlb **sausa*. ◊ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk δασύς 'thick with leaves, hairy, shaggy'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 34, *KZ* XXXIII 543, XXXVI 283; JOKL *Studien* 61, *LKUBA* 261; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300-301; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; FRISK I 188-189; FRAENKEL 766; VASMER III 813; MANN *Language* XXVI 381, *Hist. Gr.* 184 (to Gk καυτός 'burnt, red-hot', inconvicing semantically and inaccurate phonetically); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199-200 (reconstructs **saukni̯ō* and compares *thaj* with σαυκόν· ξηρόν, Hes.); HULD 117-118; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; DEMIRAJ *AE* 392.

thanë f, pl. *thana*, *thanë* 'cornel'. Participle of *thaj* (MEYER *Wb*. 88 with an alternative comparison with Lat *cornus* id.). ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θάμνος 'bush, shrub'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to OIr *congan* 'horn'); BARIĆ *ARSt*. I 9-10 (from **k̂or̥ngo-*, cf. Skt *śr̥nga-* 'peak', Gk κραγγών 'small crustacean'); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 277 (to Lith *šaũnas* 'quick, strong'); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 118 (borrowed from Greek or Thraco-Phrygian); ÇABEJ *St*. II 200-201 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD *KZ* XCV 306-307 (from **sosdh-nā*, cf. Lat *sorbum* 'serviceberry' < **sosdhom*); JANSON *Unt*. 92-94; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393 (from Gk θάμνος).

thar aor. *thara* 'to add ferment to milk'. Historically identical with *ther*. For the semantic development cf. Lith *kartùs* 'bitter' - *kir̃sti* 'to cut, to hew', Goth *baitrs* 'bitter' - *beitan* 'to bite', Latv *skâbs* 'sour' - Lith *skabė́ti* 'to cut, to hew'. ◊ BUCK *Synonyms* 1033-1035; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 225, 239.

thark m, pl. *tharq*, *tharqe* 'enclosure (especially, for milking)'. Continues PAlb **tserka*, a derivative of *thur* < **tsurja*. Borrowed to Rum *ţarc*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ἕρκος 'fence, enclosure'); MEYER *Alb. St*. III 39 (from IE **k̂u̯orkos*); PETERSSON *Heter*. 134 (same as MEYER); CAPIDAN *DR* II 552 (Rum *ţarc* from Albanian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom*. II 691 (Rum *ţarc* from Lat *circus*); DENSUŞIANU *GS* I 245-248 (from Iranian); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb*. 114 (suffix *-k*); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 165 (Rum *ţarc* < Dacian < IE **serk-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom*. II 351; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 200-203; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; ÇABEJ *St*. VII 199, 204.

tharm m 'sour dough, yogurt ferment'. Derived from *thar*. ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to Lith *šármas* 'lye'); ÇABEJ *St*. VII 202.

thartë adj. 'sour'. Another form is *tharbët* from where *thartë* seems to have been derived phonetically. Rum *sarbăd* is borrowed from PAlb **tsarbata* (for a voiced auslaut cf. also the name of the Beskidy mountains continuing PAlb **beskai tai*). The source of this word is **tharbë*, derived from *thar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 88, *Alb. St*. III 13, 72, 87, V 75 (to Lith *šármas* 'lye' and its cognates); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to Lat *acerbus* id.); JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to *tharm*); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 538-539 (to IE **sūro-* 'sour'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 136 (together with Rum *sarbăd* - from Rom **exalbidus*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (*tharbët* related to Lat *acerbus*); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom*. II

347; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix *-bë* in *tharbë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 201-202 (derived from *ther*).

thashëm adv. 'on an empty stomach'. An adverbial form based on *thaj*.

thatë adj. 'dry'. Derivative of *thaj* (JOKL *LKUBA* 278). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

theç adj. 'fragile'. Derived from *thyej*.

thek aor. *theka* 'to roast, to toast (bread)'. Continues PAlb **tsaka* from IE **k̑n̥k-* attested also in Greek, both in zero and full grades: κέγκει· πεινᾷ, καγκομένης· ξηρᾶς τῷ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής 'burning strongly' (Hom.) and the like. Other parallels implying the initial **k-* (Skt *kāṅkṣati* 'to wish, to desire') are semantically too farfetched and should be ignored despite POKORNY I 565. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Ital *seccare* 'to dry'), 440 (from Ital *secco* 'dry'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1053 (from Lat *siccāre* 'to dry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13 (to *thëngjill* and, further, to Skt *śocati* 'to shine, to glow'); MAYRHOFER I 194; FRISK I 750-751; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 202-203 (to *thaj*).

thekë f, pl. *thekë* 'fringe'. From PAlb **tsakā* etymologically close to Skt *śā́khā* 'branch', Lith *šakà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 88). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 48 (follows MEYER), *KZ* XXXVI 332, *Kelt. Gr.* I 126; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 14 (same); LA PIANA *Studi* I 33 (against the comparison with *śā́khā*); FRAENKEL 957-958; MAYRHOFER III 321-322; POKORNY I 523; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 191, VIII 90, *St.* II 203-204 (to *thek*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393-394.

thekër ~ thekën f, pl. *thekëra ~ thekëna* 'rye'. Singularized plural of *thekë* (CAMARDA I 177-178) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Lat *secāle* id. with a shift of stress); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82 (agrees with MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 13-15 (to *thikë*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 315 (same).

thel m, pl. *thela* 'big nail'. Continues PAlb **tsala* related to Skt *śalá-*

'stick, cane', OIr *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* 'point of a pole'. ◊ POKORNY I 552-553.

thelb m, pl. *thelpinj, thalba, thelbna* 'kernel (of a nut)'. From PAlb **tsalba*, a derivative of IE **k̂el-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*. ◊ CAMARDA I 199; MEYER *Wb.* 89 (to Friul *sepe* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to *bër-thamë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 192; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 1; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (from IE **sphel-* 'to split'); POKORNY I 553-554.

thellë adj. 'deep; dark (of color)'. Frow PAlb **tsawila* related to Gk κοῖλος 'hollow' < *κόϝιλος (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332). ◊ CAMARDA I 64; MEYER *Wb.* 88 (to Skt *śūnyá-* 'empty'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 90; LA PIANA *Studi* I 71 n. 1 (to Gk θέλυμνα 'foundation'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311, *RIEB* I 48; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 83; FRISK I 891-892; CHANTRAINE 552; PORZIG *Gliederung* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (follows PEDERSEN); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204-206 (*thellë* < dialectal *fellë*, to IE **sphel-* 'to split'); HULD 118, *KZ* XCII 297-299 (reconstructs **k̂ouHlo-*); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 394-395.

thembër f, pl. *thembra* 'heel'. Continues PAlb **tsambrā*, a derivative of IE **(s)k̂amb-* 'to bend': Gk σκαμβός 'bent, crooked', OIr *camm* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 62 (to Gk θέναρ 'palm'); MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 120 (from Lat *femur* 'thigh'); FRISK II 716-717; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; POKORNY I 918 (reconstructs IE **(s)k-*); HAARMANN 126; RUSAKOV *RB* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 206-207 (the original meaning is 'bending').

thep m, pl. *thepa* 'peak, point, cog, tooth'. From PAlb **tsaipa* etymologically identical with Skt *śépa-* 'tail, penis', Lat *cippus* 'pole' (JOKL *Studien* 20, 117). Borrowed to Rum *țeapă*. ◊ LIDÉN XXXIX/2 52-54 (to Arm *sep* 'point, peak'); MAYRHOFER III 374-375; WALDE-HOFMANN I 219-200; POKORNY I 543; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 79; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *SCL* XXXII 428; ÇABEJ *St.* II 207-208; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 395-396.

ther aor. *thera* 'to slaughter, to pierce'. From PAlb **tsera* related to Skt *śṛṇā́ti* 'to smash, to crush', Gk κήρ 'death', OIr *do-cer* '(he) fell' (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218, *ZONF* X 187; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 80-81 (to Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 115; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to *therrë* = *ferrë* and Lith *šérti* 'to eat, to graze'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 41; MAYRHOFER III 371-372; FRISK I 842-843; VENDRYES [C] 237-238; POKORNY I 578; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 208-210 (to IE **k̂ers-* 'bristle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 396-397.

therokë f 'Passerina hirsuta; sweepings'. Derived from *ther* (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 75 (identical with *throkë* 'dung' from Gk φρόκαλον 'rubbish'); MANN *HAED* 534 (to *thërrime*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 210 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

therpelë f 'kind of thorny plant, woody nightshade, sim'. Compound of *ther* and *pelë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 210-211 (derived from *ther*).

thes m, pl. *thasë* 'sack'. Continues PAlb **tsatja* related to Gk κοτύλη 'hole, empty vessel', Lat *catīnus* 'bowl' and, probably, to Av *kata-* 'chamber, room', Goth *hepjo* id. ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238-240 (from Gk σάκκος id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 30, 32 (connected with Gk σάκκος); FEIST *Goth.* 254-255; WALDE-HOFMANN I 182; FRISK I 933-934; BARTHOLOMAE 432; POKORNY I 586-587; HAMP *IF* LXVI 25 (from **k̂outi-*, cf. Gk κύτος 'hollow', Lat *cutis* 'skin'), *Orbis* XXIII/1 128-129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 211 (together with σάκκος, borrowed from Semitic).

thëllëzë f, pl. *thëllëza* 'partridge'. Derived from *thellë* as a color adjective (STIER *KZ* XI. 110; CAMARDA II 30). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 95 (from Rom **fulingia* based on Lat *fulica* 'coot'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535 (< **fëllëng-zë* borrowed from Rom **fullinga*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10-12 (from **k̂elontī* 'jumper'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 240-241 (follows STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81 (< IE **k̂elontī* = Skt *śālūra-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 86; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; SCHWENTNER *KZ* XLVII 255 (to *thëllim* in view of Gk πέρδιξ 'partridge' - πέρδομαι 'pedere'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 211-212.

thëllim m, pl. *thëllime* 'cold wind, tempest, storm, dry frost'. Derived from *thellë*, probably, in its function of a color adjective, with a further semantic development from 'darkness' to 'cold' or 'storm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 212-213 with typological parallels). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk θλίμμα 'pressure', θλίβω 'to squeeze'); DOZON *Manuel* 92 (to Gk θύελλα 'storm'); DIEFENBACH I 55 (agrees with DOZON); KRISTOFORIDHI 127, 459, 470 (follows DOZON and compares *thëllim* with *fulloj*); BUGGE

BB XVIII 174 (from Lat *follēre* 'to bag'); PETERSSON *KZ* XLVII 255 (to Lith *švil̃pti* 'to whistle'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 22 (to *fyell* and *fryj*).

thëngjill m, pl. *thëngjij* 'hot ashes'. Continues PAlb **tsangila*, with a prefix **ts-*, further connected with Lith *anglìs* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav **ǫglь* id., Skt *áṅgāra-* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328). ◊ CAMARDA I 64 (to Gk φέγγος 'light, shine'); MEYER *Wb.* 90 (from Lat *favilla* 'hot ashes'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 105-106 (from Slav **ǫglь* with a prothetic **v-* > Alb *f-*, *th-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 375 (against JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12-13 (to **k̂enk-* 'to burn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 8; CANDREA *GS* III 235 (from Rom **focilis* 'fire'); FRAENKEL 10; MAYRHOFER I 21; VASMER IV 146; POKORNY I 779; TOPOROV *PJa* I 87 (against the connection with Lith *anglìs* and the like); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13 (*th-* < **f-*), *BLing* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 214-215 (explains *thëngjill* as a singularized plural).

thënukël f, pl. *thënukla* 'dogberry'. Irregular transformation of **thënubël* continuing PAlb **tsunu-abōla-* 'dog's apple' identical with Dac κινούβοιλα 'plant Brionia alba' (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *šúnobuolas* 'dog's pumpkin'. ◊ TOMASCHEK *Thr.* I 34; DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 362, 373; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

thëri ~ **thëni** f, pl. *thëri* ~ *thëni* 'louse'. From PAlb **tsanidā* related to Gk κονίς 'nit', OHG *hniz* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 13, 37). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 41; JOKL *Studien* 105, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301 (reconstructs IE **k̂enid-*), *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33-34; ERNOUT-MEILLET 351; MANN *Language* XVII 23, XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; FRISK I 912-913; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 278 (correct reconstruction of **-o-* in the first syllable of **k̂onid-*); POKORNY I 608; ÇABEJ *St.* II 215-216 (to *thind* 'sting, thorn'); HULD 118-119; JANSON *Unt.* 31-32; GRIEPENTROG *Wurzelnomina* 474-475; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397.

thërpehem refl. 'to become impregnated (of goats)'. Other forms are *thuprehem* and also *thuprue*, *thyprue* 'to impregnate'. Derived from *thupër* as many other verbs for 'futuere' based on the word for

'stick'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to *cap*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 218-219 (from **përthehet* based on **përth = përç*).

thërras aor. *thërrita, thirra* 'to call, to name'. Continues PAlb **tsira*, with a secondary present in **-atja*. An old onomatopoeia. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 20-21 (to Lith *šárka* 'magpie', Slav **sorka* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 216-217.

thërreckë f, pl. *thërrecka* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from **thërrec* based on *ther*.

thërrime f, pl. *thërrime* 'crumb'. Derived from *ther* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 217-218). The verb *thërrmoj* 'to break, to crumb' (borrowed to Rum *fărima* id.) is derived from *thërrime*. ◊ CAMARDA I 52, 99 (to Gk θρύμμα 'bit, something broken off'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* IV 26 (*thërrmoj* from Rom **fragmināre*); PUŞCARIU *ZfromPh* XXVII 739, *EWR* 50 (together with Rum *fărima*, from Rom **farrīmen*); GIUGLEA *DR* III 594-597 (starts from Rom **farrīma*); WEIGAND *BA* III 214; REICHENKRON *ZfBalk* III 166 (reconstructs a Dacian source continuing IE **(s)per-*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277.

thi m, pl. *thi* 'pig'. From PAlb **sū(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) etymologically related to IE **sūs* id.: Av *hū*, Gk ὗς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū* (STIER *KZ* XI 214; CAMARDA I 77; MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 43-44, 63). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIÇ *Hymje* 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 670; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; FRISK II 973-974; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 142 (reconstructs **k̂-* in the anlaut); LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 222; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; WALDE-HOFMANN II 635-637; BARTHOLOMAE 1817; POKORNY I 1038; ÇABEJ *St.* II 219-220; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397-398.

thikë f, pl. *thika, thikë* 'knife'. From PAlb **tsikā*, derived from IE **k̂ēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śíśāti* 'to whet, to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θήγω 'to whet'), 117 (to Lat *sīca* 'knife'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Lat *sīca*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXIV 287 (follows MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 293 (same); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155 (same); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13-14 (to Skt *śíkhā* 'tuft of hair, fringe');

AČAREAN *HAB* IV 254-255; MAYRHOFER III 345; LA PIANA *Studi* I 30-31 (against borrowing from Latin for phonetic reasons: Lat *s-* > Alb *sh-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 387; POKORNY I 541-542; ÇABEJ *St.* II 221-222 (follows BARIĆ and adduces *thekë* as another cognate).

thimë adj. 'grey'. Derived from *thij*, see *thinjë*.

thimth m, pl. *thimtha* 'sting, nipple'. A deminutive of **thim* related to *thind* (JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319). The meaning 'nipple' may be secondary, due to the influence of *thithë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 223-224).

thind m, pl. *thinda* 'beak, nipple'. Derived from the same verbal root as *thikë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *findere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (to *ther*, *thyej*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 238; POKORNY I 920; ÇABEJ *St.* II 222-223 (to *thëri*, *thumb*); HAMP-*Münch. St. Spr.* XLIII 47-48 (< IE **k̂ent-*).

thinjë f, pl. *thinja* 'grey hair'. Derived from *thij* 'to go grey' < PAlb **tsinja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *śyāvá-* 'dark brown', Av *syāva-* 'black', Slav **sivъ* 'dark grey' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Slav **sinь* 'dark blue'); WEIGAND 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (to *finjë* and *hi*); MAYRHOFER III 384; BARTHOLOMAE 1631; VASMER III 617; POKORNY I 541; ÇABEJ *St.* II 225-226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI in his comparison with *finjë*); MURATI *Probleme* 135.

thipë f 'bread crust'. Identical with *cipë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 129). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226.

thirqe f. pl. *thirqe* 'chick-pea'. Singularized plural of **thirk*, derivative in **-ka-* of *thjerrë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 96). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Venet *siserchia* id.); HELBIG 79 (accepts MEYER's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (from *siserchia* with dissimilation of *s* - *s*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII).

thirr m 'soot'. From PAlb **tsirwa* identical with Lith *šir̃vas* 'grey' (CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42) and continuing the Indo-European root for dark color **k̂er-*. Cf. *surmë* and *thjermë*. ◊ FRAENKEL 989; POKORNY I 573-574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226-227 (to Slav **sěra* 'sulphur').

thirravajë f 'complaint'. Lexicalization of *me thirrë vaj* 'to make a complaint, to complain' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 227).

thith m, pl. *thitha* 'joint-pin, sprig'. Another form is *thinx*. From **thind-th*, deminutive of *thind*.

thith aor. *thitha* 'to suck'. Another form is *thëthij*. Continues PAlb **tsitsa*. An old "descriptive" stem (JOKL *Balkanogerm.* 127-128, *Slavia* XIII 325). Of the same origin is *thithë* 'nipple' < PAlb **tsitsā*. ◊ CAMARDA I 37, 77-78 (to Gk τίθημι 'to put'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44, IV 31 (from SCr *sisa* 'nipple, bosom'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (*thithë* to Ir *cioch*, Slav **sisa*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* II 227-228.

thjermë adj. 'grey'. From PAlb **tserma*, a full grade of the root found in zero grade in *surmë* and etymologically related to Lith *šir̃mas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155, *WuS* XII 89-90). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (follows JOKL); POKORNY I 574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 228-229 (derived from *thjerrë*); HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399.

thjerrë f, pl. *thjerra* 'lentil'. Continues PAlb **tserā*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* 'pea', Arm *siseṙn* id. < IE **ḱi-ḱer-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15, *AArbSt* II 81-83). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* IV 118 (from Rom **fābārium*, to Lat *fāba* 'bean'); WEIGAND 19 (agrees with MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81-83; JOKL *LKUBA* 179-181 (to Lith *šérti* 'to feed'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 218; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (agrees with BARIĆ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 1127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 212; POKORNY I 598; ÇABEJ *St.* II 220-221 (identical with *fier*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 398-399.

thjeshtë adj. 'simple, easy'. Another form is *fjeshtë*. Continues PAlb **tseksta*, a derivative in **ts-* based on **eksta* > *jashtë* with the basic meaning 'not outside' = 'easy to reach', for the semantic model cf. OIr *asse* < **ad-staịo-* 'standing by' = 'easily attainable' = 'easy', Fr *aise* 'ease' < Lat *adjacēns* 'lying near'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *festus* 'solemn, festive'); JOKL *Studien* 37-38, *LKUBA* 190, 214 (from IE **sḱāi-* 'to shine'); VENDRYES [A] 96; BUCK *Synonyms* 648-650; ÇABEJ *St.* II 224-225 (derived from *fill*).

thjeshtër m, pl. *thjeshtër* 'stepson'. In Sicilian dialects of Albanian one finds *fjeshtër*. Borrowed from Lat *filiaster* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1053) phonetically influenced by *thjeshtë* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 51-52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* V 75 (from Ital *figliastro* id., Venet *fiastro* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 48, 211 (same); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* II 229.

thkollët adj. 'thin, meager'. A phonetic evolution of *tëholloj* 'to become thin' based on *hollë* (MANN *HAED* 539). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 229-230 (agrees with MANN).

thnegël f, pl. *thnegla* 'ant'. Other forms are *thënegullë*, *thënëjegëll*. Continues PAlb **tsangulā*, with a prefix **ts-*, further connected with Lat *anguis* 'snake', Lith *angìs* id., OHG *angar* 'kind of maggot', *engirine* 'larva', Lith *ankštiraĩ* 'maggot'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 89-90 (from Lat *formicula* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 175; SCHUCHARDT *Revue basque* V 106-108 (to Basque *chiugurri*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12 (compound of *thëri* ~ *thëni* and **goll-* 'thorn, sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 79 (from **khthonai-g*ʷ*ila* 'living on earth'); FRAENKEL 10; WALDE-HOFMANN I 48-49; POKORNY I 43-44; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix *-ël*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 214 (related to *thëri* ~ *thëni* as well as to *thind*).

thom aor. *thashë* 'to say'. From athematic PAlb **tsānsmi* etymologically connected with Lat *cēnseō* 'to assess, to value' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 13, 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk φημί 'to say'); WACKERNAGEL *IF* XLV 326; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 101, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298-299; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; LA PIANA *Studi* I 37; PISANI *Saggi* 101, 130; WALDE-HOFMANN I 198-200; POKORNY I 566; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 37; HAMP *Anc. IE* 117 (3 sg. *thotë* derived from **k̂ē-ti* since **k̂ēns-ti* would be reflected as **thoshtë*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 108-109, *Verbum* 151-152, *Koll. Idg. ges.* 230; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399-400.

thonjëza pl. 'quotes'. A recent derivative of *thua*.

thopërç pl. 'dwarfs (in folklore)'. Other variants are *thopç* and, rarely, *thopërk*. The latter is formed analogically on the basis of the alternation *-k* : *-q* (> *ç*). Because of the stress in *thópërç* it must be ana-

lyzed as a compound of *thua* and *përç* (for the meaning cf. *Tom Thumb* and Russian *mužičok-s-nogotok*). BUZUKU has a participle *thopërkuom* 'paralyticus', *thoprëkuom* 'hydropicus' which has nothing to do with *thopërk* and reflects a verb **thë-për-koj* 'to undernourish', with two prefixes, based on *koj*. ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 123-125, *Vox Rom.* VI 227 (from Slavic, cf. SCr *coprati* 'to conjure'); MANN *HAED* 92; ÇABEJ *St.* II 230-231 (from Ital *zoppo* 'lame').

thua ~ thue m, pl. *thoj ~ thonj* '(finger) nail'. Goes back to PAlb **atsāna* derived from IE **ak̂-* 'sharp' and, as far as its structure is concerned, similar with Gk ἄκανος 'thorny fruit', ἄκαινα 'tip, point'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ὄνυξ 'nail'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Av *spāma-* 'saliva' misinterpreted as 'nail'), *Alb. St.* III 14, 16; LEWY *IF* XXXII 159 (compares *thua* with Lat *squāma* '(fish) scale'); JOKL *LKUBA* 26; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10 (derivative of IE **k̂er-* 'horn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301, *Stratificazione* 98; FRISK I 49, 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 231-232 (to Gk κεντέω 'to prick'); HULD 120 (to Gmc **xanduz* 'hand').

thuk m, pl. *thukë* 'mortar'. Derived from *thuk* 'to grind, to press', a verb of onomatopoeic origin. The adjective *thukët* 'robust' also belongs here. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

thumb m, pl. *thumba* 'sting, thorn'. Derived from *thua*. PAlb **tsumba* was borrowed to Rum *ciump*. ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk θωμός 'heap'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Skt *śámba-* 'pole', Gk κόμβος 'roll, band'), *Alb. St.* III 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332-333 (to *fëndyell* and *thnegël*); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lith *šum̃pis* 'ham, leg of pork'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

thumbull f, pl. *thumbulla* 'button'. Derived from *thumb*. Borrowed to Rum *sîmbure* 'stone (of a fruit)'. ◊ ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

thundër f, pl. *thundra* 'hoof'. Derived from *thua*. ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk θέναρ 'palm of the hand').

thupër f, pl. *thupra* 'twig, rod'. As far as *th-* < **ts-* is impossible before *-u-*, it is a prefix (cf. *thëngjill*). The rest of the word continues PAlb

*upera 'upper' etymologically related to OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id. and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Hung dial. *supra* id.); POKORNY I 1106.

thur aor. *thura* 'to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave'. From PAlb **tsurja*, a zero grade form related to Arm *sarikʿ* 'band, rope', Gk καῖρος 'row of thrums in the loom'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θυρόω 'to furnish with doors'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Lat *crātis* 'wicker-work', Gk κύρτη 'fishing net'); AČAREAN *HAB* IV 188; FRISK I 756; POKORNY I 577-578; CLACKSON *LR* 140.

thuthaq adj. 'lisping'. Pronouncing *s* as *th* (MEYER *Wb.* 92).

thyej aor. *theva* 'to break'. Continues PAlb **tsā(i)nja* derived from IE **k̑ēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śiśāti* 'to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. See *thikë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θύω 'to rage, to seethe').

U

u part. of passive. From PAlb **wa* related to IE **su̯om*, acc. 'self' with the vowel lost in the unstressed position and **w* vocalized as *u* (BOPP 480-481) or resulting from the regular development of IE **su̯o-* in Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 468, *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 74; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111; JOKL *LKUBA* 74, *IF* L 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; POKORNY I 882; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 36-37; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 100; ÇABEJ *St.* II 234-235; HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

ubël f, pl. *ubla* 'well, shaft, hillside well'. The original meaning is 'hill-side well'. With a secondary voicing of *-*p*- continues PAlb **upela*, a derivative of IE **upo* 'under'. Morphologically particularly close to Goth *ubils* 'evil', originally 'exceeding due limits' < **upelo-*. ◊ ONIONS 332; POKORNY I 1106-1107.

udob adv. 'easy, light'. Borrowed from Slav **udobь* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; SVANE 272.

udhë f, pl. *udhë* 'way'. From PAlb **wada*, an *o*-grade **u̯odhā* based on **u̯edh-* 'to beat, to break'. For such semantic development cf. Slav

*trepati 'to knock, to beat' ~ OS *thravon* 'to trot' ~ Slav *tropa 'path' and the like (BUCK *Synonyms* 693-694). ◊ CAMARDA I 50, 108 (comparison with Gk ὁδός 'road'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (compares with Slav *ulica 'street'), *Wb.* 455 (derives from IE *u̯eĝh-), *Alb. St.* III 18, 80; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189 (borrowed from Gk ὁδός); JOKL *Studien* 92, *LKUBA* 128, 316 (cognate of Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry, to convey'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; DERŽAVIN *Jazyk I literatura* I 190-191 (to *urë* and *ujë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274 (from IE *u̯eĝh- 'to move, to pull'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 60-61; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; TISCHLER II 318-319 (etymology of the Hittite word); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (to IE *u̯edh- 'to lead'); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 34-35; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 186; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/1 69, 83 (follows HAMP), *St.* II 237-238 (zero-grade formation of IE *u̯edh- 'to beat, to break'); HULD 120-121; OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54-55 (close to Hitt *ḫuda-* 'hurry', a zero-grade of IE *u̯edh-), *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400-401.

udhos m 'sort of cheese'. Originally, participle in *-ues, -os* of Geg *hudh* 'to throw, to pour' (see *hedh*) with the loss of initial *h-*. Semantically, the Balkan-Carpathian technology of cheese production makes such a motivation fairly possible, cf. Slav *žętica derived from *žęti 'to press, to squeeze' (KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 142-143). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (to Carpathian *urda*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245-246; DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-62 (from *urdhos related to *urdhë*; phonetically difficult); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

ugar m, pl. *ugarë* 'land unused for two years'. Borrowed from Slav *ugarъ 'fallow ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ugar*, SCr *ugar* (MEYER *Wb.* 456). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; SVANE 36.

ujë f/n, pl. *ujëra* ~ *ujna* 'water'. From PAlb *udrjā (HAMP *St. Whatmough* 83, *Laryngeals* 138) derived from the Indo-European word for 'water' *u̯ed- (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 51, 75). For a similar formation cf. Gk ὑδρία 'water-bucket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 456 (reconstructs *udni̯ā but there are no traces of *unjë* in the dialects), *Alb. St.* III 66; LA PIANA I 118 (derives *ujë* from *ulë < *ud-l-o-); SPITZER *MRIW* I 217; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273-274; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 247, *KZ* XXXIII 285-286, XXXVI 339 (from *uë < *udā with *-j-* filling hiatus), *Kelt. Gr.* II 19; JOKL *WuS* XII 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; POKORNY 78-79; FRISK II 957-959; ÇABEJ

St. II 238-239 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD 121; DEMIRAJ *AE* 401-402 (from PAlb **urjā*, related to Skt *vā́r-* 'water').

ujk m, pl. *ujq, ujqër ~ ujqën* 'wolf'. The archaic form *ulk* is preserved in Chamian. Goes back to PAlb **(w)ulka* continuing IE **u̯lkʷos* id.: Skt *vṛ́ka-*, Gk λύκος, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 143; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* III 2, 80). The form *ujkth* 'wolf's hide' is an obvious derivative of *ujk* (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 99) ◊ CAMARDA I 26 (metathesis of λύκος); MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Gr. Gr.* 69, 233, 262; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *Studien* 92, 119 (*ujkth* - to Lat *vellus* 'fleece, hide'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 45 (agrees with JOKL on *ujkth*), 111, *Hymje* 22; PORZIG *Gliederung* 206; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 61; MANN *Language* XVII 15; FRISK II 143-144; MAYRHOFER III 240-241; WALDE-HOFMANN I 836-837; FEIST *Goth.* 576; POKORNY I 1178-1179; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; GINDIN *Form. SN* 61; ÇABEJ *St.* II 239-240, 242-244; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 121-122; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403.

ukrajë f 'forest'. Borrowed from Slav **ukrajь* attested, in a different meaning, in SCr *ukraj* 'near', Russ *ukraj* (MEYER *Wb.* 456).

ul aor. *ula* 'to lower'. From PAlb **wala* related to Gk εἴλω 'to shut in, to press', Lith *valýti* 'to clean', *iš-valýti* 'to carry away' (CAMARDA I 54). Forms like *unj* reflect an earlier **ulnj* < **walnja*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457-458 (to the non-existent Slav **xynǫti*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 64, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (separates *unj* from *ul*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 32 (agrees with PEDERSEN and compares *ul* with Slav **xylъ* 'crooked, weak'); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 39 (to *vang*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 240-242 (follows CAMARDA).

ulërij ~ ulërî aor. *ulërita* 'to shout, to howl'. Another form is *ulëras*. Borrowed from Rom **urulāre* id. (cf. Rum *urla*, Sard *urulare* and the like) continuing Lat *ululāre* 'to howl, to yell' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 171; ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (onomatopoeia).

ulishtë f, pl. *ulishta* 'small tub'. Borrowed from Slav **ulišče*, deriva-

tive of **ulьjь* 'hive; trough', cf. SCr *ulište* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (derived from *ul*); SVANE 159.

ulmej aor. *ulmeva* 'to make wet'. Derived from an unattested **ulm* continuing PAlb **ulg(a)ma* related to OHG *welc* 'wet', Lith *vìlgyti* 'to make wet', Latv *valgums* 'wetness', Slav **vьlgъkъ* 'wet'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1251; VASMER I 337; POKORNY I 1145 (with mistakes in Lithuanian forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 244 (identical with *lëmehem* 'to apply rouge' and *mëlmej* 'to add butter or oil to food').

ulzë f, pl. *ulza* 'kind of maple'. Derived from PAlb **ulma* continuing IE **l̥mo-* also reflected in Lat *ulmus* 'elm', cf. also ON *almr* id., OIr *lem* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 811-812; POKORNY I 303.

ullastër f, pl. *ullastra* 'wild olive tree'. Borrowed from Ital *olivastro* 'olive' influenced by *ulli* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244-245). The variant *ullashtër* may well go back to Lat *oleaster* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ WEIGAND 95 (to *ulli*); JOKL *LKUBA* 210-211 (from Rom **olīvaster*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24, 31; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 129, 136.

ulli ~ **ullî** m, pl. *ullinj* 'olive (tree)'. Borrowed from Lat *olīvus* 'olive tree' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 245) or, less exactly, from *olīva* 'olive' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; JOKL *LKUBA* 210; WEIGAND 95; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 158.

umas aor. *umata* 'to bark'. Derived from an unattested **umë* from PAlb **wamā* further related to Skt *vámiti* 'to vomit', Av *vam-* 'to spit', Gk ἐμέω 'to spit out', Lat *vomeō* 'to vomit' and the like. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (from an uncertain Slavic source); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 16 (< **ulmati̯ō* related to Gk ὑλάω id.); WALDE-HOFMANN II 835; MAYRHOFER III 146; FRISK I 504-505; POKORNY I 1146; ÇABEJ *St.* II 246 (onomatopoeia).

(G) umb m 'plowshare'. Other forms are *um* and *hum*. Borrowed from the nominative of Lat *vōmis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 135-136; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; HAARMANN 158.

unak m, pl. *unakë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav **junakъ* 'young man, hero', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *junak*, SCr *junak*. The Slavic word can also denote the ritual log at the hearth stone and the hearth-stone itself in the *polaznik* ritual known all over the Balkans.

unazë f, pl. *unaza* 'finger-ring, small iron ring'. Based on *unë* < PAlb **wandā* related to Arm *gind* 'ring', Goth *bi-windan* 'to unwreathe' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 246-247: reconstructs **u̯endā*, IV 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457 (based on the rare *una* borrowed from Rom **virāna*, cf. Lat *viriae* 'armlets, bracelets'), *Alb. St.* IV 40; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 78, 102 (to Lat *unguis* 'nail', *ungulus* 'finger-ring'); FEIST *Goth.* 98; POKORNY I 1148.

undyrë f, pl. *undyrë* 'fat'. Another form is *yndyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *unctūra* 'ointment' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 145; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 50-52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 313; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 121.

unë pron. 'I'. A composite consisting of the personal pronoun *u* (attested as such in dialects) and particle *në* (cf. Gk ναί, νή). The Italo-Albanian form *uth* contains a diminutive suffix *-th* (DOZON 276). The personal pronoun *u* is identical with *u* 'self' < PAlb **we* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 69). It may also result from the allegro change of a sequence **edz we* < IE **eĝhom su̯e*. In other cases we find IE **me-*, cf. acc. *mua* ~ *mue* < **mēm* as in Skt *mām*, OPers *mām*, OPrus *mien* and Slav **mę* (JOKL *IF* XLIX 274). ◊ BOPP 504-505 (to IE **eĝhom* 'I'); CAMARDA I 215-216 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom **eo* < Lat *ego* 'I'), *Alb. St.* I 34; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 102 (*uth* < **udh* identified with **eĝō*), *Hymje* 17; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (agrees with BARIĆ); quaj, MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 107, 167; HAMP *RRL* XXI 50 (notes a similar vocalism in Hitt *ugga* 'I'), *St. Whatmough* 78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233-234 (agrees with LA PIANA); HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

unë f 'piece of a broken pot'. Used once by BUZUKU. Continues PAlb **wantā* further related to Arm *vandem* 'to destroy', OHG *wund* 'wound', MW *gweint*, praet. '(I) pierced'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (related to *ûth* 'wooden jug'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 111 (*ûth* related to IE **u̯ed-* 'water'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 296; POKORNY I 1108; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247.

ungroj aor. *ungrova* 'to howl, to whine, to squeak (of animals)'. Borrowed, with a secondary inlaut *r*, from Lat *uncāre* 'to roar (of bears)'.

ungj m, pl. *ungjër* 'uncle'. Borrowed from Lat *avunculus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; WEIGAND 96; JOKL *LKUBA* 15, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 110; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189, 227; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

ungji adv. 'completely'. Another form is *unji*. Univerbation of *u në gji* 'itself in its totality', cf. *u* and *gjithë*. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 64 (to *një*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 296 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* II 247-248 (from **n gji* with *n* > *un*).

ungjill m, pl. *ungjij* 'gospel'. Borrowed from Lat *evangelium* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 457) or from Rom **evangelum* > Ital *vangelo* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 248-249). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; WEIGAND 96; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 141-142.

unzë f, pl. *unza* 'pen-point, pen'. Phonetic form of *hundësë*, derivative of *hundë* (MANN *HAED* 163). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 249.

(G) unzë f 'firebrand, smut'. The Tosk form is *urth*. Related to or derived from *uri* 'hunger'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Lith *ugnìs* 'fire').

upeshk m 'bishop'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 119, 139.

upri f 'group of peasants helping another peasant in his farm'. Based on an unattested **upër* continuing PAlb **upera* and related to Av *uparō* 'upper', Gk ὕπερος 'pestle', OHG *obaro* 'upper'. ◊ JOKL *Vox Rom.* VI 221 (from **vëpri*, to *vepër*); FRISK II 966-967; POKORNY I 1106; ÇABEJ *St.* II 249 (borrowed from Slav **upirati sę* 'to lean').

urdhë f, pl *urdha* 'sort of white cheese'. There are also variants *urlë* and *hurdhë* with a secondary prothetic *h-*. The word reflects PAlb **wurdā*, from an earlier **u̯r̥dā* or **u̯ordā*, derived from IE **u̯er-* 'to boil, to burn' (Arm *varem* 'to kindle', Lith *vìrti* 'to cook, to boil', Slav **variti* id.). Semantically, it is important for this etymology that *urdhë* is pro-

duced by *boiling* whey (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 211-212). From Albanian *urdhë* was borrowed to other Balkan and Carpathian languages, such as Rum *urdă* (KLEPIKOVA 142-144). ◊ MLADENOV 654 (derives *urdhë* and other Balkan cognates from Turk *vurmak* 'to beat, to strike'), *Slavia* V/1 56; MACHEK 670 (from Lat *būtyrum* 'butter'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 739-740 (to Gk οὐρός 'trench'); SIMEONOV *LB* XV 33-35 (to Ossetic *urs* 'white'); BARIĆ *Lingv. st.* 39 (from IE **sr̥dhā*); DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-59 (from **skr̥do-*, cf. *hirrë* < **skr̥no-*, both treated as derivatives of IE **sker-* 'to cut'); CAPIDAN II 470 f. (Arumanian sources of the Albanian word); GIUGLEA *DR* III 587; FRAENKEL 1263; POKORNY I 1166; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282-283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 411-412; KLEPIKOVA *Ètimologija 1966* 62-81; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 47-50 (from **skorHdā*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

urdhër ~ urdhën m, pl. *urdhëra ~ urdhna* 'order'. Borrowed from Lat *ōrdinem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276-277; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 139.

(T) urdhëratë f, pl. *urdhërata* 'servant'. Derived from *urdhër*, *urdhëroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458.

urelë f, pl. *urela* 'water-pit'. From PAlb **urelā* related to ON *úr* 'drizzle', OPrus *wurs* 'pool', Gk ἄν-αυρος 'devoid of water' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 103-104; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* X 51-54; PERSSON *IF* XXXV 199; POKORNY I 80-81.

urë f, pl. *ura* 'bridge'. From PAlb **warā* related to Goth *warjan* 'to prevent, to defend', ON *vǫr* 'row of stones', *ver* 'dam', Osc *veru* 'door' and, further, to IE **u̯ortom* 'gate' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250-251). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 33; JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (to *udhë*), *LKUBA* 128, 316-317 (against BARIC); BARIĆ I 110-111 (to Gk γέφυρα 'bridge'); DERŽAVIN *Jazyk i literatura* I 190-191 (to Basque *ura* 'water'); ROMANSKI *MPr* VII 1-4 (to Illyr *-ora* in *Vilazora*); MAYER *Illyrier* I 99 (follows ROMANSKI); FEIST *Goth.* 551-552; POKORNY I 1160-1162; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403-404.

urë f, pl. *ura* 'burning log'. Continues PAlb **warā* related to Arm *varem* 'to kindle (fire)', Hitt *u̯ar-* 'to burn' and their cognates. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (from IE **eus-* 'to burn'), *Alb. St.* III 63; JOKL *LKUBA* 113-115;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275-276; POKORNY I 1166; JANSON *Unt.* 84-85.

uri ~ û f 'hunger'. The Tosk form is derived from **ur*. From PAlb **wana*, a nominal derivative of IE **u̯en-* 'to want, to desire', cf. Skt *vánati*, *vanati* id., Lat *venus* 'love' (MEYER *Wb.* 455, *Alb. St.* III 80). ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 235 (to Skt *ūná-* 'defective, wanting', Goth *wans* 'defective, faulty'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; MANN *Language* XVII 15; MAYRHOFER III 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 752-753; POKORNY I 1146-1147; ÇABEJ *St.* II 235-237 (agrees with JOKL).

uri m, pl. *urinj* 'mole'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *ur*. Derived from *uri* is *urith* id. From PAlb **wara*, a non-reduplicated form close to Lat *vīverra* 'ferret', Lith *vaiverìs* 'pole-cat', *vaiverẽ* 'squirrel' and the like. Another non-reduplicated form is represented in OHG *eihhurno* 'squirrel', OE *ác-weorna* id. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI No. 11 (to the second element of Gk ἴνδουρος, Hes. 'mole'); CAMARDA I 295 (identical with *buri* 'mole', from *brej*); DIEFENBACH I 48 (to Gk ὀρύσσω 'to dig'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 304 (to Lat *sorex* 'shrew-mouse', Gk ὕραξ 'mouse, shrew-mouse'); JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 143; FRAENKEL 1185; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* II 251-252 (to IE **u̯ers-* 'top' or to Lith *ùrvas* 'hole, cavern'; *urithe* 'astragalus' based on *urith*).

uroj aor. *urova* 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'. Borrowed from Lat *orāre* 'to argue, to plead, to pray' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247 (from Lat *augurāre* 'to prophesy, to make auguries'); MEYER *Wb.* 459 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1049 (accepts both alternatives); JOKL *ZONF* X 190; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 252-253; HAARMANN 139.

urok m 'aim, intention'. Borrowed from Slav **urokъ* 'condition, deal', cf. ORuss *urokъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

urtë adj. 'quiet, intelligent'. Based on an unattested **ur* continuing PAlb **wara* related to Lat *vērus* 'true', OIr *fír* id., OHG *wār* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (to *unj*, see *ul*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 551 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 93 (compares *urtë* with OHG *wār* 'prudent', Gk ὁράω 'to see'), *LKUBA* 194, 228; TREIMER *MRIW* I 353-354 (to Lat *urgeō*

'to press, to push'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 768-769; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7, 11; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 270.

urtundë f 'big vessel without handles'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *rotunda* 'round, circular' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 253). The intermediate form must have been **rutundë*.

urth m 'ivy'. Derived from an unattested **ur* continuing PAlb **wara* related to Lith *veriù, vérti* 'to thread', *pa-varë̃* 'long row' and other reflections of IE **u̯er-* 'to bind'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (identifies *urth* with *fruth*); BARIĆ I 29, 102 (to Lat *hedera* 'ivy'); WEIGAND *BA* II 274, 283-284 (to *urdhë, udhos*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 n. 2 (to Dac *scardian* 'aristolochia, kind of plant'); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Skt *vṛj-* 'to twist'); POKORNY I 1150-1551; FRAENKEL 1229-1230; ÇABEJ *St.* II 253-255 (to IE **u̯er-* 'to turn').

urrej aor. *urreva, urrejta* 'to hate'. Borrowed from Lat *horrēre* 'to be afraid, to be astonished' (MEYER*Wb.* 459). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; ÇABEJ *St.* II 255 (univerbation of *vë re* 'to pay attention').

urrë f 'sapwood, laburnum'. From PAlb **warnā* etymologically related to *verr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 255-256). ◊ GURAKUQI *Illyria* I/21 8 (to the second element of Lat *alburnum* id.).

ushqej aor. *ushqeva* 'to feed'. Based on passive Lat *vescor* 'to feed oneself' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 75; HAARMANN 156.

usht m, pl. *ushta* 'ear (of grain)'. Historically identical with *ushtë* 'spear' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 256). Continues PAlb **ušta* close to OHG *ort* 'point', ON *oddr* id. and Lith *usnìs* 'thistle' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 62, 80). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav **ostь* 'awn'), *Wb.* 459 (to Gk ἀέξω 'to increase, to foster', Goth *wahsjan* 'to grow, to increase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 29-30; FRAENKEL 1172; POKORNY I 1172; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 93, *St.* II 256-257; HAMP *ALH* XII 159; DEMIRAJ *AE* 404.

ushtar m, pl. *ushtarë* 'soldier'. Derived from *ushtë*, see *usht.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 459 (from Lat *hostis* 'enemy'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277 (agrees with MEYER); HAARMANN 130 (*ushtri* 'army' from Lat *hoste*).

ushtoj aor. *ushtova* 'to sound, to shout'. Borrowed from Lat *ōscitāre* 'to shout, to open mouth, to yawn'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 75 (to *uturij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257 (onomatopoeia).

ushtoj aor. *ushtova* 'to try, to probe'. Borrowed from Lat *ūsitārī* id.

ushunjë ~ **ushûj** f 'lard'. Borrowed from Lat *axungia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 19-20 (from NGk ὀξούγγι, ἀξούγγι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 257 (from Byz Gk ὀξούγγι).

ushunjëz f, pl. *ushunjëza* 'leech'. Another form is *shushunjë*. Borrowed from Rom **sanguisungia*, cf. Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420).

ut m 'owl'. Another form is *hut*. Borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' (MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◊ HAARMANN 139.

uturij ~ **uturî** aor. *uturiva* 'to thunder'. Onomatopoeia.

uthët adj. 'sour'. An irregular phonetic variant of *athët*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455-456 (to **us-* in Lith *usnìs* 'thistle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 111-112

uthull f 'vinegar'. Derived from **uth* 'sour', see *uthët* (MEYER *Wb.* 455). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 ("unclear"); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111-112 (from IE **e̯u̯es-dh-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*).

uzdajë f, pl. *uzdajë* 'hope'. Borrowed from Slavic **u-sъ-daja*, cf. SCr *uzdaja* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◊ SVANE 224, 259.

V

va m/f, pl. *va* 'ford'. Borrowing from Lat *vadum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 68 (related to Lat *vadum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 28, *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285-286; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243 (Latin loanword); SPITZER *MRIW* I 332 (treats *va* as a cognate of *vadum*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 105, 137 (admits the possibility of an Indo-European source for *va*), *LKUBA* 209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MANN

Language XXVIII 33, XXVI 380 (reconstructs **u̯adhom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257-258 (follows SPITZER); HULD 122-123 (loanword); DEMIRAJ *AE* 405.

vadë f, pl. *vada* 'water-pit, irrigation channel'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vada* id., SCr *vada* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

vadis aor. *vadita* 'to water, to irrigate'. Borrowed from Slav **vaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vad'a* (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; SVANE 39, 243.

vadhë ~ **vodhë** f, pl. *vadha* ~ *vodha* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Gk οἴη id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 207-209, 325) with *-dh-* rendering the intervocalic Gk -ι- [j]. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (to Lat *sorbus* id. < IE **su̯ordho-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 258-259 (from Gk ὄα id.).

vagëlloj aor. *vagëllova* 'to be dim, to be weak (of eyes)'. Together with *vagulloj* 'to dawn, to be dim' and *vagët* 'faded, faint, dim' based on Lat *vagus* 'strolling about, rambling'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 4 (to *agoj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἀχλύς 'mist'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 259 (agrees with MEYER).

vaj m, pl. *vaje* 'mourning wail'. Based on the onomatopoeia *vaj* 'alas' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 461). From here *vajtoj* ~ *vojtoj* 'to mourn a dead' is derived. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (connected with Lat *vae*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 260; HAARMANN 138; DEMIRAJ *AE* 405-406.

vaj ~ **voj** m/n, pl. *vajra* ~ *vojna* 'oil'. A more conservative form is *val*. Borrowed from Lat *oleum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 462, MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 575). The anlaut *va-* ~ *vo-* is typical of loanwords. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (treats *vaj* ~ *voj* as a cognate of *oleum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 116, *Slavia* XIII 641 (G *vojna* 'odors' borrowed from Slav **von'a* 'odor'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 305; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; HAARMANN 52; HULD 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299-300 (against JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 61, 126, 141.

vajc adj. 'tearful'. Derived from *vaj*.

vajzë f, pl. *vajza* 'girl'. Other important variants are *varzë*, *vashë* < **varshë* and *vajë* < **varjë*. They are based on an unattested **varë* continuing **vëharë* < PAlb **swesarā*. The latter reflects the Indo-European word for 'sister': Skt *svásar-*, Arm *k'oyr*, Lat *soror* and the like (HAMP *SABBO* 109-110). ◊ TREIMER *MRIW* I 46 (to Skt *vardhati* 'to increase' and its cognates), *Slavia* II 455, *KZ* LXV 107-108; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 113-114 (to Gk παρθένος 'maiden', Lat *virgō* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 260-261, 332 (from **suo-ro-*, to IE **sue-* 'self, own'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278, *Stratificazione* 120; MAYRHOFER III 565; WALDE-HOFMANN II 563; POKORNY I 1051; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 47; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; ÇABEJ *St.* II 261-263 (deminutive of *varrë*); FEKA *GjJ* IV/2, 88-89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 406-407 (to Lat *virgō* 'maiden').

vak ~ vok aor. *vaka ~ voka* 'to warm slightly, to make lukewarm'. Of uncertain origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (from SCr *mlak* 'warm'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112-113 (to ON *vókr* 'wet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286-287.

vak m 'into the open, outside'. Borrowed from Rom **vacus*, cf. Lat *vacuus* 'empty' (MEYER *Wb.* 462).

val m 'valley'. Occurs in the phraze *mal e val* only. Borrowed from Lat *vallis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 263).

valanicë f, pl. *valanica* 'fulling-mill'. Borrowed from South Slavic **val'anica* (KRISTOFORIDHI 14, 485; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264.

valavit aor. *valavita* 'to swing, to sway'. Another form is *valëvit*. An expressive derivative of *valë*.

valë f, pl. *valë* 'wave'. From PAlb **walā* etymologically connected with OHG *wella* id., Lith *vilnìs* id., Slav **vьlna* id., **valъ* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38 with the reconstruction of **u̯oli̯ā*). PAlb **walā* seems to reflect a zero grade **u̯əli̯ā*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slav **valъ*); JOKL *LKUBA* 270, 325 (*valë* < **u̯alnā*, **u̯l̥nā*), *Sprache* IX 22; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; BŪGA II 375; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Lith *vilnìs* 'wave'), XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 126; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 48 (reconstructs **u̯olnā*); FRAENKEL 1254; VASMER I 268, 339; POKORNY I 1141-1143;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 56; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/2 8, St. II 264-265; HULD 123-124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 407-408.

valët adj. 'boiling hot'. Derived from *valë*. The verb *valoj*, *vloj* 'to boil' is of the same origin (MEYER *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

valikë f 'time spent on the work in fields'. Derived from *val*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264-265 (derived from *valë*).

valle f, pl. *valle* 'folk dance in a ring'. Borrowed from NGk βαλλίζω 'to dance a folk dance' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *NGr. St.* IV 15). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (directly from Italian); TAGLIAVINI *Dalamazia* 278; ÇABEJ *St.* II 265-266 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll').

vallë particle 'maybe (in questions)'. Continues PAlb **walā* related to Goth *waila* id., OHG *wela*, *wola* continuing IE **u̯el-* 'to wish' (MEYER *Wb.* 462). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *vará-* 'best'); JOKL *LKUBA* 209, 325; FEIST *Goth.* 543; POKORNY I 1137; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266.

vallë ~ vollë f, pl. *vallë ~ vollë* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Rom **vola*, derivative of *volāre* 'to fly'. ◊ HAMP *Strat.* 41-43 (from IE **oblu-* 'apple').

vallkua ~ vallkue m, pl. *vallkonj* 'fish trap'. An early borrowing from Slav pl. **volkove* 'objects that can be dragged or carried, nets'.

vanë f, pl. *vana* 'crease, fold'. Participial form of *vete*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 266 (derived from *va*).

vangë f, pl. *vanga* 'spade'. Historically identical with vëng~ *vang*.

vapë f 'heat'. Borrowed from Rom **vapa* or OItal *vapa* 'vapor' (MEYER *Wb.* 463).

var aor. *vara* 'to hang'. A secondary ablaut variant of *vjerr* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 84). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267.

varesë f, pl. *varesa* 'chain'. Derived from *var*.

varfër ~ vorfën adj. 'poor'. Borrowed from Lat *orphanus* 'orphan' (MEYER *Wb.* 463). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 208-209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 139; JANSON *Unt.* 61; LANDI *Lat.* 61.

varg m, pl. *vargje* 'row, chain, ring'. Derived from *var* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). Note also *vargan* 'caravan, long row'. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (to Gk ὄρχος 'row of vines or trees'); CHANTRAINE 831; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-g*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267-268 (agrees with MEYER); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408-409 (to *vjerr*).

vargër ~ vërgâ m, pl. *vërgenj* 'uncastrated ram'. In Tosk, there is also *vërgër* id. An innovation based on Lat *virgō* 'virgin' and presumably reflecting Rom **virgānus* (MEYER *Wb.* 470, *Alb. St.* V 104-105). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI No 32 (from Rom **virgārius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 268-269 (related to βάριχοι· ἄρνες Λάκωνες, Hes.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 157.

varjesht ~ varresht m 'swath'. A prefixal derivative of *rresht* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 270).

varr ~ vorr m, pl. *varre ~ vorre* 'grave'. Borrowed from late Rom **orna* < Lat *urna* 'cinerary urn' (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 31-32). ◊ DIEFENBACH I 55 (to Gk ὀρύχω 'to dig up' and/or OE *éar* 'earth of the grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (to *verrë*, *birë*), *Alb. St.* V 104 (to IE **u̯er-* 'to wrap'); JOKL *Studien* 94, *IF* XXXVI 125; ÇABEJ *St.* II 269-270 (follows DIEFENBACH); DEMIRAJ *AE* 409.

varrë f, pl. *varrë* 'wound'. Secondary formation built on *vras* and based on the analogy with verbs in *-as*. Cf. *vrajë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *vras* and Skt *vraṇá-* 'wound'), *Alb. St.* III 38, 73; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 63 (to OHG *wern*, *werra* 'varix'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194; SKOK *AArbSt* I 223; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; FRISK *Kl. Schr.* 277 (follows MEYER); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 194; ANTTILA *Schw.* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 270-271; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

vatër ~ votër f, pl. *vatra ~ votra* 'hearth, fireplace'. Borrowed from

Iranian, cf. Av *ātar-* 'fire' (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 37-50). The intermediate Iranian form in the Balkans must have been **atar-* or **otar-*. Rum *vatră* 'hearth, fireplace' is an Albanian loanword. Slavic forms (SCr *vatra* id. and the like) were borrowed from Albanian or Rumanian (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 49). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4 (from Lat *ātrium*); MEYER *Wb.* 464-465; MLADENOV *RESl* IV/2 191-192; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287-288; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 283-284; BARTHOLOMAE 312-316; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *ātrium*); VASMER I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40-41; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Opusc. slavica* 201-210 (looks for an ancient Balkan source), *RRL* 4 (1981) 315, *ALH* XII 153-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 45-46; KLEPIKOVA *BJaz.* 149-169; SCHUSTER-ŠEWC *ZfPhonetik* XXXII 699-702; HULD 124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 410-412 (Latin influence).

vath ~ vâth m, pl. *vathë ~ vâthë* 'earring'. Another variant is *vëth*. Deminutive of vëng ~ vang. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 151; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-766; FEIST *Goth.* 546-547; POKORNY I 1156-1158.

vathë f, pl. *vathë* 'sheepfold, pen'. Deminutive of an unattested **vartë* continuing PAlb **wartā*. The letter is etymologically identical with Tokh B *wärto* 'garden', Ir *fert* 'grave mound', OE *weorð* 'yard' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 94). ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 390; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5 (to Lat *urbs* 'town'); POKORNY I 1162; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XL (1984) 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412 (connected with IE **u̯es-* 'to live, to stay night').

vazhdë f 'trace'. Borrowed from East South Slavic, cf. Bulg *važdam*, OCS *važdati* 'to lead' (MEYER *Wb.* 465).

vdes aor. *vdiqa* 'to die'. From **awa-takja*, derivative of **teka* 'to run away, to go away', cf. *ndjek* (HULD 124-125). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (comparison with SCr *zdeknuti* 'to die, to peg out'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 77 (to OHG *touwen* 'to die' - but the source of the latter is IE **dhau-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285 (agrees with BARIĆ); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 25-30 (to Skt *vinakti* 'to separate'); PISANI *Saggi* 123 (follows BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 142 (to OE *deorc* 'dark'), *Etim.* III 206-208.

vdjerr aor. *vdorra* 'to leave'. From **awa-derna* 'to leave' < *'to go

away' formed with a prefix on the basis of IE **der-* 'to run': Skt *dráti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. ἔδρᾱν 'to run away' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 437). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 73 (to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω); MAYRHOFER III 211; FRISK I 122-123; POKORNY I 204; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204.

ve f, pl. *va, veja* 'widow'. From PAlb **widewā* related to Skt *vidhávā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id. and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-53, 90). Phonetically, the borrowing from Lat *vidua* is equally possible (MEYER *Wb.* 465, *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 123). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vidua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 120-121, 126; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; BARIÇ *Hymje* 21; FEIST *Goth.* 562; MAYRHOFER III 211; WALDE-HOFMANN II 785-786; POKORNY I 1128; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272-273 (follows JOKL).

ve ~ vo f, pl. *ve ~ vo* 'egg'. Etymologically relevant is the Old Albanian form *voe* (BUZUKU, BARDHI). Hence, the reconstruction of the contracted Tosk **vae* > *ve* ~ Geg **voe* > *vo*. The correspondence of anlaut Tosk *va-* ~ Geg *vo-* is typical of (mainly Latin) loanwords. Therefore, *ve ~ vo* is a borrowing from Lat *ōvum* 'egg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◊ BOPP 534 n. 1 (compares with Lat *ōvum*, Gk ᾠόν); CAMARDA I 44, 91 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 23; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-52, 90, 207 (confronted with difficulties in the explanation of the vocalism, reconstructs **ēu̯i̯ē*), *IF* XXXVI 109 f.; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110; BARIĆ I 81; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272 (follows BOPP); HULD 125-126.

veç adv., prep. 'separately, besides'. Derivative of **ve*, a form of PAlb **awa* 'away, out, un-', cf. *vdes, vrap.* ◊ MANN *Comp.* 44 (from IE **autii̯os*).

vedër f, pl. *vedra* 'pail (for milk)'. Borrowed from Slav **vědro* 'pail', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vedro*, SCr *vjedro, vedro* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 68.

vegë f, pl. *vega* 'handle, tool, instrument'. With other variants (*vjegë, vegjë*), this words continues the attested form *vegël* 'ear (of a vessel), instrument, tool'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *vehiculum* 'vehicle'

(LAMBERTZ apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 273). ◊ CAMARDA I 70 (to Lat *vehō* 'to carry'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549-550; JOKL *LKUBA* 101-104 (to *vangë* or to *vig*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 99; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 273-276 (follows JOKL's second etymology), 296-297; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412-413.

vegoj aor. *vegova* 'to appear misty, to be indistinct'. Borrowed from Lat *vagārī* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Turkish); ÇABEJ *St.* II 275 (to *vagëlloj*).

vegsh m, pl. *vegsha* 'clay pot'. Derived from *vegë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 101-103). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 275.

vehte pron. 'self'. Other widespread variants are *vete* and *vetë*. From PAlb **swai-ta* derived from **swaja*. The latter is identical with IE **su̯oi̯os* 'own': Slav **svojь*, OPrus *swais* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45), further related to IE **su̯e-* (BOPP 478; CAMARDA I 218; MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (*vetë* from IE **su̯e-t-*), *BB* VIII 192, *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 41, 261 (reconstructs **su̯oi̯eti*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (*vetë* < **su̯et-i-* with a locative particle **-ī*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280-281; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, 382 (to Gk αὐτός); TRAUTMANN *BSlWb.* 251; VASMER III 583; PISANI *Saggi* 167; LEUKART *Nomina* 152-153; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 ("unclear"); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354, *Orpheus* VI 17 (against MANN); DEMIRAJ *AE* 416-417.

vej aor. *vejta* 'to weave'. From PAlb **webnja* connected with Skt *ubhnā́ti* 'to lace up', OHG *weban* 'to weave', Tokh B *wāp-* id. (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 36, 38). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 105; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178, 186; MAYRHOFER I 107; POKORNY I 1114; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 162-163, *St.* VII 184, 228; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 413-414 (secondary form in **-ni̯ō*).

vel aor. *vela* 'to overeat, to eat too much'. Continues PAlb **wala*, a secondary ablaut variant of *vjell* (HAHN 7). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 276.

velenxë f, pl. *velenxa* 'woolen blanket'. A Balkan word indirectly borrowed to Albanian from Slav **val'anica* 'object made of felt' through the mediation of NGk βελέντσα 'woolen blanket'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Hung *velencze*);

SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12; SVANE 48.

vem m, pl. *veme* 'larva, grub, caterpillar'. Derived from *ve* 'egg' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277). The meaning 'caterpillar' appeared under the influence of *dhemje* occasionally confused with *vem* in dialects where *v* and *dh* are interchanged. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84, *Alb.St.* IV 61 (identifies *vem* with *dhemje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 19, 87.

vend m, pl. *vende* 'place'. From PAlb **wen-ta*, an adjectival form based on the verb **wena* > *vë* (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ HAHN I 243 (comparison with the Illyrian place-name *Vendum*); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XXI 89-90; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 116; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38, *Hist. Gr.* 81 (to IE **u̯es-*); GERCENBERG *Prosodika* 106 (to Illyr Οὐένδων, *A-vendius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278-280 (to Gk οὖδας 'ground, earth', Arm *getin* id.); HULD 126.

venitem refl. 'to pale, to wane'. Borrowed from Slav **vęnǫti* id., cf. South Slav continuants: Bulg *vena*, SCr *venuti* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ SVANE 251.

vepër f, pl. *vepra* 'work'. A singularized plural of an unattested **vapër* ~ *vopër*, cf. *vogël*, pl. *vegjël*. Borrowed from Lat *opera* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 130.

verbër ~ **verb** adj. 'blind'. Borrowed from Lat *orbus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 466) with the same phonetic development as in *vepër*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 60-61, 177.

verdhë adj. 'yellow'. Borrowed from Lat *viridis* 'green' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1045, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 14; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

verë f 'summer'. Borrowed from Rom **vēra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 466; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279-280; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 82, 216; HAARMANN 156.

verë ~ venë f 'wine'. From PAlb **wainā* cognate with Gk οἴνη 'vine', οἶνος 'wine', Lat *vīnum* 'wine', Arm *gini* id., ultimately borrowed from Sem **wainu-* id. (CAMARDA I 42, 57; MEYER *Wb.* 465-466, *Alb. St.* III 38, 89). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vīnum*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 321; BŪGA III 427; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; LA PIANA *Prefisso* 48; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 387, *Hist. Gr.* 66 (loanword from Doric); FRISK II 364-366; CHANTRAINE 785; WALDE-HOFMANN II 794-795; POKORNY I 1121; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; HULD 126-127 (borrowed from North-West Greek); JANSON *Unt.* 32-33; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

verigë f, pl. *veriga* 'chain ring'. Borrowed from Slav **veriga* 'chain', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *veriga*, SCr *veriga* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 148; SVANE 86.

verzë f, pl. *verza* 'gill, branchia'. Continues the umlauticized PAlb **wardjā* etymologically identical with Lith *varlẽ* 'frog' < **vardẽ*, Latv *vārde*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (from **bьrca*, to Slav **bьrkъ* 'mustache'); WEIGAND 98 (to *vesh*); JOKL *LKUBA* 137-139 (from Rom **vertia*, to Lat *vertere* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 1200; SOMMER *Balt.* 178 (on Lith *-l-* < **-d-* in this word); DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 262 (from **vesh-zë*, to *vesh*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 281-282 (follows DODBIBA).

verzomë f 'fishing net'. Derived from *verzë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 282 (identical with *vërzop*).

verr m, pl. *verra* 'alder'. Continues PAlb **werna* related to Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., MIr *fern* id. (DIEFENBACH I 50) and Arm *geran* 'beam, timber' (LIDÉN *IF* XVIII 485-486). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 255, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-88, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413; TREIMER *Slavia* III 454 (to Slav **avorъ* 'elm', a Germanic loanword in Slavic); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 53; POKORNY I 1169; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 205; HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 193 (on Bret *gwern*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 282-283; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414-415.

verrë f, pl. *verra* 'hole'. Another form is *vërë*. From PAlb **werā* or

**werwā* connected with Skt *urú-* 'wide', *váras-* 'space, width', Gk εὐρύς 'wide'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (improbable comparison with *birë*); MAYRHOFER I 110; FRISK I 592-593; POKORNY I 1165; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

ves m, pl. *vese* 'bad habit'. Borrowed from Lat *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice' (MEYER *Wb.* 467). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 125.

vesë f 'dew'. DE RADA's variant is *voesë*, in Geg one also finds *vosë*. The original form must have been **vaesë* ~ *voesë*. Borrowed from Rom **ōvātium*, a word describing the falling dew as small eggs. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 262 (from **u̯end-ti-*).

vesh m, pl. *veshë* 'ear'. From PAlb **wausi-* further related to IE **ōus-* ~ **əus-* id. (CAMARDA I 54), in particular, cf. Lat *auris*, Lith *ausìs*, Latv *àuss* (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 11-12, 61). Another, less possible reconstruction for Proto-Albanian is **wōusa*; in this case, the immediate parallel is found in Gk ὦς id. (HAMP *Laryngeals* 138) but in Greek the long vocalism belongs to nom. sg. of the consonantal stem. In both cases, prothetic *v-* is not quite regular. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *ghóṣa-* 'noise'); MEYER *Wb.* 467 (compares with Av *gaoš-* 'to hear'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172 (follows MEYER *Alb. St.* III); PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 254 (*v-* treated as a hiatus-filler); JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 40; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110-111; BŪGA II 641; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; LA PIANA *Studi* I 82; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; FRAENKEL 26; FRISK II 448-449; WALDE-HOFMANN I 85-86; POKORNY I 785; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (borrowed from Lat *ōs*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 127; KARULIS *LEV* I 90-91; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 73; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 ("ruki" rule in *vesh*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414 (reconstructs dual, cf. *sy*).

vesh m, pl. *veshë* 'vine'. Historically identical with *vesh* 'ear'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 213-215 (to Lith *vaĩsius* 'fruit'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 114-115 (derived from IE **u̯oino-* 'wine'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93.

vesh aor. *vesha* 'to put on (clothes), to cover'. From PAlb **wesja* etymologically connected with Skt *váste* 'to wear, to be dressed in', Gk ἕννυμι 'to dress', and in particular with causatives attested in Skt *vāsáyati*

and Goth *wasjan* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BOPP 503-504; MEYER *Wb.* 467, *Alb. St.* III 38, 61). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Lat *vestīre* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 39; FRISK I 521-522; MAYRHOFER III 175-176; POKORNY I 1172-1173; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 416.

veshël adj. 'fruitful'. Derived from *vesh* 'vine'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

veshje f, pl. *veshje* 'kidney'. Historically identical with *veshje* 'clothing, clothes, dress', *veshje* is derived from *vesh* 'to cover, to put on' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467-468 (to Hung *vese* id. and Slav **pečenь* 'liver'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284 (connects *veshje* with *eshke*).

veshkët ~ **vyshkët** adj. 'faded, withered'. Borrowed from Lat *vēscus* 'small, thin, weak' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 468). From here the verb *veshk* 'to make withered' is derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

veshqok adj. 'clever, smart'. Derivative of *veshq* identical with *veshël*, with *-shq-* rendering *-sl-* as in *shqa*.

veshtull m, pl. *veshtuj* 'mistletoe'. Based on an unattested **vesht*, an irregular continuant of **veshk* borrowed from Lat *viscum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 157 (from Rom **vistulum*); HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-155.

vete ~ **vetem** aor. *vajta* 'to go'. The element *-te* in the paradigm of singular is, whatever its source, secondary. The original form of 1 sg. was **vem* continuing PAlb **wadmi* identical with Arm *gam* '(I) come'. Further cognates are Lat *vādō* 'to go, to walk' and ON *vaða* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (calque of Rom **vāditus sum* with *vet(e)-* borrowed from **vāditus*; alternatively, *vete* is related to Lat *vādere*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 292; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109 (from **gʷətos esmi*), *Zb. Belić* 187; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; WALDE-HOFMANN II 723-724; POKORNY I 1109.

vetëtij aor. *vetëtiva* 'to sparkle'. Related forms are *vetoj* and *vektoj* 'to

shine'. The original form must have been **veg(ë)toj* connected etymologically with *vegoj, vegulloj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 470 (from Slav **světiti* 'to shine'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279.

vetlloj aor. *vetllova* 'to crease, to fold'. Derived from *vetull*.

vetull f, pl. *vetulla* 'eyebrow'. Borrowed from Rom **vittula* derived from Lat *vitta* 'band', especially denoting a fillet or chaplet worn round the head (SPITZER *MRIW* I 332-333). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 93-94, *Wb*. 469 (to Slav **věko* 'eyelid', Lith *vokà* id. or to Slav **vědja* 'eyebrow'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 38; BARIĆ *ARSt*. I 81 (to IE **oku̯-t-* derived from 'eye' **oku̯-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 195; HAARMANN 50 (agrees with SPITZER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St*. II 284 (follows MEYER's comparison with Slav **vědja*); HULD 128 (from **oku̯lā* with **-ku̯l-* > *-t(u)ll*); HAARMANN 158.

veth m, pl. *vethë* 'maggot'. Deminutive of *vem*.

vezulloj aor. *vezullova* 'to shine'. From **dhezulloj*, derivative of *dhez* (ÇABEJ *St*. II 285). ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 470 (to *vetëtij*).

vë ~ **vê** aor. *vura* ~ *vuna* 'to put'. Proto-Albanian innovation **awena* replacing IE **dhē-* (including such idioms as *i vë emrin* 'to give a name' < **onŏmn̥ dhē-*). The verb **awena* is a derivative in **-no-* based on **au̯e* 'down, off' (Skt *áva* id. and the like) and its original meaning is 'to put down', 'to put aside', just as in Lat *pōnere* 'to put'. ◊ MEYER *Wb*. 469; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (< IE **u̯es-* 'to sell'); MAYRHOFER I 56; POKORNY I 72; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128-129 (reconstructs IE **Honō*); ÇABEJ *St*. II 278 f. (comparison with Arm *getin*); HULD 126 (to Goth *winja* 'pasture'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 436 (< IE **u̯es-* 'to stay, to live, to be'; possible only if **wena-* < **wes-na-* is accepted); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

vëlla m, pl. *vëllezër* ~ *vëllazën* 'brother'. As plural reflects *-z-* < **-dj-*, the Proto-Albanian source of *vëlla* can be reconstructed as **swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal **swe* (see *u*) and **laudā* cognate with OHG *liut* 'people', Slav **l'udъ* id. and the like, from IE **leudh-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 41-46). ◊ BOPP 461 (connected with IE **bhrāter-* 'brother'); MEYER *Wb*. 469-470 (correctly reconstructs **swe-* as the first element),

Alb. St. III 63 (same as BOPP; adduces βρά· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ 'Ιλείων [sc. 'Ηλείων], Hes.); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 222 (compares with ON *svilar* 'brothers-in-law', Gk (Pollux) εἰλίονες id. thus reconstructing **su̯elo-*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284-285 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 121 (follows JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 34 (from **su̯e-loghos* "from the same bed"); PISANI *REIE* IV 17-18; VASMER II 545; POKORNY I 684-685; BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 322-323; CHANTRAINE 191; SZEMERÉNYI *Kinship* 116; HAMP *RRL* XXI/1 51, *JIES* XVI/1-2 121-122; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from **su̯e-sloughā*); HULD 129 (reconstructs **auH-m-tlā* and compairs *vëlla* with Lat *avunculus* 'maternal uncle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 417.

vënd ~ vend m, pl. *vende* 'place'. A coexisting Tosk form is *vend*. From PAlb **wenta*, derivative of *vë* 'to put' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

vëng ~ vang m, pl. *vangje* 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim'. The Tosk form is poorly attested. From PAlb **wengā* related to Skt *váṅgati* 'to go, to limp', OHG *winchan* 'to make a sign, to make a motion', Lith *vìngis* 'arc' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 463, *Alb. St.* III 7, 38, 66, 87). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 103-104, *ArRom* XXIV 39, *Sprache* IX 130; BŪGA II 325, 648; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRAENKEL 1256-1257; MAYRHOFER III 124; POKORNY I 1148; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266-267; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

vëngër adj. 'cross-eyed'. Related to *vang*.

vërsë ~ vërcë f 'age'. The Geg form with its *-c-* < Slav **-st-* is more conservative. Borrowed from Slav **vьrsta* 'age, kind, kin', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrъsta* 'age', SCr *vrsta* 'kind, age' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vërsnik m, pl. *vërsnikë* 'peer'. Borrowed from Slav **sъvьrstьnikъ* id., cf. ORuss *sъvьrstьnikъ*. Another variant, *vëshnik*, may belong to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

vërshëllej aor. *vërshëlleva* 'to whistle'. Irregular transformation of Rom **fistulāre*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'.

vërshoj aor. *vërshova* 'to flood, to overflow'. Borrowed from Lat *versāre* 'to turn, to wind', in Romance also 'to pour out' (MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Ital *versare*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285 (prefixal derivative in *vër-* based on *lëshoj*); HAARMANN 156.

vërtetë f, pl. *vërteta* 'truth'. Borrowed from Lat *veritātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 145.

vërtit aor. *vërtita* 'to turn'. Borrowed from Slav **vьrtěti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *vrъt'a*, SCr *vrtjeti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; SVANE 249.

vërtyt m 'physical strength'. Borrowed from Lat *virtūtem* 'manhood, strength' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470-471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 84.

vërvit aor. *vërvita* 'to hurl, to fling'. Borrowed from Slav **vьrvěti*: Bulg *vrъv'a*, SCr *vrvjeti*, *vrvljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; SVANE 249.

vërzop m 'rope used to carry straw'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vъrzop* 'tie bundle' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 282).

vërras aor. *virra* 'to shout; to bleat'. Secondary formation in *-as* < **atja* based on PAlb **wera* further related to Gk εἴρω 'to say', Hitt *u̯erii̯a-* 'to sound' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 175 (to *bërtas*); MEYER *Wb.* 471, *Alb. St.* III 38, V 105 (follows CAMARDA and compares *vërras* with Slav **verščati* 'to squeak'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; FRISK I 469-471; POKORNY I 1162-1163; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285-286 (same as MEYER).

vërri ~ vërrî f, pl. *vërri ~ vërrî* 'winter pasture'. Borrowed from Rom **hibernīnum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* 'winter' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 240-242). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 264-265; WEIGAND 99

(Albanian derivative of *hibernum*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 286 (from Rom **invernus*?!).

vërri f 'little furrow'. Another form is *rruvi*. Derived from *verrë* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 94-95 (to Lat *versus* 'furrow'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 286-287 (to *varrë*).

vësht ~ vêsht m, pl. *vreshta ~ vneshta* 'vineyard'. From PAlb **wainesta* with a mobile stress in the paradigm: sg. **wáinesta* - pl. **wainésta*. Derived from **wainā* > *verë ~ venë* (MEYER *Wb.* 466; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549). ◊ ; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 126-127, *LKUBA* 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

vështirë adj. 'hard, difficult, bad, evil'. Prefixal derivative of *shtirë* (MEYER *Wb.* 416). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 284; ÇABEJ *St.* II 287.

vështjell aor. *vështolla* 'to wrap'. A prefixal derivative of *shtjell*.

vështroj aor. *vështrova* 'to see, to watch'. Another variant is *vështoj*. Borrowed from Lat *visitāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 471). On the other hand, cf. *vëzhgoj*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1051; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 234; HAARMANN 157-158; HAMP *SCL* XXVIII/1 74-77.

vëzhgoj aor. *vëzhgova* 'to watch, to observe'. Borrowed from Lat *vestigāre* 'to follow, to track' (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 246; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 157.

vgje ~ vgjê m, pl. *vgjenj* 'pine'. Borrowed from Lat *abiegnum* 'related to fir', derivative of *abietem* 'fir' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 64, V 105,*Wb.* 471). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (from Lat *abietem* 'fir-tree'); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 57 (from Gk πεύκη 'pine'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 287-288.

vickë f, pl. *vicka* 'hoofbeat, step'. From **vith-kë*, derived from *vithe* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 288).

viç m, pl. *viça, viçëra ~ viçna* 'calf'. From PAlb **vetuša* with **-s-* >

*-*š*- in accordance with the "ruki" rule (OREL *IJaK* 140-141) and further related to **weta* > *vit* (STIER *KZ* XI 207), cf. Skt *vatsá-* 'calf' belonging to the same root (BOPP 461, 513). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 200; STIER *KZ* XI No 48; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72 (from Lat *vitulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 475-476; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (reconstructs **u̯eteso-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 34, 261 (suggests **u̯etesi̯o-* as a source of *viç*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281, *Stratificazione* 143; PORZIG *Gliederung* 159; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER III 133; SZEMERÉNYI *Quellen* 94; HAMP *GjA* VII/1 27-30, *BSL* LXVI 222; ÇABEJ *St.* II 288-290; HULD 129-130; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354; DEMIRAJ *AE* 417-418.

vidër f, pl. *vidra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Slav **vydra* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vidra*, SCr *vidra* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 299). ◊ SVANE 143.

vidh m, pl. *vidha* 'elm'. From PAlb **wīdza* related to Kurd *viz* id., OE *wīc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vìnkšna* id., Slav **vęzъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 472, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 150; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 392; BŪGA II 653; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRAENKEL 1257; VASMER I 374; POKORNY I 1177; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 83.

vig m, pl. *vigj*, *vigje* 'small bridge, coffin, stretcher on which the dead body is carried'. From PAlb **sweiga* related to IE **su̯ei-* 'to bend' and its derivatives, cf., in particular, ON *sveigr* 'flexible', OHG *sweiga* 'cattle shed' < **su̯ei-k-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (from Lat *vīcus* 'street, village'); JOKL *Studien* 96 (to Skt *vayā́* 'branch', Slav **větvь* id.), *LKUBA* 149; POKORNY I 1041-1042; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 418.

vigan m, pl. *viganë* 'giant'. A Balkan *Wanderwort* for 'smith', cf. SCr *viganj*, Hung *vihnye* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

vigje pl. 'gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child's birth'. Borrowed from Lat *vīctuālia* 'victuals'. The sonorization of the dental may point to the late date of borrowing. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 95-96 (from **u̯ed-l-*, to Gk ἔδνον 'dowry'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 290 (plural of *vig*); MURATI *Probleme* 106-107 (from Lat *vigilia*); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 126.

vigjëz f, pl. *vigjëza* 'vetch'. Collective form of **vigjë*, a hypercorrect form of **viqë* borrowed from Lat *vicia* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 290). ◊ HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 113.

vij ~ **vinj** aor. *erdha* 'to come'. Borrowed from Lat *venīre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 473). The aorist continues PAlb **erdza* etymologically identical with Gk ἔρχομαι 'to come' (CAMARDA I 240; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (mistakenly equates *vij* with Gk βαίνω 'to go' and Lat *veniō*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; MEILLET *Arm.* II 42; FRISK II 572; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 71; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 97; ÇABEJ *St.* I 164 (to Gk ὄρνυμαι 'to move' and its cognates); HULD 129; HAARMANN 156.

vijë f, pl. *vija* 'furrow, line, ditch'. Borrowed from Lat *vīa* 'road, way' (MEYER *Wb.* 471-472). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 77, 135.

vikas aor. *vikata* 'to cry, to shout'. Borrowed from Slav **vykati* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vikam*, SCr *vikati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 261.

vilas aor. *vilata* 'to cut down (trees)'. Derivative in *-as* < **-atja* of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 291).

vile f, pl. *vile* 'bunch (of grapes)'. Derived from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 291.

virgjër ~ **virgjin** f, pl. *virgjëra* ~ *virgjina* 'maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *virginem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 145-146.

virua ~ **virue** m, pl. *vironj* 'brook, rivulet'. Borrowed from Slav pl. **virove* of **virъ* 'whirlpool, water-pit' (JOKL *IF* XLIX 280-281). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav **virъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 292; SVANE 170.

vise f, pl. *vise* 'place'. Goes back to PAlb **wītsjā* < IE **u̯eik̂i̯ā* similar to Gk οἰκίᾱ 'dwelling, house'. The development of IE **-k̂i̯-* to Alb -

s- is regular (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38). Further connected with IE **u̯eiḱ-* 'house'. ◊ CAMARDA 131 (rejects the connection with **u̯eiḱo-*); MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 473 (*vise* is treated as a reflex of **u̯eiḱo-* but this is phonetically impossible as **ḱ* > PAlb **-ts-* > Alb *-th-*), *Alb. St.* III 13, 38; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 338; JOKL *Studien* 5 (to Lith *vietà* 'place'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 360-361; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 69-70; POKORNY I 1131; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 69-71; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 127-128, *St.* II 293-294 (singularized pl. of *vënd*); HULD 126 (*-s-* < **-d-t-*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364; DEMIRAJ *AE* 419.

visk m 'foal of donkey'. Borrowed from Slav **viskъ* 'shriek', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *visk*, SCr *visak* (*BER* I 152). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav **viskati* 'to shriek'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295 (hypocoristic of *Vinçenc*).

vishkëlloj aor. *vishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Borrowed from Lat *fistulāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284.

vishkull f, pl. *vishkulla* 'rod, cane'. Borrowed from Rom **viscula*, cf. Calabr *višiyyu* 'young oak-tree' < Rom **vi̯scile*. ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 111, 140.

vishnje f, pl. *vishnje* 'kind of cherry'. Borrowed from Slav **višьn'a*, cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *višn'a*, SCr *višnja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 473-474). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 128.

vishtat pl. 'standing crop'. Related to *vjeshtë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 213-214).

vit, vjet m, pl. *vite, vjet, vjetëra* 'year'. From PAlb **weta* connected with Hitt *u̯itt-* id., Gk ἔτος id. and the like (BOPP 460; CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *Wb.* 475-476, *Alb. St.* III 23, 38). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 269, 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 583-584; CHANTRAINE 383; POKORNY I 1175; HAMP *GjA* VII/1 27-29, *BSL* LXVI 222; HULD 129-130; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 419-420.

vitërk m 'stepfather'. Borrowed from Lat *vītricus* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 127-128). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 295; HAARMANN 158.

vito f, pl. *vito* 'dove'. Other forms are *vitua* and *vidë*. Based on PAlb

**weitā* related to Skt *váya-* 'bird', Lat *avis* id. and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 299-301). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (from an onomatopoeic call); MEYER *Wb.* 474 (same as STIER); (); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; FRAENKEL 1265; MAYRHOFER III 236-237; WALDE-HOFMANN II 713-714; POKORNY I 1123-1124; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 101 (a compound containing IE **u̯ei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 420-421.

vitore f, pl. *vitore* 'mythical serpent (keeper of the house), fairy, fate; mother of many children'. Borrowed from Lat *victoria* 'victory' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◊ HAHN 162 (derived from *vit*); MEYER *Wb.* 475; TREIMER *AArbSt.* I 27-28 (to Lith *vietà* 'place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295-296 (derived from *vej*).

vithe f, pl. *vithe* 'crupper, rump, buttock, haunch'. A diminutive in *-th* based on PAlb **wīja* 'twisted, woven' derived from IE **u̯ei-* 'to twist, to weave': Lat *vīeō*, Skt *váyati*, Lith *výti*, Slav **viti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (compared with *bythe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk ἰσχία); FRAENKEL 1266-1267; VASMER I 322; MAYRHOFER III 147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 786-788; POKORNY I 1120-1121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

vjedh aor. *vodha* 'to steal'. From PAlb **wedza* related to Skt *váhati* 'to drive', Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal' and other continuants of IE **u̯eĝh-* (MEYER *Wb.* 474-475, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). From *vjedh* the word for 'badger', *vjedhull*, is derived (STIER *KZ* XI 140). The latter was borrowed to Rum *viezure*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 36, 274; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (to IE **u̯edh-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 59, 172; JOKL *LKUBA* 322; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; VASMER I 284 (to IE **u̯edh-* 'to lead'); FEIST *Goth.* 212; WALDE-HOFMANN II 742-743; MAYRHOFER III 177-179; POKORNY I 1118-1120; STANG *Vergl.* 389 (on the long grade in aor. *vodha*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138, *Die Sprache* XIV 156 (follows VASMER); HULD 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 421-422.

vjehërr f, pl. *vjehrra* 'mother-in-law'. From PAlb **swexurā* < **swesurā* with assimilation from the expected **swetsurā* (BOPP 531; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 46) restructured under the influence of the masculine form *vjehërr* 'father-in-law' < IE **su̯eƙuros* and related to IE **su̯eƙrū-*: Skt *śvaśrū́-* 'mother-in-law', Lat *socrus* id. and the like. The masculine form *vjehërr* corresponds to Skt *śváśura-* 'father-

in-law', Gk ἑκυρός id. and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 5, 58). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 75; JOKL *LKUBA* 41-43, *Sprache* IX 127; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 384-385; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48; MLADENOV *Ist.* 188; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282, *Stratificazione* 121; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22-23, 38 (from **u̯esk̑uro-* < **su̯ek̑uro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 103 (reconstructs **su̯esk̑uros* to account for *-h-*); MAYRHOFER III 400-401; WALDE-HOFMANN II 550-551; FRISK I 478-479; POKORNY I 1043-1044; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; HULD 131 (follows LA PIANA), *IF* LXXXIV 196-199; DEMIRAJ *AE* 422.

vjej ~ vij aor. *vjeva, vjejta* 'to need'. A more conservative form is *vëjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be able, to be healthy' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

vjel aor. *vola* 'to pluck (fruit), to vintage'. From PAlb **wela* related to Gk εἴλω 'to shut in, to press', Lith *su-valýti* 'to harvest, to reap' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38, 77, V 106). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 190, 214, *Slavia* XIII 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I/2 124 n. 2 (to Lat *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull'); FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 297-298.

vjell aor. *volla* 'to vomit'. From PAlb **welwa* related to Lat *volvō* 'to turn' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283 (to *vjel*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57 (to *avull*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 832-834; POKORNY I 1140-1142; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 211; HULD 130 (on the semantic evolution of *vjell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 422-423.

vjershë f, pl. *vjersha* 'poem'. Borrowed from Lat *versus* 'verse' (CAMARDA 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043; WEIGAND 100 (against borrowing from Latin); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* II 298-299 (secondary feminine form restored from pl. *vjersha*); HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 110, 148.

vjerr aor. *vorra* 'to hang'. Continues PAlb **wera* related to Gk ἀείρω 'to raise up', Lith *veriù, vérti* 'to weigh', *sveriù, sver̃ti* 'to open, to thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 71). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; MANN *Language* XVII 18; FRAENKEL 951, 1229; FRISK I 23;

POKORNY I 1150-1151; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423.

vjeshtë f, pl. *vjeshta* 'autumn'. Derivative in *-shtë* from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 123, *LKUBA* 190, 214; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299; MANN *Comp.* 46 (to IE **au̯eḱs-* 'to grow'); MURATI *Probleme* 108-110 (from **aiu̯esi̯ā*).

vjetër adj. 'old'. Borrowed from Lat *veterem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ CAMARDA I 102 (treats *vjetër* as a derivative of *vit*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1043, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 64, 157; HULD 131.

vlag m 'wetness'. Borrowed from Slav **volga* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlaga* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189).

vlak m, pl. *vleq* 'fishing-net; lambskin'. Another form is *vllak*. Borrowed from Slav **volkъ* 'object that can be dragged or carried', cf. Bulg *vlak*, SCr *vlak* 'net' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170, 303; SVANE 154.

vlej aor. *vleva*, *vlejta* 'to be worth, to cost, to deserve'. Other variants are *vëjej* and *vjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be worth, to cost' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2] I 1047; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281.

vloj aor. *vlova* 'to get engaged'. See *mbloj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 234.

vlug m 'prime (of life), peak'. Continues PAlb **awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE **leug-* 'to bend': Gk λυγίζω id., ON *lykna* 'to bend knees', Lith *lùgnas* 'flexible' and the like. The original meaning is, therefore, 'turning point'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); FRISK II 141; FRAENKEL 388-389; POKORNY I 685-686; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vlladikë m 'archbishop'. From a South Slavic continuant of **voldyka* 'lord': Bulg *vladika*, SCr *vladika* (MEYER *Wb.* 476).

vllah m, pl. *vlleh* 'Arumunian'. Borrowed from Slav **volxъ* 'Valachian, speaker of Romance', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlax*, SCr *vlah* (MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

vllanjë f, pl. *vllanja* 'garden-bed, plot'. In Geg, there exist such variants as *vullâ* and *vllâ*. Borrowed from Rom **vīllānea*, to Lat fem. *vīllāna* 'related to farming'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 274 (from Rom **malleānus*, to Lat *malleolus*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 540; ÇABEJ *St.* II 307-308 (to *valë*, *avull*).

vobektë adj. 'poor'. A more conservative form is *vobeg*. Singularized plural of **vobog* borrowed, with assimilation of vowels, from Slav **ubogъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ubog*, SCr *ubog* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 7; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 326; SVANE 267.

voc m, pl. *voca* 'boy, youth'. Derived from *vogël*, *vogërr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199-200.

vogë f 'steam'. Continues PAlb **wāgā* related to Gk ὑγρός 'wet', ON *vǫkr* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *voga* 'rowing; stroke'); FRISK II 955-956; POKORNY I 1118.

vogël adj. 'small', pl. *vegjël*. Within Albanian, another cognate is *vogërr* 'undersized, dwarfed, small'. Both forms continue PAlb **wāgla*, **wāgra* related to Lat *vagor* 'to roam around', OIr *fán* 'slope' < **u̯āg-no-*. The semantic development is from **u̯əg-* 'to be crooked' to 'small'. ◊ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk ὀλίγος 'little', with a metathesis); MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slav **svěžь* 'fresh'), *Alb. St.* III 58; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 173 (to Norw *våk* 'child'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 115 (< **u̯e-* 'not' + *galən-* 'big', cf. Slav **golemъ* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 23; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; WALDE-HOFMANN II 726-727; POKORNY I 1120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; HULD 131-132.

vokull f 'circle'. Borrowed from Slav **okolъ* 'circle, circumference', cf. *okoll*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *bocca* 'mouth').

volitem refl. 'to fit'. Borrowed from Slav **voliti* 'to like, to prefer', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *voliti*. ◊ SVANE 250.

volltë f, pl. *vollta* 'will'. Another variant is *volë*. Borrowed from Slav **vol'a* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *volja* (MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◊ SVANE 224, 250.

vonë adj. 'late'. From PAlb **wānti*, a participle in **-nti* related to Skt *vā́yati* 'to vanish, to become exhausted', Lith *vójus(i)* 'ailing', Latv *vâjš* 'meager, weak'. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 46-47 (reconstructs Tosk **vanë* and derives **vanë* ~ *vonë* from **okno-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *vānus* 'empty'); FRAENKEL 559; MAYRHOFER III 189-190; POKORNY I 1112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 300-301 (to *vete*).

vorbë f, pl. *vorba* 'clay pot'. An early borrowing in PAlb **wāribā* from Slav **varьba* 'cooking' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 172). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to Slav **variti* 'to cook', Lith *vìrti* id.), *Die Sprache* IX 150-151, *Slavia* XIII 301 (against SELIŠČEV); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix *-bë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 301-303 (from IE **u̯er-* 'to turn'), III 214; URBUTIS *Kalbotyra* IX 263; MURATI *Probleme* 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423-424.

(G) voshtër f, pl. *voshtra* 'Ligustrum vulgare'. Borrowed from late Lat *óleaster* (JOKL *LKUBA* 209-211), cf. with a different stress, *ullashtër* s.v. *ullastër*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303; HAARMANN 138.

vovë f, pl. *vova* 'bogey, scarecrow'. An onomatopoeia, probably of Slavic origin, cf. Russ *vova* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slovene *bavbav* and the like).

vozit aor. *vozita* 'to sail, to steer a course, to travel'. Borrowed from Slav **voziti* 'to carry (in a vehicle)' and also 'to row, to paddle', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *voz'a*, SCr *voziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 161; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167, 183; SVANE 244.

vrah m, pl. *vrahe* 'pile of sheaves'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vrax* 'sheaf' (WEIGAND 101). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 117. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from Turk *orak* 'harvest, crops'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 305; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303-304.

vrajë f, pl. *vraja* 'wound'. Derived from *vras*.

vrap aor. *vrapa* 'to run, to haste'. From PAlb **awa-rapa*, derivative with prefix **awa-*, in etymological connection with *rjep* 'to strip off

(skin or bark), to tear off' (OREL *Linguistica* 436-438). For the semantic development, cf. Russ *drat'* 'to run away' < 'to tear', Gk ἔδρᾱν '(I) ran away' ~ δέρω 'to strip off' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk ῥέπω 'to turn the scale, to sink', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize and carry off'); MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to IE **u̯erp-* ~ **u̯rep-*; but IE **u̯r-* yielded Alb *rr-*), *Alb. St.* III 31, 38, 72; TOMASCHEK *MGGW* XXIII 550 (to several Illyrian toponyms derived from *urb-/urp-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 187; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SCHRIJNEN *KZ* XLII 108 (to Lith *virpěti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XVII 18; GINDIN *Form. SN* 62; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *MJ* XXIII 285; OREL *Linguistica* 436-438 (alternative etymology: to Lat *rēpere* 'to creep', OPrus *rīpaiti* 'to follow', Latv *rāpt* 'to creep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 424.

vras aor. *vrava* 'to kill'. From PAlb **awa-rautja*, a prefix derivative based on IE **reu-* 'to tear, to destroy': Skt *rutá-* 'broken', Lat *ruō* 'to fall down, to rush down' and the like (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *varrë* and Skt *vraṇa-* 'wound'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; MAYRHOFER III 63; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrazhdë adj. 'hard, rough, unfriendly'. Borrowed from Bulg *vražda* or CS *vražda* 'enmity' and transformed into an adjective (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186, 196). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (related to *vrërët* ~ *vranët*); JOKL *LKUBA* 155 (develops MEYER's etymology), *Slavia* XIII 610 (against SELIŠČEV); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 65 (from OCS *vražь* 'inimical'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 304 (derived from *vras*).

vrej aor. *vrejta* 'to observe'. Univerbation of *vë re* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243, 362). ◊ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk ὁράω 'to see'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 277-278, 304 (follows MEYER).

vrer ~ **vëner** m 'gall, bile'. Borrowed from Lat *venēnum* 'potion, poison' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 82.

vrëndë f 'drizzle'. A prefixal derivative of *rend* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 304-305). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to ON *úr* 'drizzle', Av *vār-* 'rain'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327; DEMIRAJ *AE* 424 (to Gk βρέχω 'to rain, to moisten').

vrërët ~ vranët adj. 'cloudy'. Together with *vrër ~ vran* 'to darken, to become cloudy', based on **vrër ~ vran* 'cloudy', a prefixal derivative of *re* 'cloud' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610, *ArRom* XXIV 40). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (borrowed from a South Slavic reflex of Slav **vornъ* 'black'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (same as MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 128-129 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117-118, *Hymje* 78 (from IE **u̯rəno-* related to Slav **vorna* 'crow'); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 331 n. 31 (supports BARIĆ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; ÇABEJ *St.* II 305-306 (agrees with JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610); JANSON *Unt.* 33-34; MURATI *Probleme* 135.

vrigull m, pl. *vriguj* 'flap, lobe'. Borrowed from Lat *verriculum* 'seine'.

vrikë f 'tamarisk'. Borrowed from Ital dial. *vrica* id. < Gk μυρίκη id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 306). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (derived from *verr*); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-87, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236 (follows MEYER).

vringëlloj aor. *vringëllova* 'to whizz, to hum'. A prefixal form based on Rom **ringulāre* 'to growl, to grumble'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrokth m 'dandruff'. A prefixal derivative of *rrok.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

vrug m 'rust, mildew, blight'. Continues PAlb **awa-ruga*, a prefixal form related to Av *raoγna-* 'butter', ON *rjúmi* 'cream'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); BARTHOLOMAE 1488; POKORNY I 873.

vrugët adj. 'dark'. Derived from *vrug.*

vrujoj aor. *vrujova* 'to well up, to spring'. Derived from *vrull* 'flight, run'. The latter is borrowed from Slav **vьrlъ* 'strong, energetic', cf. Bulg *vъrl,* SCr *vrli* 'good'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from SCr *vrulja* 'source'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 209-210; SVANE 171.

vrragë f, pl. *vrragë* 'trace, wheel-trace'. Borrowed from Slav **ovьragъ* 'ravine', cf. Bulg *ovrag.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 306-307 (derivative of *varrë*).

vuaj ~ vuej aor. *vova, vojta, vuajta* 'to suffer'. Borrowed from Lat *vīvere* 'to live' and also 'to survive', with a semantic development suggesting an intermediate stage of 'surviving', 'living through'. Thus, *vuan*

nga një sëmundë *'he lives through an illness' > 'he suffers of an illness'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (from Slav **bolěti* 'to be ill'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 73 (to Lith *votìs* 'wound'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

vullnet m 'will'. Another form is *vullëndet*. Borrowed from Lat *voluntātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72; MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ² I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 88, 117.

vurg m, pl. *vurgje* 'marsh, swamp'. From PAlb **wurga* related to Gk ὀργάω 'to be soaked', ὀργάς 'marsh, meadow'. ◊ FRISK II 411; POKORNY I 1169 (reconstructs **u̯erĝ-*).

vurkollak m, pl. *vurkolleq* 'vampire'. Another form is *vurvollak*. Borrowed from Slav **vьlkodlakъ* 'werewolf, vampire', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlъkolak*, SCr *vukodlak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 69-70; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 217.

vurratë f, pl. *vurrata* 'scar, mark, brand'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *vulnerāta*, part. of *vulnerō* 'to wound'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 308 (derived from *varrë*).

(G) vûth m 'small valley'. Derived from *vû*, Geg participle of *vë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 308). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 71 (reconstructs **u̯n̥d-*).

X

xa adv. 'here you are'. A form of the verb *zë* with an initial *x-* < *z-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 308).

xbunjë f 'fluff from spinning'. Derived from *xbut*, *zbut* 'to make soft', cf. *butë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to SCr *bunjak* 'rubbish').

xëgit aor. *xëgita* 'to irritate'. A metathesis of *guxit* id., *gëzit* id. based on *gaz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 309 (to *cys* and *nxit*).

xixë f, pl. *xixa* 'spark'. A descriptive formation. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to Ital *cica*); HAMP *ABS* XVII 129-130.

xunkth m, pl. *xunktha* 'reed'. Diminutive of *cung* with a secondary sonorization of the anlaut (ÇABEJ *St.* II 309).

xvar adv. 'trailing, dragging'. A phonetic variant of *zvar.*

xverk m 'occiput'. A phonetic variant of *zverk.*

Y

yej aor. *yejta* 'to stay awake'. Derived from *yll.* ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 215.

yjëzë f 'ankle, knuckle'. Derivative of **yl* (BARIC *AArbSt.* I 158-159) attested in *bërryl* and *ylber.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to *yll*); JOKL *Idg. Jb.* X 67 (identical with *nyjëzë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312 (follows JOKL).

ylber m, pl. *ylberë, ylbera* 'rainbow'. From PAlb **ul(e)nā bhōra* 'rainbow' < *'curve', a mirror reflection of PAlb **bhōrei ul(e)nā* > *bërryl* 'elbow' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67). For similar nomination of the rainbow cf. Slav **dǫga* 'arc, curve' > 'rainbow'. It is possible to conjecture NGk ὠλένη 'elbow' > *'rainbow' contaminated with ζωνάρι Παναγίας 'Our lady's belt' and ζωνάρι κυρᾶς 'Ελένης 'Lady Helen's belt' (BELECKIJ *Principy* 66-67; OREL *loc. cit.*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 460-461, *IF* VI 114 f.; KRISTOFORIDHI 433 (from *yll ber*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312-313 (identifies the first component with *yll* 'star' following KRISTOFORIDHI).

yll m, pl. *yje* 'star'. A parallel form is *hyll.* Goes back to PAlb **skĭw-ila*, a derivative of **skijā* > *hije* 'shadow' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438-439). For the phonetic development of *-ĭwi-* > *-y-* cf. *grykë.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to IE **sulno-* or **sūli-* 'sun'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, XXXVI 277-278 (accepts MEYER's comparison with **sūli*); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 114-115; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; PISANI *REIE* IV 9; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132-133 (*yll* as a proof of *s*-mobile in the word for 'sun'); HULD 132, *KZ* XC 178-182 (to OE *ysle*, ON *usli* 'spark, ember'); LIUKKONEN *SSF* X·58 (to Slav **aviti* 'to appear'); RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; BEEKES *CIEL* 264 (follows HULD and reconstructs **Huslo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 206.

ysht aor. *yshta* 'to cast spells, to bewitch'. From PAlb **awi-sta* related to IE **au̯ei-* 'bird' and **stā-* 'to stand', originally 'to foretell according to birds, to augur', cf. Lat *augurāre, auspicāre.* ◊ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

Z

zabel m, pl. *zabele, zabela* 'little wood'. Borrowed from Slav **zabělъ* id. attested in South Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (to SCr *zabijeliti* 'to make white').

zabua ~ zabue m, pl. *zabonj* 'linch-pin'. Borrowed from Slav **zabojь*, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *zaboj*, SCr *zaboj.* ◊ SVANE 34.

zakon m, pl. *zakone* 'custom, habit'. Borrowed from Slav **zakonъ* 'law', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *zakon*, SCr *zakon* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; CAMARDA II 161; MEYER *Wb.* 480). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-54; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 177; SVANE 205.

zall m, pl. *zaje* 'river sand, river bank'. Borrowed as PAlb **aigjala* from Gk αἰγιαλός 'river bank' (CAMARDA I 93). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 480 (from Lat *sabulum* 'sand'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 118, *AArbSt.* I 100 (to OHG *kes* 'firm ground'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 314-315 (to IE **i̯ēlo-* 'unripe, raw'); HAARMANN 147.

zapëri f, pl. *zapëri* 'crease, fold'. Derived from *zaparit* 'to crumple' borrowed from Slav **zapariti.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 481 (from SCr *sabor* 'crease, fold'); SVANE 244.

zavrat m, pl. *zavrate* 'garden-bed'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *zavrat* 'curve, turn', SCr *zavrat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 316).

zbatoj aor. *zbatova* 'to put into force, to carry out'. Borrowed from Rom **exbattuere* 'to shake, to toss': Ital *sbattere*, Rum *zbat* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 180; ÇABEJ *St.* II 316-317 (against MEYER).

zbavit aor. *zbavita* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from Slav **jьzbaviti* 'to get

rid of', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *izbav'a*, SCr *izbaviti* (MEYER *Wb.* 481).

zbej aor. *zbejta* 'to make pale'. Derived from PAlb **banja* (historically identical with *bëj*) and related to Skt *bhā́ti* 'to shine', OIr *bán* 'white' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to Slav **bělъ* 'white'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MAYRHOFER II 493-494; VENDRYES [B] 13; POKORNY I 104-105.

zbërkoj aor. *zbërkova* 'to tear, to rip'. Derived from *bark*, cf. Fr *éventrer* 'to disembowel, to tear open' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

zborak m, pl. *zborakë*, *zboreq* 'martin'. Derived from *zborë*, variant of *borë*, cf. Fr *nivereau* id. and Russ *z'ablik* id. with a similar semantic motivation (KRISTOFORIDHI 368). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 88 (to Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to SCr *čvorak* 'starling'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 1933 (to Rum *zbor* 'flight'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 317 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

zbres aor. *zbrita* 'to descend'. Derived from *pres*. ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Knobloch* 145-146 (from IE **bherĝh-* 'to increase, to grow').

zbruj aor. *zbrujta* 'to soften'. Related to *mbruj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

(G) zdërgjâhem refl. 'to spread oneself out, to sprawl'. Derived from *dergjem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 317-318 (prefixal formation based on *gjerë*).

zdralë f, pl. *zdrala* 'dirt'. Derived from *zdraj*, see *zdramë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318).

zdramë f 'wound on horse's withers'. Derived from *zdraj* 'to swell, to make swell' (WEIGAND 104), a prefixal formation based on PAlb **d(e)ranja*. This verb is to be compared with Skt *dr̥ṇā́ti* 'to burst', Gk δέρω 'to skin, to flay' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318). ◊ MAYRHOFER II 59; FRISK I 368-370; POKORNY I 206-208.

zemër f, pl. *zemra* 'heart; middle'. A difficult word without any reliable explanation. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 483 (compares with Geg *zê* 'soul' and connects *zemër* with *zë* 'to seize'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (to ON *gaman* 'joy'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE **ghen-*, cf.

Gk εὐθενέω 'to blossom' and its cognates); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293, *Stratificazione* 99-100 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 212 f. (follows MEYER); HAAS 166 (to Phryg κίμερος· νοῦς, Hes.); HULD 132-133; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 59 (to Lith *juosmuõ* 'belt').

zeshk aor. *zeshka* 'to make brown'. Derived from *zi* (MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 216, 222; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115.

zet num. 'twenty'. From PAlb **w(i)džati* etymologically identical with IE **u̯īk̑m̥ti* id.: Skt *viṁśatí-*, Gk εἴκοσι, Lat *vīgintī* (BOPP 512; CAMARDA I 170; MEYER *Wb.* 483). ◊ XYLANDER 306; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 24, III 17, 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338, *Kelt. Gr.* I 186; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 103, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35, n. 2; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 40; PISANI *Saggi* 133; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRISK I 453-454; WALDE-HOFMANN II 788-789; MAYRHOFER III 199-200; POKORNY I 1177; HULD 133-134; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252, n. 1 (*z-* as a reflex of **u̯īk̑-*), *Numerals* 900, 919, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 207 f. (from **i̯eug-t-* related to **i̯ugom* 'yoke'), *St.* II 318-319; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 165; HULD 133-134; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (on the development of **wdž- > z-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425.

zë ~ zâ aor. *zura ~ zuna* 'to seize, to grasp, to touch'. From PAlb **džeina*, a derivative in **-no-* based on IE **gʷei̯ə-* 'to overpower': Skt *jyā́* 'force, power', *jáyati* 'to win, to conquer', Gk βίη 'power'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *hā-* 'to reach'); MEYER *Wb.* 483 (from Slav **jьz-imati* 'to take out'); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 13; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (reconstructs **ĝhenō*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE **gʷhen-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (follows JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 101, 128; FRISK I 235; MAYRHOFER I 419, 448; POKORNY I 469-470; ÇABEJ *BUShT* XIV/3 44-45 (to Skt *yámati* 'to hold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62; HAMP *ŽA* XXXI 92, *IF* XC 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 426-427.

zë ~ zâ m, pl. *zëra ~ zana* 'voice'. From PAlb **džana* etymologically related to Arm *jain* 'voice', Slav **zvonъ* 'ringing, sound', IE **ĝhu̯en-* (MEYER *Wb.* 483, *Alb. St.* III 17, 39; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 306). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk γῆρυς 'voice, speech'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 403 (compares *zë* with Gk φωνή 'sound'); JOKL *Studien* 7 (on the development of palatals before **-u̯-*), *IF*

XXXVI 99, 112, 116, *Mélanges Pedersen* 133-134, *Sprache* IX 124; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 490-491; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; HULD 134; JANSON *Unt.* 34-36; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *IF* XCIII 108; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425-426.

zëmër ~ zamër f, pl. *zëmëra ~ zamëra* 'late afternoon meal, late afternoon, tea time'. A difficult word. Maybe, a borrowing from Gk διήμερον 'period of twenty-four hours', *'afternoon'? ◊ CAMARDA I 107 (identifies *zëmër* with *zemër* as 'the center of the day'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 214-215 (compares *zëmër* with Gk ἦμαρ 'day', Arm *awr* id. which, however, do not explain the anlaut *z-*), *St.* II 319; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41-42 (connection with *zë*).

zërë ~ zanë f, pl. *zëra ~ zana* 'goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *Dīana* (JOKL *Studien* 97-98). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 400; WEIGAND *BA* I 254; PAVLOVIĆ *ZfBalk* I 73-74; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* II 315-316, V 144-152; JANSON *Unt.* 62; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 94, 104.

zgafelle f, pl. *zgafelle* 'hole, cave, gallery, tunnel'. Derived from *zgafulloj* 'to dig a pit'. The latter is a prefixal formation based on Rom **cappulāre* 'to cut, to chop'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186-187 (from Rom **dis-co-affibulāre*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 93-94 (to Lith *žiùpsnis* 'handful'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 319-320 (to *gërfej*).

zgarbë f, pl. *zgarba* 'hollow (in a tree)'. Derived from *garbë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 320-321 (to *kalb*).

zgavër f, pl. *zgavra* 'hole'. Another variant is *zguer*. A prefixal form based on PAlb **gawirā* related to IE **geu-r-*, **gou-r-* 'bent, crooked'. ◊ POKORNY I 397.

zgerdhë f, pl. *zgerdha* 'bronchial tube'. Derived from dial. *zgardh* 'to open', further related to *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321). Note *zgërdhelë* 'hole', *zgërdhihem* 'to bare one's teeth' and *zgërdhagët* 'empty' going back to the same source (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321-322). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (to *ngordh*).

zgorkë f, pl. *zgorka* 'deep place (in the river)'. Derived from *zguer*, see *zgavër*.

zgrip m, pl. *zgripe* 'side, edge, rim'. Based on PAlb **gripa* related to OHG *krapfo* 'hook', ON *krappr* 'narrow'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to *shkrep*); JOKL *Studien* 35, *LKUBA* 116; POKORNY I 388; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 44 (reconstructs **gr̥p-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 322-323 (follows MEYER).

zgrof m, pl. *zgrofe* 'stomach'. With a secondary *-f-* < *-p-*, a prefixal derivative of *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323). ◊ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 44 (from Lat *scrobis* 'ditch, dike').

zgurdulloj aor. *zgurdullova* 'to open wide (of eyes)'. A phonetic variant of *zgardhulloj* 'to open' derived from *zgardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323-324).

zgurdhë f 'rectum'. Derived from *zguer*, cf. *zgavër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324). ◊ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 141-143 (to *zorrë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUShT* XIII/2 45; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; HULD 137; BEEKES *Lar.* 104 (untenable **g^ue-g^ureH-do-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 427.

zgjebe f 'itch, scab'. Borrowed from Lat *scabiēs* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; HAARMANN 148.

zgjedhë f, pl. *zgjedha* 'ox yoke'. From PAlb **diš-gadā* formed with a prefix **diš-* and related to *gjedh* 'cattle' (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70). ◊ CAMARDA I 88 (to IE **i̯ugom* 'yoke'); MEYER *Wb.* 484 (from NGk ζεῦγλα, ζεῦλα); JOKL *Studien* 98-100 (derives *zgjedhë* from **zd-ledhe*, further compared with *lidh*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 119 (follows CAMARDA and adds Arm *luc* 'yoke'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 324 (unconvincing parallels in Germanic: OFries *gadia* 'to tie, to unite', Germ *Gatte* 'spouse'); OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70 (accepts **diš-* as a cognate of Gk δισ- 'double').

zgjerbe f, pl. *zgjerbe* 'moth'. Connected with *gjerb*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 321 (singularized plural of *zgarbë*).

zgjiç m 'little bay'. Derived from *gji* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324).

zgjoj aor. *zgjova* 'to wake, to rouse'. Borrowed from Rom **exvigilāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* ²I 1054). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 120 (prefix *z-* + cognate of Skt *svāpa-* 'dream, sleep'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

zgjua ~ zgjue m, pl. *zgjoj*, *zgjoje* 'beehive'. Based on **gjua ~ gjue* borrowed from Lat *jānua* 'door, entrance'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 484 (to Slav **ulьjь* id.); WEIGAND 105 (from Rom **excavōne*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 109, *LKUBA* 286 (from Rom **excovus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 325 (from **glon-*).

zgjyrë f 'rust'. Borrowed from Lat *scōria* 'dross, slag' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* [2]I 1053). ◊ HAARMANN 149.

zi adj., fem. *zezë* 'black'. From PAlb **džedi* (fem. *zezë* < **džedjā*), etymologically connected with MHG *quāt* 'dirt', OE *cwéad* 'bad', Lith *gė̃da* 'shame', Slav **gadъkъ* 'disgusting', **gadъ* 'reptile, worm' < IE **gʷed-* (JOKL *Studien* 100-102, *LKUBA* 27). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 484, *Alb. St.* IV 43 (to Lith *žìlas* 'grey-haired', Latv *zils* 'blue'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 64; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to Thracian proper names Ζειζας, Ζισις); POKORNY I 484; FRAENKEL 142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 325-326 (to Lith *júodas* 'black' but the change **i̯-* > Alb *z-* is unconvincing); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 110 (follows ÇABEJ); HULD 134-135 (to Slav **židъkъ* 'liquid'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 81-82; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; DEMIRAJ *AE* 427-428.

zid m 'wall'. Borrowed from Slav **zidъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *zid*, SCr *zid* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 173.

ziej aor. *zjeva* 'to boil, to cook'. From PAlb **džernja* based on a less frequent form *zie* id. < **džera*. For the loss of the final **-r* and the development of corresponding derivatives in **-nja* cf. *bie* 'to carry' < **bera ~ (m)baj* 'to hold' < **en-barnja* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 439-440). The Indo-European parallels go back to **gʷher-*: Gk θέρομαι 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr *fogeir* '(he) warms' and the like. See *zjarm*, *zjarr*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44, 89 (to Gk ζέω 'to boil' but Gk ζ- < IE **i̯-* is never reflected as Alb *z-*!); MEYER *Wb.* 485 (borrowed from NGk ζέω 'to boil'); JOKL *IF* XLIX 294, *Slavia* XIII 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; FRISK I 612; MAYER I 162, II 52 (accepts the comparison with IE **i̯es-* in connection with Illyr *Aquas Jasas*); FRISK I 665-666; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* II 326-327; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (follows MEYER).

zjarm m, pl. *zjarme* 'fire'. From PAlb **džerma* etymologically identical with Gk θερμός 'warm', Arm *ǰerm* id. < **gʷhermo-* (CAMARDA I

71; MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◊ FRISK II 664-665; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320-321, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108 ; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 121; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

zjarr m, pl. *zjarre* 'fire'. From PAlb **džera*, a new *o*-stem transformed from IE **gʷheres-*, nom. sg. **gʷheros*, cf. Skt *háras-* 'flame, heat', Gk θέρος 'summer', Arm *ǰer* id. (OREL *ZfBalk* XXV/2 145). Further connected with *zjarm* (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 485, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◊ FRISK II 665-666; MAYRHOFER III 579; POKORNY I 493-495; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; LA PIANA *Studi* I 40-41 (reconstructs **ĝher-muro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 163; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 234; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115 (treats *zjarr* as a singluraized plural of *zjarm*); HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

zmojle f 'fallow (land)'. Borrowed from Rom **exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *ē(x)mulgēre* 'to milk out, to drain out', cf. Rum *zmulge* (JOKL *BA* IV 196-198, *Slavia* XIII 287). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 327.

zog m, p. *zogj* 'bird'. An Oriental *Wanderwort*, presumably, of Iranian origin, cf. Arm *jag* 'chick', NPers *zâq* 'cub' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; HULD 135-136). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 216 (to Gk ζῷον 'animal'); CAMARDA I 104 (to Gk ζώω 'to live', thus implying a derivative of IE **gʷi̯ē-*); MEYER *Wb.* 486 (to Skt *jahu-* 'young animal'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 143; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338 (reconstructs **ĝhāghos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294-295, *Stratificazione* 143; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36, *Hist. Gr.* 35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; POKORNY I 409; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (adduces Sogd *z'γ* 'kind of bird'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 217-218 (to Lith *jėgà* 'strength', Gk ἥβη 'youth, youthful strength'), *St.* II 327-328; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 97-105 (reconstructs **u̯ik̂e-gʷo-*, to **u̯ei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 429-430.

zorrë f, pl. *zorrë* 'gut'. From PAlb **džārnā*, a long grade etymologically identical with Lith *žarnà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 486, *Alb. St.* III 18) continuing IE **gʷerə-* 'to swallow'. ◊ CAMARDA I 88 (to Gk ζώνη 'belt, girdle'), 120 (to Gk χορδή 'gut'); SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 2-3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 358; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-

142 (to IE *g^{u}erə-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295, *Stratificazione* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 290; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lat *hīra* 'gut'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; PISANI *Saggi* 125; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRAENKEL 1291; POKORNY I 434-435; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 136-137; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 430-431.

zot m, pl. *zotërinj, zotër, zota* 'lord, master, god'. From PAlb **w(i)tš-pati-* etymologically identical with Skt *viś-pati-* 'lord of the house' (HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96). The feminine form *zonjë* continues **w(i)tš-patnjā*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (*zonjë* to Skt *jáni-* 'woman'); MEYER *Wb.* 486-487 (to Skt *jā́yate* 'to be born'; *zonjë* compared with IE **g^{u}enā* 'woman'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 324 (derives *zonjë* from **g^{u}enịā*; interprets *zot* and *zonjë* as compounds including **-potis* and **potnịā*, with the first component reconstructed as**g^{u}ịịā* 'life'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 121-124 (from IE **dịēu-t-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295 (compares *zot* with Skt *jāspati-* 'house master'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (from **g^{u}ịā-tā*, to **g^{u}ei-* 'to live'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 375 (against TAGLIAVINI); SOLTA *Sprache* V 198-199; MAYRHOFER III 224-225; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 222 f. (to Gk ἅγιος 'saint'); BUDIMIR *AArbSt* IV/1 157-160, *GjA* XI/2 (1972[1974]) 85-86; PISANI *Sprache* VII 99-103 (< IE **g^{u}ēs-poti-/-potnī*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42 (on the phonetic development); KLINGENSCHMITT *LIdg.* 104 (from **desịās* + *poti-* similar to Arm *tēr* 'lord, master' < **desịās* + *anēr*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 431-432.

zulë f 'shout, glory'. The derivative *zulmë* 'glory' is more widespread. From PAlb **dzulā*, a zero-grade derivative of IE **ĝhau(ə)-* 'to call': Skt *hávate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav **zъvati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 487 (to *zurnë* < Turk *zurna* 'kind of flute'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἴουλος 'down, the first growth of the whiskers and beard; corn-sheaf' - comparison based on the misunderstanding of the Greek word); ÇABEJ *St.* II 328-329 ("word of dubious origin").

zushë f 'heat, noon heat'. Borrowed, with an irregular *z-*, from Slav **suša* 'drought', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *suša*, SCr *suša*. ◊ HULD *KZ* XCVIII (from **dịeu* + *eus(ị)ēH* 'heat of the daytime sky').

zverk m 'occiput'. Derived from an unattested **vark* > **verk* based on *vjerr*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (to Lith *gerklē̃* 'throat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

mazia 296, *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42 (from *z-* + **u̯orkos*, further connected with W *cywarch* 'rope' < Celt **kom-vor-ko-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; MOUTSOS *AIAK* 338-344 (borrowed from Gk σβέρκος 'nape of the neck'); HULD *KZ* CVII/1 165-171 (from Goth **swairhs*).

zvjerdh aor. *zvordha* 'to wean'. A prefixal form based on PAlb **verdza* related to Lith *veržiù*, *ver̃žti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *vērzt* 'to turn', Slav **verzti* 'to bind' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 488, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38, 72). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (from IE **u̯ert-*); FRAENKEL 1230-1231; POKORNY I 1168-1169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 432.

zymtë adj. 'dark'. Originally **zym*, this is a derivative of *zi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 329).

Zh

zharg m 'snake skin'. Identical with *shark* (ÇABEJ II 330-331).

zhdërvjellët adj. 'adroit, deft, developed'. An expressive infigated form of the Italianism *zhvilloj* 'to develop'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (from SCr *žrijeb* 'lot'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 318 (to IE **u̯el-* 'to turn'); ÇABEJ II 331 (follows JOKL).

zheg m 'heat'. Borrowed from Slav **žegъ* id., cf. SCr *žega* 'sun-heat' (MEYER *Wb.* 488). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

zhumbinë f, pl. *zhumbina* 'gum'. Borrowed from Slav **zǫbina* id. derived from **zǫbъ* 'tooth' (SCHWYZER *KZ* LVII 259-260).

zhur m 'gravel'. Another variant is *shur*. Borrowed from Lat *saburra* 'sand ballast' (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ HAARMANN 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

(G) zhys aor. *zhyta* 'to dive'. From PAlb **diš-ūd-tja* derived from IE **u̯ed-* ~ **ud-* 'water', see *mbys* (HAMP *Laryngeals* 139). ◊ CAMARDA I 89 (reconstructs a prefix *sh-* followed by the root related to Gk δύω 'to immerse'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 124 (to Gk βάπτω 'to dip'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 246-247 (from IE **ūdi̯ō*); POKORNY I 78-80; ÇABEJ II 332; HULD 90-91.

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NON-INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Uralic

This volume is a new compendium of Albanian etymology tracing thousands of modern Albanian words back to their origins. It contains detailed information on the Indo-European vocabulary preserved in Albanian as well as on numerous loanwords coming from ancient Greek, Latin, early Romance and Slavic.

The ancient elements of the Albanian vocabulary are used for the reconstruction of their Proto-Albanian origin and then compared with their Indo-European parallels. The history of Indo-European words and of early loanwords in Albanian shows the history and culture of the Albanian people reflected in the etymology of the Albanian language.

The book also includes a short sketch of Albanian historical phonetics and a vast bibliography. Every entry is extensively documented and contains earlier etymological explanations and interpretations.

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